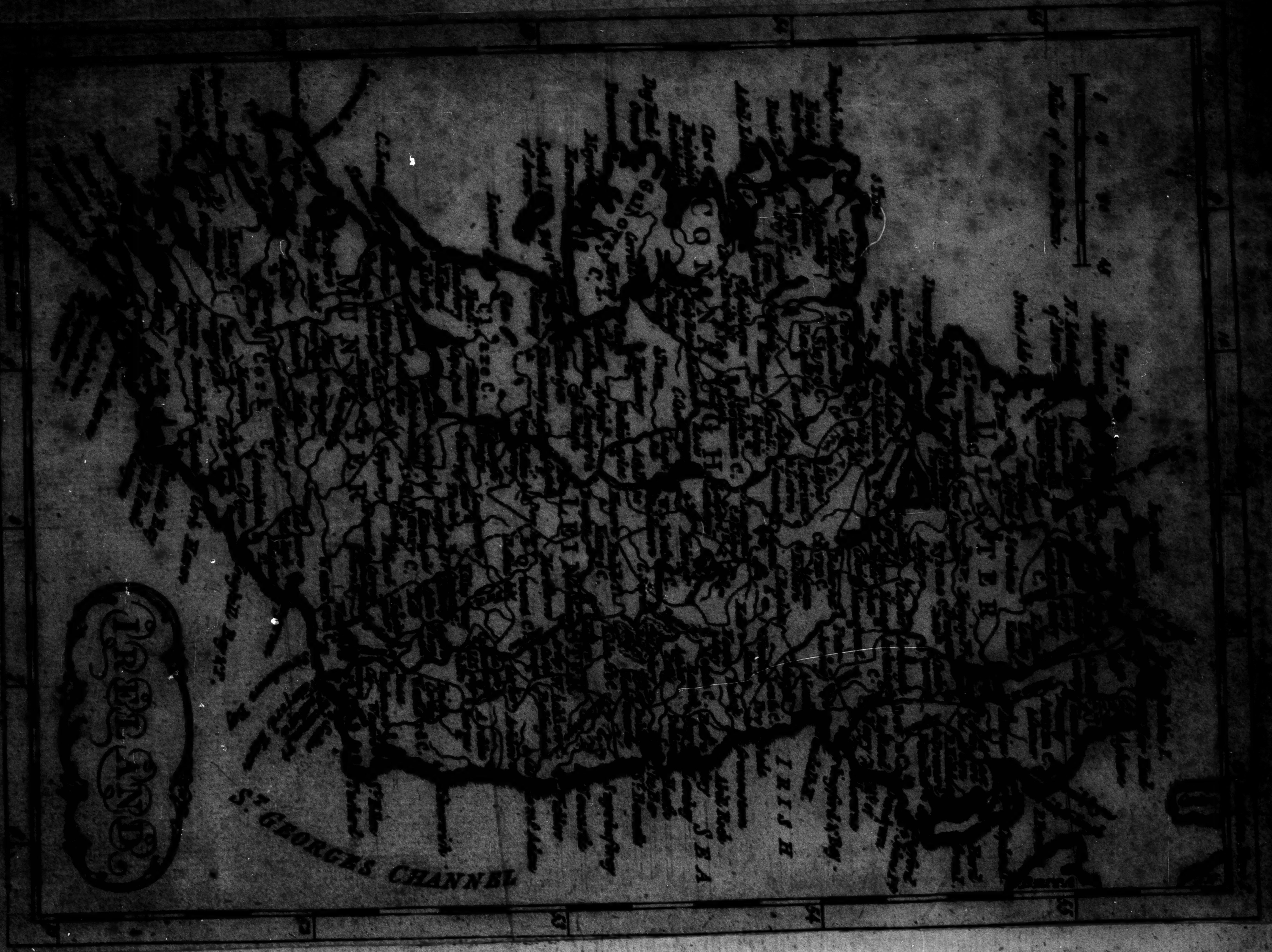
IRELAND
St. GEORGES CHANNEL
IRISH SEA
ULSTER
LEINSTER
MUNSTER
CONNAUGHT

THE

HISTORY

OF THE

REBELLION and CIVIL-WAR

IN

IRELAND.

BY

FERD°. WARNER, L. L. D.

LONDON:
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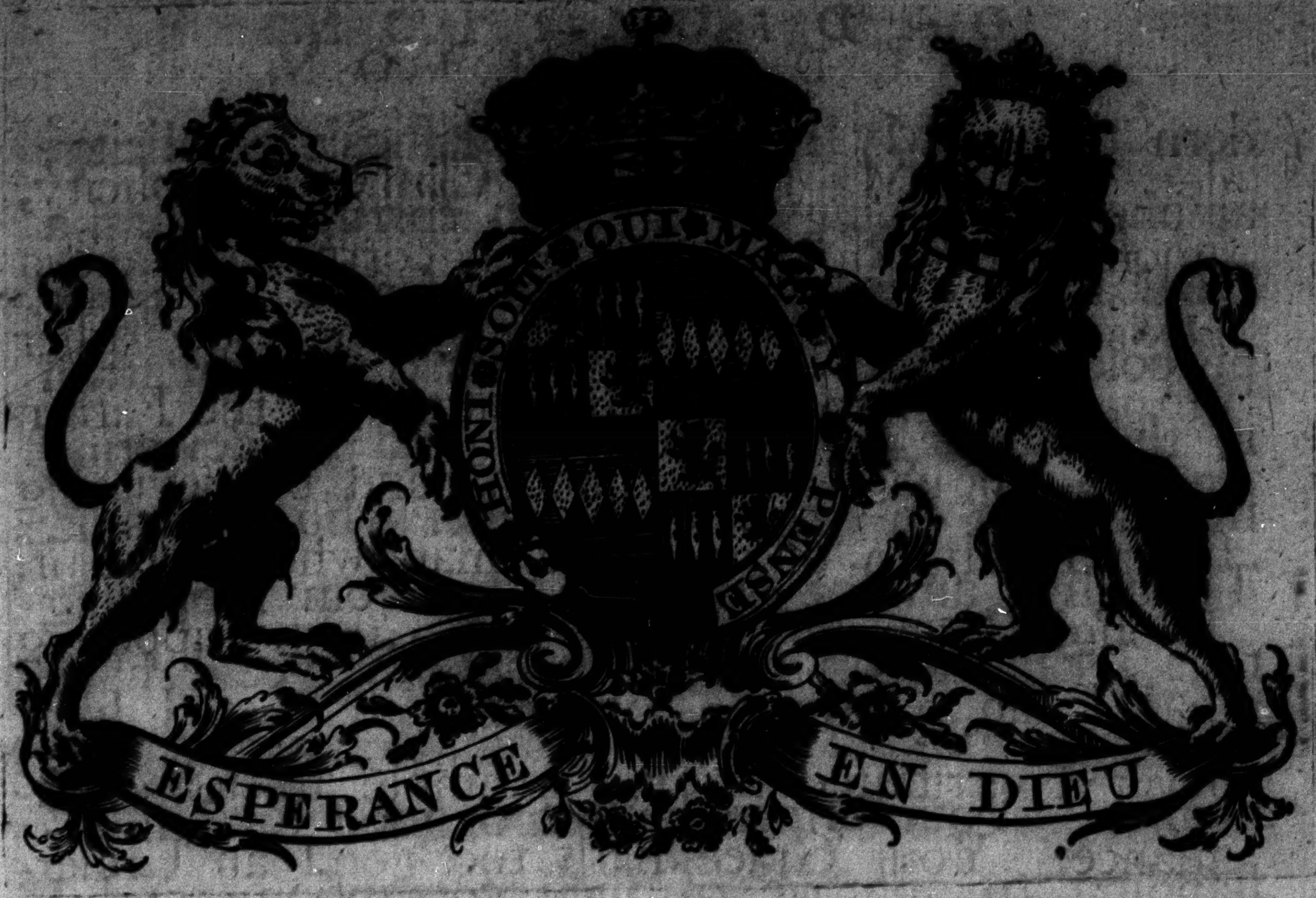
M.DCC.LXVII.

MVSEVM
BRITAN
NICVM


HONI SOIT QUI MAL Y PENSE
ESPERANCE EN DIEU

BRITISH MUSEUM

TO

THE DUKE OF NORTHUMBERLAND.

My Lord Duke,

IN ancient times, when Emperors and Great Men were the only Patrons almoſt of Letters, Your Grace knows that a Dedication contained uſually nothing more than a ſhort account of the work, and a plain recommendation to the Friend or Monarch to whom it was addreſſed. In modern times, My Lord, this Claſſical Simplicity, among other things, hath been corrupted: and a Dedication, generally ſpeaking, ſerves no other purpoſe, than to make encomiums on the Patron in the language of Adulation, and by deviating from Truth to diſgrace the man who writes it. Though I am far, My Lord, from ſuppoſing that I can reform this vicious taſte, yet I have never contributed by my example to its continuance. Your Grace hath too good an Underſtanding to approve of ſuch corruption: and I ſhould be wanting to myſelf upon this occaſion, were I only to hazard giving Offence, where my deſign is to avow the moſt profound Reſpect. But yet how difficult it is for a writer to withhold his pen from expreſſing the Sentiments of his Heart, when his Heart is warm with the contemplation of a Character that is diſtinguiſhed by the Public Love, this is known to thoſe alone who have had the taſk, of addreſſing Men of eminent and acknowledged Merit: and to avoid a conflict ſo uneaſy, between the deſire of holding out an Example of Generoſity, Politeneſs, and Public Spirit, to an age in which examples of ſuch kind are rare, and the fear of offending by its being miſinterpreted into Flattery, I could wiſh that I was ſpeaking of the Duke of NORTHUMBERLAND to any other perſon than to Himſelf.

The time however of this Addreſs, when Your Grace is not in Office, is a circumſtance which will acquit me, I preſume, in the eye of the World —ill-natured as it is—of all intentions of Intereſt; or of having any other motives to the reſpect I pay Your Grace than thoſe of Gratitude and Eſteem. For to obſerve that a regard to Letters and the Public Good, inclined Your Grace very ſtrongly to countenance my deſign of completing the Iriſh Hiſtory, when the Adminiſtration of that kingdom was delegated to Your Grace, is only to acknowledge an Honour done to myſelf; which I hope will not give any offence: And had the wiſhes of the People of Ireland been gratified in the Continuance of Your Grace's Government, Your Grace had the intereſt of Literature and the Glory and Welfare of their Country too much at heart, to have ſuffered its General Hiſtory to have been laid aſide for want of your Grace's countenance: Nor had the Iriſh Houſe of Commons ſo little regard to Your Grace's Sentiments, as to have permitted Your Patronage of a work of public utility to have been without effect. But with Your Grace's Adminiſtration fell the deſign which I had entertained of continuing the Hiſtory of Ireland down to the Revolution. What however, My LORD, I could attempt towards it Unaſſiſted, I have attempted in the work with which I beg leave now to preſent Your Grace: and it happens not unluckily, that the part which I was able to execute without a Parliamentary Aid, is of all the Iriſh Hiſtory the moſt critical and important to both kingdoms; to every reader of hiſtory, and to every lover of his country and religion.

Your regard, My LORD, for the Iriſh nation did not ceaſe with your relation to it. Your Grace was pleaſed to aſſure me very lately of your readineſs to countenance any work that would do honour, or be of uſe, to Ireland: I have therefore preſumed to avail myſelf of that inclination by ſolliciting Your Grace to be the Protector of this Hiſtory: and great as the Advantage to it will be, indeed it could not with ſuch propriety have had recourſe to any other. Give me leave however, My LORD, to ſuppoſe, that to one whoſe public conduct hath always been avowedly on the ſide of Liberty, a work ſo favourable to that cauſe will not be diſagreeable. But Liberty, Your Grace knows, muſt have its bounds; and that Popular Error and Frenzy are as ſure an enemy to the welfare of a State, as illegal deſpotic Rule. This is evidently demonſtrated, as Your Grace may find, in the following pages: and this hath added to my confidence in deſiring Your Grace to accept the patronage of a Work, which is devoted to Liberty diveſted of Licentiouſneſs, to Religion free from Bigotry, and to Truth void of Malice.

You have given, My Lord, every convincing proof that can be deſired that You are the Friend and Lover of your Country: and it cannot admit of the leaſt imputation of Inſincerity to ſuggeſt, that the Diſintereſtedneſs and Integrity, which amidſt the Diſcord of Parties have been on all ſides allowed to characteriſe Your Grace, preſage happily to your countrymen, that the High Honour to which his Majeſty hath advanced Your Grace, will have no other effect than to give a further and a nobler opportunity to Your Grace to exert the ſame virtues in the public ſervice.

Permit me then, My LORD, to hope, that the following Hiſtory and the Reflections ſcattered thro' it, which have only the Good of your Country for their object, will merit your Approbation: and if Your Grace will be ſo obliging as to honour it with Your protection, the ſucceſs of the work will be aſſured to,

My LORD DUKE,

Your Grace's

moſt obedient

moſt obliged

moſt devoted

humble Servant

FERDINANDO WARNER.

BRITISH MUSEUM

BRITISH MUSEUM

PREFACE.

IN the preface to the Hiſtory of Ireland already publiſhed, an account hath been given in what manner I was induced to undertake that work. Some reaſons alſo were then offered, why the Hiſtory of a Country which did not want materials, and which furniſhed ſo good a ſubject, from its ſituation, importance, and connexion with Great Britain, had been ſo long neglected, to the diſgrace of Letters, and the reproach of both Nations. To theſe the Reader muſt be referred; as it would be very impertinent to repeat them. But having undertaken to write a General Hiſtory of Ireland, from the earlieſt records of time to the ſettlement of it by King WILLIAM, and the volume already publiſhed containing only the ancient hiſtory to the Engliſh Conqueſt, it is incumbent on me to juſtify to the Reader the Diſcontinuance of that work, as well as to give the reaſons for the Hiſtory that is before him. If in exhibiting this Juſtification of myſelf, I ſhould chance to give offence to any of the people of Ireland, I ſhall be ſorry for it; but the fault is not in Me; the truth ought to be known, and my Engagements to the Publick make it neceſſary. To give no offence however that may be avoided, the private negotiations with ſome of the firſt men of that kingdom, for their intereſt in procuring a Public Aid, ſhall be omitted.

For as willing ſoever as I was to undertake a taſk, which no one before me had undertaken, yet it was ſoon found that the Manuſcript materials for Iriſh Hiſtory—not to be removed from the places in which they were

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depoſited—were too voluminous to be inſpected at the expence of a Writer on his own account, or on what might be repaid by the publication of ſuch a work. But I ſhall ſay no more of the encouragements that were given me to expect a Parliamentary Aſſiſtance in carrying it on—beſides the known Generoſity of the Iriſh Nation—than that from thence I was induced to begin it, and to publiſh the Firſt Volume. To that volume, comprehending the whole ancient hiſtory, a large Introduction was prefixed; which contains an account of the former and preſent ſtate of Ireland, in its language, learning, religion, government, laws, cuſtoms, and manners, together with its natural hiſtory.

When it was ſeen that ſo great a progreſs had been made, and the Writer had given a ſpecimen of the diligence and impartiality of which ſome in Ireland had affected to doubt, it was preſumed that a ſufficient foundation was laid for a Public Application. The Duke of NORTHUMBERLAND, then appointed Lord Lieutenant, was pleaſed, with his uſual public ſpiritedneſs, to countenance the deſign: and as the beſt regulated and politeſt ſtates have always afforded their patronage and aſſiſtance to undertakings of this kind, and Ireland is the only Nation in Europe without its General Hiſtory, a Caſe was printed, and preſented in the uſual form to the Iriſh Houſe of Commons; wherein it was ſet forth, that beſides the Manuſcripts which I had collected from the public libraries and records at Dublin, there was an aſtoniſhing number here relating to that Country, in the Council and Secretaries Offices, the Muſeum and the Tower, and in the Bodleian and Lambeth Libraries, the uſe of which towards compleating a General Hiſtory, would be attended with an Expence, that, without their aſſiſtance, it would be neither prudent nor practicable to attempt.

Though this application had the favour and concurrence of the Lord Lieutenant, and it was referred to the conſideration of a Committee, yet no Report was made, and it went no further. It went however as far as ſeveral other deſigns of National Utility referred to the ſame Committee: and it would be impertinent to enter into the reaſons that were, or that might be, aſſigned for this Neglect. It ſhall ſuffice only to ſay, that if the General Hiſtory of the laws and conſtitution, of the commerce and civil affairs of any Country, is not a work of a Public Nature, it will be difficult to find what is ſo; and all other ſtates have been in a great error. It ought indeed to be mentioned, that his Excellency was ſo good as to inform me at his return, that if he went over to hold another Seſſion of Parliament, he hoped that a way would be found——to which his Excellency's Encouragement ſhould not be wanting——for the Iriſh Houſe of Commons to grant ſuch an Aid as would enable me to continue and complete the Hiſtory. But the reader need not be told, that it was not a Misfortune peculiar only to ſuch a work, that before another Seſſion, the Duke of NORTHUMBERLAND ceaſed to be Lord Lieutenant: and the Care of its hiſtory, which in ancient times was one of the firſt cares of the ſtate in Ireland, and is ſtill the concern of every other civilized Nation, was then quite abandoned. My health had been ſo much impaired by the application beſtowed on the Firſt Volume, that I received this account—which fully juſtifies my dropping ſuch an arduous undertaking—with the utmoſt complacency. It remains therefore now that I inform the Reader, by what means I was induced, after ſo much diſcouragement, to concern myſelf any further with Iriſh affairs, and to undertake the following work.

Of the whole hiſtory of the kingdom of Ireland, the Rebellion and Civil War under CHARLES the Firſt continued to the Reſtoration, which throws great light upon many paſſages of our Engliſh hiſtory, is undoubtedly the moſt intereſting and critical part: and though the buſineſs of the Maſſacre hath made as much noiſe, and been as much the ſubject of diſpute and crimination, as any point of hiſtory in the world, it hath never yet been fully nor fairly repreſented. Indeed to ſay the truth, it hath not been in the power of many Writers to do this; and of the few that could do it, not one hath been ſo inclined. The Original Proteſtant Iriſh Writers of this period, are SR. JOHN TEMPLE, and DR. BORLASE: the firſt, who was Maſter of the Rolls, and a Privy-Councillor, hath confined himſelf entirely to the Maſſacre and Rebellion in the early part of it: and the ſenſe of what he ſuffered by the inſurrection, together with his attachment to the Miniſtry, led him to aggravate the crimes and cruelties of the Iriſh: the other, was the ſon of SR. JOHN BORLASE one of the Lords Juſtices at that time, and ſeems to have been an Officer in the Civil War; who hath made great uſe of TEMPLE's hiſtory, and as far as he liked it, of Lord CLARENDON's vindication of the Marquis of ORMONDE. If both theſe Authors are to be red with great ſuſpicions of Partiality—as they certainly are—except in the copies of original papers, and the facts which tally with them, SR. RICHARD COX, who hath done little more than tranſcribe the accounts which they have given, is entitled to leſs merit, and yet open to the ſame ſuſpicions. When he had no longer theſe to be his guide, the remainder of his work is little more than an extract from the News papers and the Pamphlets of the time, and in no part deſerves the name of a Hiſtory.

The chief Original Popiſh Writers of this Rebellion, are the Marquis of CLANRICARDE, and Lord CASTLEHAVEN. The firſt wrote his Memoirs at the time of this calamity: but they relate only to what paſſed in that part of the country where he lived, and to the informations which he received: hence they ſerve for little more than to connect the ſeveral important letters there collected, either to, or from himſelf. There hath been occaſion to ſay ſo much of his Lordſhip in the Hiſtory, that it is needleſs to add any thing more about this work, than that it hath been but lately publiſhed, and no former Hiſtorian could have the advantage of the materials which it affords. The Earl of CASTLEHAVEN, as far as he goes, and his memory ſerves him, ſeems entitled alſo to our confidence: however, as he wrote his Memoirs a great many years after the facts, it may very well happen that ſome of them are forgotten, and others miſrepreſented. Several little pieces more there are on the Catholic ſide, and a few on the other: but they are ſo inſufficient, or ſo partial, as to be of no repute for Hiſtory; and therefore need not be particularly mentioned.

There are no Original Engliſh Hiſtorians that I know of, who write any thing fully of this event in Ireland, beſides the Earl of CLARENDON, and MR. CARTE: the former, in his hiſtory of the Rebellion and Civil War in England, and in a little piece in vindication of the Marquis of ORMONDE; which, in the late editions, goes under the title—very improperly—of a Hiſtory of the Rebellion and Civil War in Ireland. The noble Hiſtorian's attachment to the cauſe of CHARLES the Firſt, hath evidently given a bias to the whole of his great work: and on the moſt critical part of the King's conduct with regard to Ireland—his Commiſſions to the Earl of GLAMORGAN—his Lordſhip, to our aſtoniſhment, is entirely ſilent: neither doth he enter much into any tranſactions in that country, wherein the King was not perſonally concerned. In the little piece above mentioned, which was written at Cologn, and handed about in manuſcript copies, without any name, till after his Lordſhip's death, his materials were taken from the Marquis of ORMONDE's papers; but it contains little more, according to its deſign, than a vindication of the Marquis, in the Peace which he made twice with the Confederate Catholicks, and a diſplay of their ingratitude, and infatuation. MR. CARTE treats profeſſedly of this whole Rebellion, in his Life of the Duke of ORMONDE, and is by much the moſt copious and beſt Writer upon it: but there are ſo many flagrant inſtances of his partiality for the King, and of his prejudice againſt the Iriſh Miniſters at the breaking out of the inſurrection, that he is never to be red, where the ill conduct of the firſt is palliated, or the other cenſured, without the utmoſt caution. In the buſineſs of Lord Glamorgan particularly, he is extremely culpable; and, contrary to the evidence that was before him, throws all the blame of that tranſaction from the King upon his Lordſhip.

It may be ſaid perhaps with ſome propriety, that Nalson, and Rushworth, are Original Engliſh Writers of this event: but the Hiſtorical part of either, which reaches but a little way, is only to throw ſome light on the papers concerning Ireland, of which they give an uſeful, and for the moſt part, a juſt Collection: the firſt is as partial in his narrative on the ſide of the King, as the other on the ſide of the Parliament; and they are both to be conſulted with great allowance for their Party Zeal. As to all the Writers of Engliſh Hiſtory, who attempt to give any relation of this Rebellion, having compiled from ſome or other of the materials above mentioned, they have copied likewiſe their miſtakes and imperfections: hence they are ſo inaccurate, partial, or uninformed, that whoſoever contents himſelf with the accounts that he meets with of it, in any of our Hiſtories of England—not one excepted—may be ſaid to know little of it: and yet ſuch a great part of Engliſh Hiſtory, in the laſt ſeven years of Charles the Firſt, is ſo intimately connected with Iriſh affairs, that a competent knowledge of them is neceſſary to make the other thoroughly underſtood.

But in this detail which hath been given of the ſeveral Writers on this Rebellion, my meaning hath not been to cenſure their errors and imperfections, but to ſhew how defective or fallacious this important point of hiſtory ſtill remains; and conſequently to prove the Utility of an impartial and authentic work. Here the Reader will ſee then the principal Reaſon which induced me, after ſo much Diſcouragement, to reſume my labour upon Iriſh Hiſtory. For this is a part of it which is ſo much connected with our own, that beſides the Intereſt of Truth and Humanity in ſuch a work, which is always valuable to a good mind, it ſeemed to me to be doing a ſervice to Religion and Letters, here at Home, to undertake it. I do not preſume to arraign the Lenity of our Governors in Church or State, for a very aſtoniſhing and unexampled Connivance at the increaſe of Popery: but as ſuch ſwarms of Jeſuits,—it is ſaid, and I believe truly—have lately filled theſe kingdoms, whom other States have wiſely baniſhed, and who are the known Enemies of our Spiritual and Political Conſtitution, it appeared very ſeaſonable to produce a Hiſtory, fraught with the dire effects of their religion and their practices in a former age. A Liberty of Conſcience to all thoſe who have been born and educated here in that religion, is one thing; and God forbid it ſhould be retrenched: but to permit an Army of foreign Prieſts to invade us, and to corrupt the minds of Proteſtant Subjects, is another; and our Laws prohibit it very wiſely. But what ſignify Laws, when the Execution of them lies aſleep? Let me not be miſunderſtood. Far be it from me to wiſh that the Government ſhould go the length of all the cruel intolerant Statutes of Elizabeth, and James the Firſt. I mean only ſuch to be put in Force, and in the gentleſt Manner, as would prevent the Increaſe of Popery.

There have been indeed for ſome time, ſo many apparent ſigns of an approaching Diſſolution of the religion and liberties of this Country, and we are haſtening ſo faſt to our deſtruction, by a general luxury and corruption, by ſelfiſhneſs and depravity, that it is much perhaps to be doubted, whether any thing will awaken our Superiours from their Lethargy and Inattention. But a Lover of his Country cannot ſee this ſtate of things with an eye of indifference; and the greater is its danger, the more he will exert himſelf to preſerve it. The opinion, I know, is out of faſhion, and the Man who avows it in this age of ſelfiſhneſs, is in no little hazard of paſſing in the world for a Bubble. But however, in defiance of this Profligacy, and tho' the way to honours and preferments lies through a leſs painful road than that of Zeal and Application in the public ſervice, yet I will dare to repeat what I have ſaid in another place [*], "that the Service of our Country, is not a chimerical, but a real Duty; and that a Benevolent Man will employ all the means that are in his power to perform it." A Senſe of this Duty therefore came in aid of other conſiderations, and was the principal Motive that induced me to give this hiſtory to the world.

But as another reaſon for undertaking it, I muſt inform the Reader, that the Materials for it were All, either already in my own poſſeſſion, or eaſily within my reach without any great Trouble; and—which was not the caſe in continuing the General Hiſtory—without any Expence. Beſides the extracts that I had taken from authentic Manuſcripts at Dublin, I have the original return of the Depoſitions ſigned by the Commiſſioners, who were appointed to examine into the Maſſacre at the beginning of the Rebellion: which, as it gives a Clearneſs and Authority that had hitherto been wanting on this conteſted point, it muſt be owned, I was unwilling ſhould be loſt entirely to the world. I had alſo the advantage of Lord Clanricarde's Memoirs and Letters, publiſhed too late for other Hiſtories to make uſe of: and it was eaſy to have recourſe to the Harleian Manuſcripts in the Muſeum, in which are ſome original Letters on this Subject from Charles the Firſt. More important ſtill perhaps than any of theſe, I had the peruſal of the Memoirs of Rinuccini, the Pope's Nuncio in Ireland at the time of this Rebellion. He had preſerved the copies, and the anſwers, of his own letters to Rome, the accounts ſent him of the ſeveral events as they fell out, and the papers and memorials which paſſed between him and the Supreme Council of the Catholicks. Theſe were put into the hands of an Iriſh Prieſt after the Nuncio's death, by his Brother the Chamberlain to the

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[*] Dedication of the Life of Sr. Tho. Moore, 1758.

Great Duke of Tuſcany, in order to be reduced into the form of a narrative, or Commentary; and ſuch it is entitled. It is a Latin Manuſcript in four immenſe volumes in Folio; and appears to be written with candour, and a ſtrict regard to the materials: but I have made no uſe of thoſe, which relate to the times in which the Nuncio himſelf was not in Ireland; as being of no certain authority. The original Manuſcript, I have been informed, is in the Pope's library in the Vatican: the copy above-mentioned was procured by the late Earl of LEICESTER in his travels: and through the friendſhip of the Earl of BESSBOROUGH, and a zealous attention to his Country, I was favoured with the Manuſcript by the Counteſs of LEICESTER; to both whom I take the liberty of making a public acknowledgment, for the embelliſhment and authority which it hath given to this work. No other Engliſh Writer appears to have ſeen theſe Memoirs, except MR. CARTE, and DR. BIRCH: the former hath made a very partial uſe of them; and the latter confines himſelf to a few tranſactions of the King and Lord GLAMORGAN with the Nuncio and the Rebels. Theſe Memoirs however bring to light ſo many ſecret affairs of the Catholicks in that period—to ſay no more—that it is impoſſible for any hiſtory of the Iriſh Rebellion to be complete, without the aſſiſtance of this Manuſcript. Having thus juſtified myſelf, I hope very fully, for not continuing the General Hiſtory of Ireland, as I had propoſed to do, and for taking up only a Part of it in the following work, it is neceſſary now to give ſome account of it, and of the manner in which I have attempted to execute it with ſucceſs.

It will be difficult perhaps to find, in any Age, and in any Nation, a Hiſtory which abounds with ſcenes of more variety and intrigue, or with events that are more intereſting, than are to be met with here. But of the Work itſelf I ſhall ſay no more, than that it is full of ſuch enterpriſes, as will afford an inſtructive, and a much unheeded Leſſon to Mankind. It will inſtruct PRINCES, to conſult the Intereſt and Inclinations of their Subjects, and not to govern by illegal and deſpotic Power. It will inſtruct the MINISTERS of Princes, that their own Paſſions, Faction, and Ill-humour, will produce as much Miſchief to the Public Peace, and the Security of their Maſter, as the moſt open Villany. It will inſtruct the PEOPLE, not to ſuffer and aſſiſt the Folly, the Frowardneſs, the Pride, and Ambition of particular perſons, to govern the Public Underſtanding, and the venom of Private Intereſt to be mingled with the Public Good. Theſe will appear to have been the means which Providence permitted, to infatuate a people ripe and prepared for their deſtruction: and by ſuffering the Weak to contribute to the ill deſigns of the Wicked, and the Wicked to be more wicked than they firſt intended, ſuch a Scene of horror and deſolation followed, as is ſcarcely to be equalled in any Country.

In order to write the hiſtory with that fulneſs, with which All Hiſtory ſhould be written to become Uſeful, the various Authorities above-mentioned, manuſcript and printed, and others not mentioned, were conſulted in compiling it. The Reader will find them in the margin, at the head of each reſpective Book to which they belong: and as the ſeveral Years are diſtinguiſhed, a particular reference to the Pages was deemed unneceſſary. But for the copies of Public Papers, or the proceedings in Parliament, the Names of the Writer from whom they are taken are placed againſt them. The principal ſource of the Printed Materials for this work, was found in the Life of the Duke of ORMONDE by MR. CARTE; in which he hath treated ſo copiouſly of this Rebellion, as to employ about half of two volumes in ſolio entirely on it. His account is chiefly written from the original Letters of the King and his Secretaries, of the Lords Juſtices and Council of Ireland, and of Lord ORMONDE, and other principal perſons—a Collection of which he hath alſo publiſhed in a third volume—; from the Journals of Parliament, from the Papers in the Ormonde Family, from the

Manuſcripts collected by Dr. Madan Biſhop of Clogher, and from the private Memoirs of one Plunket, who lived in that time, and was himſelf an eye-witneſs of many tranſactions which he relates. To this work of Mr. Carte's, and to the volume of original letters, I am more indebted in the following hiſtory, than to all the other Writers put together. But as his ſtile is generally very verboſe, and the parts of his ſentences not always well connected, I have not copied him ſervilely in the paſſages which I have taken from him: and where his materials are drawn from the letters, I have not written from Him, but from the Letters themſelves. Upon points of little moment where he hath been very full, and very brief, or entirely ſilent upon important points, which hath ſometimes happened, in the former caſe I have taken the liberty to leave him, and to add to him in the latter. The various proceedings of the Engliſh Parliament, though of ſuch authority and importance, are ſcarcely ever related by him; and he hath made but a ſuperficial uſe of the Nuncio's Memoirs. The Particulars of the little ſkirmiſhes and rencounters during the war, though they might be acceptable to ſome of the Iriſh, who are acquainted with the places wherein they happened, or are concerned for the honour of thoſe who ſignaliſed themſelves in them, yet to Readers in general muſt appear inſipid and inſignificant; and therefore they have been omitted. Even of the principal Battles and Sieges, the Particulars of which might be entertaining, I have given only a ſhort account; for this reaſon among others, that I was not able to underſtand the minute details that were to have been tranſcribed: And I have been told by Military Men of great rank, that without Plans of the Fortifications, of the Field of Battle, and of the Poſition of the Armies, ſuch relations, eſpecially when drawn by men of another profeſſion, are neither accurate nor intelligible.

It is very remarkable, that none of the Iriſh Writers who relate the tranſactions of this period — Lord Clanricarde excepted — obſerve the

Order of Time; which occaſions great perplexity: and though Mr. Carte is more accurate, yet he often runs into the ſame defect. A great attention hath been paid to this circumſtance in the following work: and it is hoped that it will be found to be generally pretty exact. To add to the Clearneſs which hath been thus attempted, and that the Dates of the ſeveral letters, inſtruments, or events, may eaſily be underſtood, they are altered here, where it was neceſſary, ſo as to make them correſpond with the Computation now in uſe, and that the Year ſhould begin with the firſt of January. That the proceedings of the ſeveral parties in the war, might be more intelligible than they would be otherwiſe to an Engliſh Reader, a Map of Ireland, taken from Moll, hath been prefixed. No pains indeed have been ſpared, and no endeavours wanting, to make this Hiſtory as worthy of the attention of the Publick as I could make it. But after all the care that hath been taken, the Author is not ſo vain as to ſuppoſe it is wholly free from Error. He can only ſay, that none hath been committed through Careleſneſs or Deſign; but in ſo large a work it is extremely difficult to avoid it. He hath no apprehenſion however of having the Crime of Partiality laid to his charge — and a great Crime it is: for he believes he is more likely to give offence to All ſides, by the Favour which hath been ſhewn on ſome occaſions, and by the Severity with which on others he hath condemned them All. The Bigots on each ſide, who always have been and ever will be the Plague of the Wiſe and Good, have with infinite diſſervice to truth and charity, ſtuck at nothing that would enflame the paſſions of each other with the moſt infernal rage. But a good-hearted man will always be an enemy to the paſſion and uncharitableneſs which are produced by different ſentiments in Religion: And if I am found in this hiſtory, to pay generally more Civility to the Perſons of the Catholicks, and to load their Principles with leſs Cenſure, than other Proteſtant Writers uſually do, ſurely ſuch Candour will need no Apology.

Upon the whole, If this Hiſtory ſhould induce the Irish Papists to ſee their real intereſt, in being contented with a toleration of the exerciſe of their Religion, and in abſtaining from the leaſt approaches to thoſe meaſures which brought their Anceſtors to Ruin; If it enlarges the ſentiments of the Irish Protestants, and, by giving a benevolent caſt of thought, ſhould incline them to the Repeal of thoſe ſevere and vindictive Statutes againſt their Fellow-Subjects in the reign of Anne, which are as contrary to ſound Policy as to true Religion: and If the Reflections intermixed, which have nothing of Party in them, ſhould have Honeſty and Good Senſe enough to engage the attention of the English, and awaken them from their Selfiſhneſs to a ſenſe of Duty, the Author will think himſelf happy in thus cloſing his Public Labours, with a Work of ſuch Utility to Religious and Civil Liberty, to the Peace and Proſperity of Both Kingdoms.

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EX-

EXPLANATION

OF THE AUTHORITIES

Mentioned in the Margin, from which this Hiſtory was principally compiled.

Clarendon.	THE Hiſtory of the Rebellion and Civil Wars in England, written by Edw. Earl of Clarendon Fol. And a Vindication of James Duke of Ormonde. Octavo.
Castlehaven.	The Earl of Castlehaven's Memoirs. Octavo.
Cox.	Hiſtory of Ireland by Sr. R. Cox 2 Vol. Fol.
Temple.	The Iriſh Rebellion: or an Hiſtory, &c. by Sr. John Temple. Octo. There is another Edition in Quarto.
Borlase.	The Hiſtory of the execrable Iriſh Rebellion. Fol.
Nalson.	An impartial Collection of the great affairs of State, 2 Vol. Fol. 1683. By Dr. Nalson.
Rushworth.	Hiſtorical Collections in Eight Vol. Folio. By J. Rushworth, Eſq.
Husband.	A Collection of all the public Orders, Ordinances, and Declarations of both Houſes of Parliament. Fol. 1646.
Harris.	Faction Unmaſked, &c. By Walt. Harris, Eſq. Oct. 1759.

Carte.

CARTE.	Life of the Duke of ORMONDE, and a Collection of Letters by CHARLES I. and II. &c. in Three Vol. Folio. By THO. CARTE, M. A. 1736.
Hiſt. Mem.	Hiſtorical Memoirs of the Iriſh Rebellion, Octav. 1758.
CLANRICARDE.	The Memoirs and Letters of ULICK Marquis of CLANRICARDE. Fol. 1757.
Inquiry, &c.	An Inquiry into the ſhare which King CHARLES I. had in the Tranſactions of the Earl of GLAMORGAN. By DR. BIRCH, Oct. 1747.
Nuncio's M.	De Hæreſis Anglicanæ intruſione et progreſſu, et de Bello Catholico ad An. 1641, in Hiberniâ cæpto, exindeque per aliquot annos geſto, Commentarius. A Manuſcript in 4 Vol. Folio.
LUDLOW.	Memoirs of EDM. LUDLOW, Eſq. &c. in 3 Vol. Oct. 1698.
MORRICE.	A Collection of the State Letters, and Life, of the Earl of ORRERY. By MR. MORRICE his Chaplain. 2 Vol. Oct. 1743.
M. S.	Extracts made by the Author from the Books in the Council-Office at Dublin, from the College Manuſcripts there, and from the Examinations ſigned by the Commiſſioners appointed to enquire into the Murders, &c. at the beginning of the Rebellion; in the poſſeſſion of the Author.
THURLOE.	A Collection of the Letters and State Papers of MR. THURLOE, Secretary to O. CROMWELL, in Seven Vol. Fol. By DR. BIRCH.

The Reader is deſired to correct the following very few Errors:

Page 43, line 5 from the bottom, for *freely*, read *treaty*.
P. 173, l. 5 from the bottom, for *ſhe*, read *he*.
P. 216, l. 23, for *treaties*, read *entreaties*.
P. 276, l. 5, for *commends*, read *commands*.
P. 554, l. 12, for *his* time, read *the* time.
P. 559, l. 3 from the bottom, for *tranſplant*, read *tranſport*.

BRITISH MUSEUM

THE

THE HISTORY OF THE REBELLION and CIVIL-WAR IN IRELAND.

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BOOK I.

AMIDST a general tranquillity which had been eſtabliſhed in Ireland for many years; when all former animoſities ſeemed to have been extinguiſhed, and every irritating diſtinction to have been laid aſide; that a rebellion ſhould be concerted, and without the knowledge or ſuſpicion of any but the contrivers, ſhould break out on a ſudden into acts of cruelty, in ſeveral parts of the kingdom on one and the ſame day; this is an hiſtorical event ſo very aſtoniſhing and improbable, as poſterity can ſcarcely credit: but yet the fact is undeniable. For a few interruptions and murmurings in ſome particular places notwithſtanding, almoſt forty years had paſſed away in the greateſt calm and felicity that the inhabitants of Ireland had ever before enjoyed. The great encreaſe of commerce, the improvements of land, and the ornament and advantages of public buildings, had given a new face to

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CLAREND.
CASTLEHA.
COX.
TEMPLE.
BORLASE.
HARRIS.
CARTE.
Hiſt. Memoirs.

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the country. Whatſoever their ſkill and induſtry produced became their own: being not only free from fear of having it taken from them by the government upon any pretence without their own conſent, but being alſo ſecured againſt theft and robbery by the juſt execution of ſalutary and uſeful laws.

Should it be alledged that a want of freedom in the exerciſe of their religion among the Catholicks, who were the Majority of the people, had occaſioned their diſſatisfaction, yet that diſſatisfaction, on an impartial view of the evidence on both ſides, I preſume to ſay was unreaſonable and unjuſt. For though the power and authority of the Pope is not admitted by the conſtitution of that kingdom, yet the whole nation, generally ſpeaking, enjoyed an undiſturbed exerciſe of their religion. Even in Dublin itſelf, which is the ſeat of adminiſtration, the Roman Catholicks went tho' not as publickly, yet as uninterruptedly to their devotions, as the chief governour did to his. They had their titular archbiſhops, biſhops, vicars-general, provincial ſynods, deans, abbots, friars, and nuns, who all lived freely, tho' ſomewhat covertly amongſt them, and without reſtraint exerciſed their reſpective juriſdictions. They had alſo their prieſts and jeſuits, who were of late years multiplied exceedingly from Spain and Italy and other parts abroad; whither the children of the native Iriſh were uſually ſent for their education. Theſe prieſts and jeſuits, without any reſtraint, had ſettled themſelves quietly in all the chief towns and villages, and in the Noblemen's and Gentlemen's houſes throughout the kingdom. Thus tho' it was privately, yet the exerciſe of all their religious rites and ceremonies was enjoyed freely without any controul: and tho' there were ſome laws againſt them ſtill in force, which the wiſdom and neceſſity of former ages had cauſed to be enacted, and which the policy of the preſent times had kept unrepealed, yet the edge of thoſe laws was ſo totally rebated by the lenity of the government, that not a ſingle man could ſay that he had ſuffered any prejudice or diſturbance for his religion: nor was this all their indulgence. The Roman Catholicks were allowed to enjoy the offices of ſheriffs of counties without the oath of ſupremacy, to have ſeats in parliament, and to be magiſtrates of corporations: which is another kind of indulgence, it muſt be owned, than ſubjects who profeſs a different faith from that which is eſtabliſhed by law can boaſt of in any other country in the world. I will go further than this and ſay, without any fear of contradiction, that it was another ſort of indulgence than they ſhould have had: there being no propoſition more ſelf-evident, than that no man ought to be truſted with any ſhare of power under a government, who, to act conſiſtently with himſelf, muſt endeavour the deſtruction of that government: and to this indulgence perhaps may be attributed a great deal of the miſchief which enſued.

The ancient animoſities of the native Iriſh againſt thoſe of Engliſh deſcent, ſeemed in appearance to be extinguiſhed by frequent inter-marriages and alliances, by mutual intereſts and friendſhips, and, which is more in their eſteem, by goſſipred and foſtering; cuſtoms, which the reader will find explained in my other hiſtory*. Nay they had made as it were a mutual tranſmigration into each others manners; many Engliſh having degenerated into Iriſh habits and ſordid ways of living; and many of the latter on the other hand, of the better ſort eſpecially, having adopted the Engliſh language, elegance, and apparel. So great an advantage did they find indeed in this intercourſe, in the improvement of their lands and manufactures, beyond what they ever knew before, that many of the landlords tho Roman Catholicks, of the old native ſtock—whom I call the IRISH, and who muſt be diſtinguiſhed from thoſe of Engliſh deſcent, whom I call the ENGLISH people of Ireland——had turned their Iriſh tenants, tho' Papiſts, out of their eſtates, and had taken Engliſh, tho' Proteſtants, in their room.

It ſhall not be concealed from the reader, that this repreſentation of the tranquillity of the kingdom of Ireland is objected to by the writers on the ſide of the Roman Catholicks. They bring particular inſtances of grievances and diſcontents on many occaſions; and eſpecially in the ſeven years preceding the rebellion under the government of the Earl of STRAFFORD. But ſhould all theſe be allowed, of which—to ſpeak impartially—many muſt be contradicted, either in themſelves, or in their extent, yet theſe interruptions are not ſufficient to overthrow the truth of ſuch a general repreſentation: and that the Iriſh had this opinion of their own felicity, ſpeaking of themſelves as a nation, is evident from the great encomiums given of his Lord-

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* Hiſt. of Ireland, Introduc. p. 96.

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ſhip's adminiſtration, but the year before the rebellion, by the Parliament; moſt of the members of which who were native Iriſh, as theſe writers allow, being Papiſts. Indeed if that Earl's adminiſtration was not without faults and errors, as it certainly was not, yet the general courſe of it was calculated to promote the peace and proſperity of that kingdom: nor would particular inſtances be wanting, were this a place to produce them, of the ſuperior figure it made under Lord Strafford's government, than it had ever made ſince it was a nation. Nay further than all this, the grievances they complained of under him, were in the ſummer before the rebellion redreſſed by the King: and therefore I return again to ſay, that in this mutual amity and comfort had the inhabitants lived together, with few and ſhort interruptions for almoſt forty years; when diſcerning ſome diſtempers which aroſe in England upon the Scotch invaſion, and the countenance which was given to thoſe people here by many leading men, the ſame ſort of jealouſies and diſcontents were tranſplanted into Ireland, and entertained and cheriſhed at Dublin. Did the Engliſh parliament accuſe ſeveral Councillors and Miniſters of ſtate upon vague and general imputations, in order to remove out of their way the perſons truſted by the crown, and whoſe wiſdom might have prevented the enſuing miſchief? Even ſo men of turbulent and ſeditious ſpirits in Ireland, impeached their Lord Chancellor and ſeveral of their Judges: and the very ſame Parliament which had paſſed an act the year before for four ſubſidies to the King, "as thinking nothing too much to ſhew their zeal and affection for his ſervice"—in the preamble of which they found the praiſe of the Earl of Strafford in the moſt fulſome ſtrains—veering about all on a ſudden with the wind from England, reduced three of the ſubſidies to a ſum ſo inconſiderable as to be ſcarce worth collecting; drew up a remonſtrance againſt the Earl as the author of their grievances and a deſtroyer of the natural freedom of their parliament; and conſpired even with their enemies to bring his Lordſhip to the ſcaffold. This remonſtrance, obtained in a forcible unparliamentary manner, and which was fuller of paſſion and party than of truth or candour, was ſent over to the King, againſt the conſent of the Lord Deputy, by a committee of four Lords and twelve of the Houſe of Commons; almoſt all of them Roman Catholicks. The King, to give them contentment, and the Lord Deputy being dead, appointed Lord Dillon and Sir W. Parsons Lords Juſtices of that kingdom; but finding the former not

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agreeable to the committee and the Engliſh Parliament, becauſe of his intimacy and alliance with the Earl of STRAFFORD, his Majeſty imprudently cancelled the commiſſion, and put SR. JOHN BORLASE, maſter of the ordnance, in the room of the Lord DILLON.

No ſooner were theſe Miniſters poſſeſſed of their high power than they endeavoured to put the government on its former footing; in order to mollify the ſharp humours which ſome of the rigid meaſures of the Earl of STRAFFORD's adminiſtration had introduced. The known laws of the land were made the ſtandard of their government; and they gave all due encouragement to the parliament then ſitting for the eaſe and accommodation of his Majeſty's ſubjects in ſome important articles. The King having given a full ſatisfaction to the committee abovementioned, by ordering them copies of all records, of all orders of council, and of all entries which were neceſſary to manifeſt and prove their grievances, and by ſeveral other gracious compliances and condeſcenſions, ſo, that he might further teſtify his reſolution to make his Iriſh ſubjects eaſy under his government, in the beginning of May he appointed the Earl of LEICESTER,—and not the Engliſh Parliament, as LUDLOW ſays—Lord Lieutenant of that kingdom. Had this Lord then gone over, which he never did, or if the King had made the Earl of ORMONDE Lord deputy, as the Earl of STRAFFORD had adviſed, it would have been happy for the Iriſh nation; as the rebellion would either probably have been prevented, or ſmothered in its birth. The Earl of ORMONDE was on the ſpot, Lieutenant General of the army, a nobleman of much weight on account of his great eſtate, his family and alliances, as well as of his temper and abilities: and had the King conſulted only his own judgment and inclination, he would have put the government of Ireland under his Lordſhip's care. But his Majeſty ſuffered himſelf to be overruled in this particular by the committee abovementioned, and by ſome of his Council here; who had prejudices againſt the Earl. When a King thus forbears to make uſe of proper perſons in his ſervice, or to put thoſe out of it, whoſe fidelity and abilities have been experienced, in order only to comply with a diſcontented party, it is a weakneſs for which his government will always ſuffer. Many proofs of this might be produced from the hiſtory of our own times; tho' they were never more

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viſible than in the unhappy reign of which I write. If this is a leſſon uſeful to Princes, it is of no leſs importance to their ſubjects; in whom it is highly criminal to weaken and diſturb the government they live under, by motives merely of prejudice or ambition. With theſe alterations in their affairs, and the Earl of STRAFFORD being removed for ever out of their way, the committee ſent by the parliament returned to Dublin. They found their two houſes, it being the latter end of Auguſt, had a few days before, by conſent of the majority, been adjourned for three months: and deſiring the Lords Juſtices and Council to iſſue out proclamations of all his Majeſty's grants and graces that they might be made known to the people, in which they were gratified, they retired with an appearance of great ſatisfaction to their reſpective houſes in the country, till the parliament ſhould meet again according to the adjournment.

In this happy ſituation of public affairs, when the national grievances were redreſſed, and a general compoſure and ſerenity was eſtabliſhed throughout the kingdom; nothing to fear from the adminiſtration, and no animoſities as to intereſt or religion appearing to ſubſiſt among them; without the leaſt pretence of a quarrel, or the apprehenſion of any hoſtility by the Proteſtants, an information was one evening given to SR. W. PARSONS one of the Lords Juſtices, that a deſign was formed by ſome Iriſh Catholicks, on the next day to ſurprize and ſeize the caſtle of Dublin; the chief ſeat of government, and in which was a large magazine of arms and ammunition: and tho' this ſcheme was defeated by this information, as will be ſeen hereafter, yet the next day, which was the TWENTY-THIRD OF OCTOBER—being the market-day at Dublin—a great number of Iriſh Catholicks, by a previous general concert in the province of Ulſter, and ſoon after in other places, tumultuouſly aſſembled together, put themſelves in arms or took dangerous weapons, ſeized all the towns caſtles and houſes there belonging to the Proteſtants which they had force enough to poſſeſs; and in a ſhort time after, with the moſt ſhocking circumſtances of cruelty that the imagination can repreſent, deſtroyed in many parts of the kingdom a vaſt number of men, women, and children, without diſtinction of age or ſex, or any other pretence of crime than their being of Engliſh deſcent, and not being Papiſts.

In the month of March before this, the King had ordered Sr. Hen. Vane, one of the ſecretaries of ſtate, to acquaint the Lords Juſtices, "with an advice that had been given him from abroad, and confirmed by "his Miniſters in Spain and other places, that there had then lately paſſed "from Spain—and it was likely from other parts—an unſpeakable number "of Iriſh Churchmen for England and Ireland, and ſome good old Sol-"diers under pretext of aſking leave to raiſe men for the King of Spain: "whereas it is obſerved among the Iriſh Friars in Spain, that a whiſper "runs as if they expected a rebellion in Ireland, and particularly in Co-"naught, Wherefore his Majeſty thought fit to give their Lordſhips this "notice, that in their wiſdoms they might manage the ſame with that "dexterity and ſecrecy as to diſcover and prevent ſo pernicious a deſign, if "any ſuch there ſhould be; and to have a watchful eye on the proceedings "and actions of thoſe who come thither from abroad on what pretext ſo-"ever." It was neceſſary to recite particularly this letter; and the reader is deſired to keep it in remembrance for reaſons that will appear. But whatever wiſdom or dexterity thoſe Lords Juſtices might be poſſeſſed of, there is no account in any of the hiſtories of that time, that they took any ſteps whatever in conſequence of this advice; and I believe it is very certain that none were taken.

An obſcure intimation of ſome ſecret practices was alſo given to them, in a letter from Sr. Wil. Cole, eleven days before the inſurrection; informing them "that he had received intelligence from people of credit, that there had of late been a more than ordinary reſort of people, and ſome of them from abroad, at the houſe of Sr. Phelim O neil in the county of Tyrone; which had bred a ſuſpicion in the minds of honeſt people, that ſomething of evil intention was then in agitation. They were the more apprehenſive, he ſays, of this, becauſe Lord Mac-Guire had been obſerved to take frequent journeys lately to Dublin, into the Pale, and to Sr. Phelim's houſe. He had likewiſe received advice, that his Lordſhip had been writing letters a whole night together lately, and had diſpatched away every man he had about him with them the next morning: and on the day Sr. W. Cole wrote this account to the Lords Juſtices, he had received an information, "that Lord Mac-Guire had appointed ſeven captains to entertain men for the ſervice of the King of Spain; of the truth of which ſervice, on account of the privacy which was obſerved, and for other reaſons, he was much in doubt." To this letter the Lords Juſtices and Council returned an anſwer; deſiring Sr. W. Cole to be very vigilant and induſtrious in order to find out the occaſion of thoſe meetings he had mentioned, and to give them intelligence of that or any other particular which he might think of ſervice to the ſtate. More than this, it is alledged in their defence, that they could not do with any propriety: becauſe if they had ſecured Lord Mac-Guire and Sr. Phelim on this ſuſpicion, before thoſe Gentlemen had given proofs of their ſedition, it would have furniſhed the Iriſh, who were ever ready to take fire, with a pretence for putting themſelves in arms. Beſides ſome were ſo unwilling to entertain any miſtruſt of the Iriſh, believing time and good uſage had worn off all ill impreſſions, that they were ſolicitous to remove ſuſpicions of them in others; "ſo that more than a circumſpect eye was not to be adviſed." Whether this is a ſufficient vindication of the inactivity of the Lords Juſtices and Council,—which is much to be doubted—it is impoſſible at this diſtance of time, without knowing all the circumſtances, to determine. But yet it muſt be owned, that it is much eaſier to decide now from the accidents and occurrences that have happened what ought then to have been done, than it was at that time to have foreſeen by what means this conſpiracy would grow up into ſo much ſtrength. It is certain however that on the twenty-firſt of October, two days before the breaking out of the rebellion, Sr. W. Cole ſent another letter to the Council to give them notice of it; and it is as certain, according to Sr. John Temple, who was one of them, that thoſe letters never came to their hands: tho' he does not pretend to ſay how, or where, they were intercepted.

Having given the reader a view of the ſtate of public affairs in Ireland for ſome time previous to the inſurrection, it may be neceſſary for the better underſtanding this point of hiſtory, to lay open the CAUSES and OCCASIONS of an event ſo little expected, and ſo very aſtoniſhing and important in itſelf, as well as dreadful in its effects. I have propoſed to aſſign the Occaſions of this rebellion, beſides the Cauſes of it; tho' no writer that I have ſeen makes any diſtinction between them, but ſome of them put the latter before the former; and yet I muſt own they appear to me to be very different things in themſelves, and likewiſe in the order of time. But to ſpeak of the cauſes of this inſurrection with any preciſion, it is expedient to take the hiſtory a good deal higher up than I have hitherto done, even at the Engliſh conqueſt. From that æra there commenced two different ſorts of people in the ſame country, totally different in nation, intereſt, manners, laws, language, and diſpoſition. If the Engliſh looked upon themſelves as the conquerors of the others, as the more civilized poliſhed people, and ſuperior to them in the arts of life; the Iriſh looked upon them as their mortal enemies, who had invaded their country without any juſt cauſe of hoſtility, who had plundered their effects, deprived them of their eſtates and liberties, and whom it was reaſonable to oppoſe by ſkill and force whenever they had an opportunity, that they might be reſtored to their own poſſeſſions. Whoſoever has red, or will give himſelf the trouble to read, the hiſtory which I have publiſhed in a former volume, will find the native Iriſh to be a very fierce, high ſpirited, and iraſcible, if not a vindictive people; who would doubtleſs therefore watch every occaſion to get rid of their unjuſt uſurpers. The diſtinction of NATIONS was for this reaſon ſo carefully kept up on the ſide of the Iriſh, that no laws nor allurements could for many ages perſuade them to part with their language, their habit, or the moſt barbarous of their cuſtoms: and when they afterwards appeared to be in a manner reconciled to the Engliſh government and laws, yet, generally ſpeaking, they ſtill entertained inwardly an inextinguiſhable antipathy to the Engliſh name and nation.

To a difference of NATION, muſt be added as another cauſe of this rebellion, a difference of INTEREST, which had occaſioned animoſities from the very firſt ſettlement of the Engliſh in that iſland. Having a jealouſy that they were looked upon by all their Monarchs and their Governors in general as a conquered people, this jealouſy made them imagine that they were ſeldom or never treated like freeborn or natural ſubjects; and perhaps it was not always a matter of imagination only. My preſent deſign however does not lead me to enter into particulars. Let it ſuffice only to ſay, that in the rebellion of TYRONE under JAMES the Firſt, a great part of ſix counties, in the province of Ulſter, were forfeited to the Crown, and

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new planted; as many of their lands had been before: But yet theſe forfeitures were never acknowledged by the Iriſh to be juſt; and as many of the new ſettlers were brought from Scotland, which they diſliked more than England, it aggravated their imagined injury: And therefore they thought, that in the ſame way by which they loſt their liberties and eſtates—by ſuperior force—they were entitled to recover them whenever they ſhould be able. But to put it out of doubt that this was one of the cauſes of this rebellion, I will give the reader Lord CASTLEHAVEN's opinion in his own words; a man of ſenſe and candour, a Roman Catholick, and a General in this rebellion on the ſide of the Iriſh. "I muſt confeſs, I myſelf am now, as I have been long ſince, upon ſerious reflexions abundantly convinced, that however the circumſtances of this time [meaning the troubles in Scotland] gave life and birth to that rebellion of Ireland, yet the deſign of it had been laid partly at home, but chiefly abroad in foreign parts, even ſeveral years before the troubles either of England or Scotland began; and that the original, true, and great motive indeed thereof, was no other than that fatal one, which for ſo many hundred years, from HENRY II. to the beginning of King JAMES's reign, had been not only the very ſource of all the dangerous rebellions of that country, but the very bane and ruin of its people on all ſides for ſo many ages; the national feud, I mean, between the MERE Iriſh—as the ancient Mileſians are called—and the LATER Iriſh, or colonies of Engliſh extraction among them; and the unalterable perſuaſion of the former that the Engliſh conqueſt of that country was but mere uſurpation without any juſt title; and that the right both to the ſupreme ſovereignty and proprietorſhip too of all the lands of Ireland, ſtill remained according to the ancient Brehon laws of that country——which, ſay they, had never been repealed or antiquated, and conſequently alſo according to the laws of GOD—in the ſurviving heirs of the more ancient natives, the Mileſians †. It is true that forty years continual and flouriſhing peace in all obedience to the Engliſh laws there, from the laſt of Queen ELIZABETH to ſixteen hundred forty-one, ſeemed to carry a fair outſide, as if all thoſe national animoſities and pretences had been utterly extinguiſhed. But alas! the old leaven ſtill fermented inwardly of

† The Mileſians, and the Brehon laws, are explained in the former volume.

one ſide, and among that ſide the fire was but covered under hot embers. The Earls of Tyrone and Tirconnel, and the councils of Spain and Rome, and the Iriſh monaſteries and ſeminaries in ſo many countries of Europe and very many of the Churchmen returning home out of them, and chiefly the titular Biſhops together with the Superiors of regular orders, took an effectual courſe under the ſpecious colour of religion, to add continually new fewel to the burning coals and prepare them for a flame on the firſt opportunity; which, whoever did not ſee in the beginning of this rebellion—as many did not—by obſerving what extraction, or what names all the firſt appearers in it were of; and how particularly of the whole hundred that were deſigned for ſeizing the caſtle of Dublin there was not ſo much as one perſon of Britiſh blood, extraction or name, among them, might nevertheleſs, and without the help of a multiplying glaſs, moſt clearly ſee it in the procedure of the war."

But another, and perhaps the moſt prevalent cauſe of all which generated this rebellion, was the difference of Religion; and this is the cauſe avowed by the Catholicks themſelves who took up arms, as the reader will preſently ſee. I ſhall now however recall to his remembrance, as a proof of it, what Sr. Hen. Vane writes to the Lords Juſtices; "that his Majeſty had received advice that there had lately paſſed from Spain—and it was likely from other parts—an unſpeakable number of Churchmen into England and Ireland, and that a whiſper run among the Iriſh Friars in Spain, as if they expected a rebellion in Ireland." This of itſelf is a proof ſufficient to convince us, that an intention to reſtore the free and unlimited exerciſe of their religion was one great cauſe of this rebellion: and to ſay the truth, they had never ceaſed from the time of the reformation to encroach on the toleration that was allowed them; but by plots, conſpiracies, and inſurrections, had been ſtruggling againſt the Proteſtant religion, and labouring to overthrow it. Nor can we wonder; when they were taught ‡, "that the Pope was by divine right univerſal Monarch and Governor of the world, and had independent Sovereign authority over Kings and ſubjects in temporal as well as ſpiritual concerns; that he might deprive and dethrone Kings, and had power of both ſwords, to which every ſoul upon

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‡ Walſh's Remonſtr. pref. p. 6, 7.

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pain of damnation was bound to give obedience; that he had power to abſolve from all oaths, and that thoſe who are ſlain in the quarrel of the Church againſt an excommunicated prince die true martyrs to CHRIST, and their ſouls flie to heaven immediately." Thus the titular Biſhop of FERNES of that time, ſpeaking of this rebellion, calls it "a juſt and moſt holy war." But to ſay nothing of the peculiar ſpirit of Popery, which from the hiſtory of all nations we know to have been always zealous and ſometimes fiery and vindictive, it is no wonder that the Iriſh prieſts, who have an abſolute power over the ignorant ſuperſtitious multitude, and no little influence over the gentry of their communion, ſhould be continually ſtruggling for the eſtabliſhment of their religion. They were always educated abroad, but principally in France and Spain; from whence they returned with principles of unlimited obedience towards the Pope, and with too little ſenſe of that allegeance which was due to their rightful Sovereign, though of a communion different from themſelves. Thus they had ſet up an eccleſiaſtical juriſdiction, which they exerciſed under the papal authority, though in expreſs contradiction to the law of the land: and though the ſtate connived at this offence, and at their celebrating religious rites according to their conſcience in a modeſt private manner,—as it is to be hoped it ever will do—yet to thoſe who had ſeen the pomp and ſplendour with which their religion was exerciſed in foreign parts, and which they longed to ſee reſtored at home, this was a toleration by no means ſatisfactory and agreeable. The figure and grandeur in which foreign prelates appeared, the great reſpect paid to the inferior clergy, and the certain revenues appropriated to them abroad, theſe were circumſtances which made them uneaſy with their own condition in Ireland; where they could not with prudence appear openly, and their character was conſequently without public reſpect; and where even their ſubſiſtence, ſcanty as it was, was abſolutely dependent. But yet the deſire of an alteration, natural enough to a clergy thus educated, zealous for their religion, and mortified with their diſtreſſes, was however of ſuch a nature, that they could not hope to ſee it gratified in a parliamentary way, which had been tried with ſucceſs in other caſes. In order to obtain ſuch an alteration as would make them happy, ſo great a ſacrifice muſt be made of the King's prerogative and the eſtabliſhed church, as would alienate the minds of all his Proteſtant ſubjects,

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and involve his dominions in anarchy and confuſion. No hope therefore remained of procuring any redreſs by the Parliament or the Crown; and if they expected any relief it muſt be in the way of arms. The converſation of the Iriſh prieſts abroad, where the character of being ſufferers for their religion made their acceſs to great men very practicable, and where ſeveral of them had been enabled to cultivate an intereſt with the Miniſters of State in thoſe countries, gave them opportunities of ſolliciting ſupplies of men and money to re-eſtabliſh their religion in Ireland: and in taking theſe opportunities, it is plain, from the hiſtory of thoſe times, that they had not been idle. Nor is the zeal for this work of maintaining the Popiſh religion in Ireland to be aſcribed only to their Clergy. For as another proof that this was one of the Cauſes of the rebellion, I ſhall give the reader a letter, which I copied from the Manuſcripts belonging to the Dublin Society, with which they favour'd me, taken from the "Black Book of Chriſtchurch." The letter was written at Rome by the then Biſhop of Meath to the great O Neil of that time, by order of the college of Cardinals, and is in theſe words.

My Son O Neil,

Thou and thy fathers were all along faithful to the mother church of Rome. His holineſs Paul, now Pope, and the council of the holy Fathers, have lately found out a prophecy there remaining of one St. Latesianus an Iriſh biſhop of Caſhel; wherein he ſaith, "that the mother church of Rome falleth when in Ireland the catholic faith is overcome." Therefore for the glory of the mother church, the honour of St. Peter, and your own ſecureneſs, ſuppreſs hereſy in his holineſs's enemies; for when the Roman faith there periſheth, the See of Rome falleth alſo.. Therefore the council of Cardinals have thought fit to encourage your country of Ireland as a ſacred Iſland; being certified whilſt the mother church hath a ſon of worth as yourſelf, and of thoſe that ſhall ſuccour you and join therein, ſhe will never fall, but have more or leſs a holding in Britain in ſpite of fate. Thus having obeyed the order of the moſt ſacred council, we recommend your princely perſon to the holy Trinity, to the bleſſed Virgin, St. Peter, and St. Paul, and all the heavenly hoſt, Amen.

Romæ 4 Kalen.
Maii 1538.

Epiſcopus Metenſis.

When it is conſidered that the church of Rome is poſſeſſed of ſuch a prophecy, and that they place ſo great a confidence in it, we may be ſure that to whatever other cauſes an inſurrection in Ireland may be aſcribed, the reſtoring the Popiſh religion to its ancient ſplendor, will be always one of the chief. Tho' the hiſtorians therefore are uncertain, where, and in what manner, the firſt plotting of the rebellion in ſixteen hundred forty one was fabricated, neither hath time the great diſcoverer of truth brought it to light, yet that it was a machination of Popery, either in Ireland or [illegible] and brought to maturity by thoſe vigilant and induſtrious emiſſaries who [illegible] continually ſent about by the holy See, the reader, in my opinion, hath had ſufficient proof.

Having thus traced the Causes which gave birth to the deſign of a general inſurrection, that was intended to extirpate the Proteſtants and their religion out of Ireland, I ſhall now ſet down the Occasions which brought this deſign into action; into arming the Roman Catholicks againſt the State, and to the exerciſe of ſuch cruelties as are abhorrent to human nature. The firſt and principal Occaſion, and which gradually brought on all the reſt, was the ſucceſs which the Scots met with in their firſt invaſion of England, and the favourable terms that they got from the King. The Iriſh ſaw that the Scots, by pretending grievances and taking up arms to get them redreſſed, had procured whatever eſtabliſhments they propoſed in their own kingdom; and, "to the eternal diſgrace of the courage, conſcience, and the old honour of the Engliſh nation"—ſays Lord Clarendon—that a donative of three hundred thouſand pounds, beſides five and twenty thouſand pounds a month during their ſtay, had been voted them by parliament as a recompence for their hoſtile inſolent undertaking. No wonder that a ſucceſs like this, ſo wholly unbecoming the ſpirit of the King and kingdom of England, ſhould animate the ſeditious diſcontented Iriſh to execute a deſign for which they wanted only a convenient opportunity. That in fact however this rebellious inſult of the Scots, and the advantages they derived from it, had ſuch an effect with the native Iriſh, is evident from the examination of O Conolly, who gave the firſt information of their deſign; and who ſays that they engaged in it, "to be rid of the tyrannical government that was over them, and to imitate Scotland who by that courſe had enlarged their privileges."

The example of Scotland, in truth, wrought very powerfully on the imaginations of the Iriſh, and filled them with thoughts of emulation; "as deſerving full as good, if not better uſage, inaſmuch as their country was more beneficial and important to the Engliſh nation." They knew the weakneſs of the government and the diſtreſs which the King was in, and they thought themſelves as able to overturn a conſtitution as the Scots; as ſtrong in their own country, and as likely to obtain foreign ſuccours. Nor was this the only effect of the Scotch invaſion upon the Iriſh; for the commiſſioners and officers of that army had ſo far inveigled themſelves with men of ill diſpoſitions towards the King in both houſes of this Parliament, that each other's cauſe was made their own; and a rupture between his Majeſty and the Parliament here, as well as that in Scotland, ſeeming unavoidable, the Iriſh concluded that they could never have a fairer opportunity to execute their ſcheme with a proſpect of ſucceſs; as the King would be too much engaged with theſe two diſobedient people, to give his enemies in Ireland any diſturbance. To this muſt be added that the committee of Parliament from Dublin, which had this ſummer attended with their complaints againſt Lord STRAFFORD, moſt of them Papiſts who had a great ſhare in the rebellion which enſued, had ſeen a vaſt deal of the ſpirit which was then gone forth againſt the government. They had been engaged, in concert with the leading men of the Houſe of Commons, in the proſecution of that Miniſter; and tho' enemies as to religion, might be let into the ſecret of their operations againſt the ſtate: at leaſt, Lord CLARENDON ſeems to have thought ſo; and the meaſures afterwards in Ireland till the rebellion, were ſo exact a tranſcript of the methods which the others had purſued in England, that if they were not ſuggeſted, they were at leaſt encouraged here. A ſpirit of turbulency and ſedition appears to have been the diſtemper of thoſe times; as it prevailed in France and other places as well as in the dominions of the Engliſh Monarch. But it ſeems clear to me, I confeſs, that if the Scotch army had been quelled on its firſt invaſion, as it eaſily might, and as it certainly ſhould have been, and if the officers and commiſſioners belonging to it had not been ſuffered to come to London or to remain in England, the troubles which enſued here had never happened, or at leaſt would not have been carried to the heighth they were. Nor does it ſeem leſs clear, that if the committee from the Iriſh Parliament had not been countenanced, nor per-

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mitted to remain here, and to apply as they did to this Houſe of Commons, that the rebellion in Ireland would not have been undertaken at that time, or would eaſily have been defeated. But to return.

Another Occaſion of the inſurrection of the Iriſh at that juncture, was the diſbanding of an army of eight thouſand men which had been raiſed by Lord Strafford, in order to aſſiſt the King againſt the Scots: and the old ſtanding army, conſiſting only of about two thouſand foot and nine hundred horſe, was ſo ſtrangely diſperſed into remote parts of the kingdom for the guard of forts, as to make it almoſt impoſſible to draw together in any time a ſufficient number for the defence of Dublin, or to make head againſt the rebels in the northern parts of the iſland. But the diſbanding of the army raiſed againſt the Scots gave a fatal occaſion to this dire attempt. The King perceiving there was no likelihood of making uſe of this army, not that uſe at leaſt for which it had been raiſed, and hearing that mention was often made of it very maliciouſly againſt him in this Houſe of Commons, which in concert with the Iriſh committee had addreſſed him for that purpoſe, determined to diſband it; and tho' he had no money to pay them, to free himſelf from a pretence of ſlander on that account. Rapin indeed ſays, "that the Commons had provided for their payment;" but he ſays it without authority, and it is contrary to truth *. At the ſame time that the King's orders were ſent to the Lords Juſtices, and the Earl of Ormonde his Lieutenant General, to diſband that army, he directed that any of the officers ſhould have free leave to tranſport what number of men they could prevail upon to enter into the ſervice of any Prince in amity with this State. In a ſhort time after, upon the earneſt entreaty of the Spaniſh ambaſſadour, his Majeſty conſented that four thouſand ſoldiers of that army might be ſent into Flanders for the ſervice of the King of Spain; and if any of them deſired it, that they might be allowed to tranſport themſelves into France. This was no ſooner known, than the Engliſh Houſe of Commons, who had nothing at all to do with it, "interpoſed with their accuſtomed confidence and diſtemper"—ſays Lord Clarendon—to beſeech his Majeſty to revoke his licence; and by ſlight and impertinent reaſons boldly urged and

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* Carte's Life of Ormond. Vol. I. p. 134.

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inſiſted on, as they did in every thing elſe, prevailed with the King to inhibit the tranſporting any of theſe ſoldiers out of that kingdom for the ſervice of any Prince whatever. Many were of opinion at that time, that this activity in a buſineſs of which they had not the leaſt cognizance, proceeded from the inſtigation of the French Miniſter, who certainly fomented thoſe humours out of which the public calamities were engendered; and ſeveral affirmed on their own knowledge, that the honeſt upright patriot Mr. Pym had five thouſand pounds for preventing that ſupply for the King of Spain. Others believed that this interpoſition proceeded only from the proud and petulant ſpirit which then governed, in order to leſſen the King's reputation, and to croſs him in the exerciſe of the regal power. There was probably a foundation for all theſe opinions, and there might be ſome truth in all of them: but the principal motive to this interpoſition, according to the noble hiſtorian abovementioned, was the advice and requeſt of the committee of Parliament from Ireland, whoſe counſel, he ſays, was always followed in what concerned that kingdom. Be this as it might; it is certain that the public reaſons alledged for this conduct of the Engliſh Parliament relating to that army, and drawn from mere poſſibilities only, were trifling and impertinent: and if theſe men had not been kept at home at a time when this turbulent ſpirit was infuſed into the people of Ireland, there would either have been no rebellion then in that kingdom, or the rebels would not have been able to form an army, and muſt eaſily have been ſuppreſſed by the firſt regular troops that ſhould be ſent againſt them.

Next to the breaking up of this army and detaining them in the country, it was an Occaſion of the rebellion of no ſmall conſideration, that the Earl of Strafford himſelf was taken out of the world. Had that Lord been living in his poſt of Lord Lieutenant, the Iriſh durſt not have put their deſign in execution. Neither the King nor the kingdom would have ſuſtained any material damage if they had been ſo hardy as to have attempted it; "but the monument of their preſumption and their ſhame would have been raiſed together." For the Earl of Strafford was too brave, too vigilant, and too high ſpirited a ruler not to have cruſhed ſuch an inſurrection in its birth; and their knowledge of this was no doubt one of the reaſons, why the committee of Parliament—moſt of whom it appears from evidence had been privy to the deſign—ſtole out of the kingdom, contrary to the order of the Lord Deputy, to come hither to aſſiſt in his proſecution. But beſides getting rid of ſuch an inſuperable obſtacle in their way, they drew another encouragement to their cauſe from the execution of that faithful friend and ſervant of the King. For it led them naturally to conclude, that if his Majeſty could be driven "againſt his conſcience and his honour" to give up ſuch an able ſteady councillor to his enemies, whoſe zeal for his maſter's ſervice was his only crime, and whoſe condemnation was illegal, they might drive the King to any thing which they deſired. Indeed it was not owing to their want of craft and management, that they did not derive a further advantage from his Lordſhip's execution. For ſome of the leaders in this deſign, under a pretence that the Earl's ſervants in revenge of his fate, intended a miſchief to the Parliament which then ſate in the Caſtle, moved the houſe, and got it agreed to, that the Lords Juſtices ſhould be deſired to permit his Majeſty's ſtores of arms and ammunition there to be ſearched; and a committee, of which Lord Mac Guire was at the head, were very curious and vigilant in their commiſſion, turning over ſeveral old unſerviceable cheſts in order to find out the materials which were to blow them up. They ſaw that there were none, as the officers of the ordnance had aſſured them; but pretending not to be ſatisfied, they procured another order of the houſe to the Lords Juſtices, that they might be admitted to ſee the ſtores of arms and powder placed in other parts about the Caſtle. The Lord Juſtice Borlase, who was maſter of the ordnance, and principally concerned therefore in ſecuring the King's ſtores, being nettled at their importunity, tho' an eaſy man and not diſcerning their motive to it, gave a flat denial; informing them that the ſtores were his Majeſty's jewels which were not to be ſhewn without urgent occaſion; but that they need not be afraid, as he could aſſure them upon his honour that there was no powder under either houſe of Parliament. There can be no doubt but that their aim in this ſearch was to know in what ſtate the ſtores of ammunition then were; and that, if the arms of the army which had been diſbanded were depoſited in the Caſtle, they might know where to find them when they executed the ſcheme which was to ſurpriſe it. For it appears from the narrative of the rebel Lord Mac Guire, written with his own hand in the Tower, and which was publiſhed by authority, that the deſign of an inſurrection was contriving in the beginning of the year, tho' not brought to any form till near the time of its breaking out.

I have already taken notice, that the Catholic Iriſh writers have objected to the repreſentation made by others of the Felicity that was enjoyed in Ireland for almoſt forty years preceding the inſurrection; and I have allowed that tho' they might not be ſo quiet and happy as they might wiſh, and that there were ſome civil and religious grievances which now and then interrupted this felicity, yet they were either not confined to the Papiſts, or they were not conſiderable enough to impeach the truth of ſuch a general repreſentation. In order to acquit myſelf of that impartiality, which is the principal duty of an Hiſtorian, I muſt now obſerve further, that the ſame Iriſh writers aſſign other Cauſes and Occaſions of this rebellion than thoſe which I have given above. They aſſign "the manifold inconveniences which had befallen that kingdom on account of the enquiry into defective titles; by means of which not only their titles to many good eſtates were rendered precarious, but the poſſeſſion alſo was forcibly taken from them, to the utter overthrow of many able and deſerving perſons; who for valuable conſiderations of ſervice, or money, or both, honourably and fairly acquired thoſe eſtates." Now ſuppoſing this to ſtand in its full force, the Catholicks were not the only perſons who ſuffered from ſuch enquiry: the Proteſtants, tho' not in ſuch great numbers, were equal ſufferers with them; nor was this a general grievance throughout the kingdom. But if it was ſo great and oppreſſive as theſe writers repreſent it, why did the Parliament, in which there were many Papiſts, vote in the year before ſuch great ſubſidies to the King, and with ſuch high ſtrained encomiums on his Lord Lieutenant, in the laſt act of the Earl of STRAFFORD's adminiſtration? They declared "that their hearts contained mines of ſubſidies for his Majeſty;" and that if their abilities were equal to their deſires, "twenty ſubſidies were too little to be given to ſo ſacred a Majeſty, from whoſe princely clemency ſo many and ſo gracious favours are continually derived unto them." As to the Lord Lieutenant, they unneceſſarily inſerted in the preamble of this act, how much the people of Ireland were obliged particularly to the King, "in providing and placing over them ſo juſt, wiſe, vigilant, and profitable a governor as the Earl of STRAFFORD; who by his great care and travel of body and mind, ſincere and upright adminiſtration of juſtice without partiality, increaſe of your Majeſty's revenue without the leaſt hurt or grievance to any of your well diſpoſed ſubjects, and to our great comfort and ſecurity by the large and ample benefits which we have received, and hope to receive, by your Majeſty's commiſſion of grace for remedy of defective titles procured hither by his Lordſhip—with more of the ſame kind—for this your tender care over us ſhewed by your deputing and ſupporting ſo good a governour, we your faithful ſubjects acknowledge ourſelves more bound than we can with tongue or words expreſs." The reader muſt take notice that here was no trick of ſtate to carry ſuch a vote by a majority, and then to repreſent it as the ſenſe of the whole Parliament; but it was UNANIMOUS: and can any one believe after this, that they had any grievances which could be a ſufficient foundation for this inſurrection, when not ONE voice oppoſed this high flown compliment? Nay they were not only unanimous in their profeſſions of his Majeſty's clemency and their own felicity, but ſome of the NATIVES —moſt of whom are allowed by theſe writers to have been Papiſts—were not ſatisfied with barely conſenting to the vote, but ſaid, "that the King ſhould have a fee ſimple of ſubſidies in their eſtates on like occaſions; that it was fit to be done tho' it were leaving themſelves nothing beſides hoſe and doublet;" and with much earneſtneſs concluded, "that as his Majeſty was the beſt of Kings, ſo this people ſhould ſtrive to be ranked among the beſt of Subjects." But as a further anſwer to this pretended ſufficiency of a foundation for reſiſtance, and which is brought as an inſtance of as high a provocation as ever was offered to a free people, it may be proper to obſerve, that the enquiry into defective titles was actually ſtopped by the King, and an act ordered to be got ready to limit the claims whilſt the Committee of Parliament were in England; and therefore could not be either the Cauſe or the Occaſion of this rebellion which broke out three months after.

To as little purpoſe, in my opinion, do the ſame writers urge as another cauſe of it, "a continuation of the grievances already mentioned, and the juſt apprehenſion of others ſtill greater with which they were threatened." The firſt of theſe reaſons has been already obviated; but as they have brought as a proof of the truth of it, an extract of a letter from the Marquis of CLANRICARDE to the King, it ſhall not be concealed from the reader.

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reader. The letter was written in Ireland on the twenty-ſixth day of October ſixteen hundred forty-two; and his Lordſhip's words are theſe. "As the ſtate of this kingdom ſtands, ſuch is the ſenſe of the oppoſition given to your Majeſty by ſome faction in your Parliament, of the injuſtice done them by thoſe that govern here, and the general deſtruction conceived to be deſigned againſt the natives, that almoſt the whole kingdom are united into one reſolute body, to gain their preſervation, or to ſell their lives at the deareſt rates." Had ſuch a repreſentation been made juſt before the inſurrection, it muſt be owned it would have been much to the purpoſe for which theſe writers bring it. But whether this, which was the ſtate of the kingdom a full year after the rebellion had taken place, and by which the Proteſtants were much exaſperated, is any proof that the continuation of their grievances was a provocation to the Natives to raiſe this rebellion ſo long before, ſhall be left to the reader to determine. Nor are the Catholic hiſtorians more juſt and accurate in aſſigning as another motive to this inſurrection, "the apprehenſions of ſtill greater grievances that they were threatened with; not the leaſt alarming of which were their well-grounded fears of an invaſion of their country by the Scottiſh rebels, who they knew would give the native Iriſh no quarter, and whoſe proceedings the Lords Juſtices did ſecretly abet." The taking up arms againſt the King and his peaceable ſubjects becauſe they were afraid of ſome of his Majeſty's enemies, is a reaſon which in my opinion carries its own refutation; neither could the fears of ſuch an invaſion be well grounded in October, becauſe in the March was twelvemonth before that, the Lord Lieutenant had declared and ſignified to both Houſes of Parliament, the near and approaching danger that this realm was ſuddenly to be invaded by the Scots. The Scots had then juſt before been in arms againſt the King; and though at that time they were under articles of pacification, yet it was viſible to every one that they would ſoon be broken and the war renewed; as in fact they were. But when the inſurrection broke out in Ireland, to which the fear of an invaſion by the Scots is pretended to have been a motive, the King had granted every thing to the Scots, the negotiation of peace had been concluded, his Majeſty was himſelf actually at Edinburgh with them; and the Parliament of Scotland was at that time ſitting in great tranquillity. What proceedings then were there, or could there be, of the Scotch rebels, that the

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Lords Juſtices are ſaid ſecretly to abet and promote, when the rebellion in Scotland was quite at an end; and by what kind of conſtruction can it be deemed a proof of the Lords Juſtices ſecretly abetting the Scotch rebels, that in two months after the inſurrection they preſſed the King and Parliament of England to ſend over ten thouſand Scots—not of THEM, meaning the rebels as theſe writers ſay—under pretext of fighting againſt the Iriſh? But the ſtate of that fact, according to the authority which is cited *; is truly this. The Council of Ireland having repreſented at this time to the King and Parliament of England, " the very ill and even deſperate condition they were in, and therefore deſiring ſupplies of men, money and all kind of warlike proviſions might be ſent away with all ſpeed, declared that unleſs they received them preſently, and that in great proportions, they were not able longer to ſubſiſt, but had juſt reaſon to apprehend their own preſent ruin, and the inevitable loſs of the whole kingdom: And becauſe they conceived the levies in England could not be ſo ſuddenly made, nor the men ſo eaſily tranſported from thence into the North of Ireland, (where the rebels appeared in greateſt numbers, and had by their unparallelled cruelty towards the Engliſh done moſt miſchief) as out of Scotland, they made a propoſition to the Lord Lieutenant to move his Majeſty and the Parliament, that ten thouſand Scots might be preſently RAISED and ſent over into thoſe parts. This they preſſed with much earneſtneſs, repreſenting the very great terror the mere Iriſh had of that nation; that their bodies would better ſort with that climate, endure more hardſhip, and with leſs diſtemper undergo the toil and miſeries of an Iriſh war; and that the tranſportation would be made with much more facility and leſs charge, it being not above three or four hours ſail from ſome parts of Scotland into the North of Ireland." Let the impartial reader now determine how far the ſending for this ſuccour from Scotland can be urged as a proof of the Lords Juſtices ſecretly abetting and promoting the proceedings of the Scotch rebels before the inſurrection broke out in Ireland. But after all, the pretence of grievances is a mere fallacy intended to cover over or to juſtify the real end and deſign of this inſurrection; which a man muſt be blind if he does not ſee, and extremely partial not to acknowledge. For whatever

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* Temple's Ir. Rebel. p. 263, 4. Octo. Edit.

interruptions had been given to their tranquillity, they were given by the government; and ſuppoſing the Iriſh to have been oppreſſed with grievances, the legal and conſtitutional means of redreſs was by Parliament; a method which they had tried, and tried with ſome ſucceſs; and their grievances were almoſt all redreſſed, or in a way of being ſo in a few weeks. But let their objections to the government be what they might, there were no animoſities among the people towards each other, that could occaſion a reſolution of extirpating the Proteſtants in the helliſh manner in which they attempted it. Why were the innocent people, who had entertained them with great demonſtrations of love and friendſhip, to ſuffer all the cruelties which the moſt fertile imagination can conceive, if nothing more was intended than to redreſs their grievances from the government? Their deſign was evidently, as it will appear in the progreſs of this work, to root out and deſtroy all the Britiſh and Proteſtants that were ſettled in Ireland, to reſtore their religion to its ancient ſplendour, and to deliver themſelves from the ſubjection under which they had been held for ſo many ages by the Engliſh nation. Though it muſt be allowed that it is not the buſineſs of this hiſtory to anſwer all that is advanced contrary to it by the Catholic Iriſh writers, but to relate the facts and tranſactions as they appear on a compariſon of the authors on both ſides, yet it is the duty of an Hiſtorian to appear impartial as well as to be ſo: And as an account of the motives to this rebellion which is given by thoſe writers, and given within a few years †, is ſo different from the cauſes and occaſions of it that I have aſſigned, it ſeemed neceſſary that I ſhould be thus particular in the refutation of it; not only to ſupport the truth of the hiſtory which has been related, but alſo, as theſe are writers of moderation and ability, to avoid the imputation of partiality and my want of candour. In other particulars which may follow, I ſhall not hold myſelf obliged to interrupt the thread of the ſtory, and to treſpaſs on the reader's patience, by ſo minute a diſcuſſion; but ſhall eſteem it ſufficient in the general to weigh their evidence impartially, and to admit or reject it as it appears to be true or falſe.

The reader has now before him the beſt and faireſt account that can be collected of the Cauſes and Occaſions, the Motives or Provocations, which led to this extraordinary and ſurpriſing inſurrection: and it may be proper and uſeful to enlarge the digreſſion yet further, before I proceed with the hiſtory, in giving a deſcription of the firſt contrivers and the principal actors of the tragic ſcene which is to follow. Theſe characters, which are chiefly taken from the life of the Duke of Ormonde, Mr. Carte ſays he borrowed from a manuſcript collection of one Plunket's, who lived at that time, and "which is compiled with great temper, modeſty, candour, and regard to truth." It is the opinion of ſome hiſtorians, taken up from the confeſſion of two or three of the rebels, that the Lords and Gentlemen of the Pale,—which comprehends the county of Louth in the province of Ulſter, and the counties of Dublin, Meath, and Kildare in the province of Leinſter ‡—though they did not appear publickly in it, were the firſt that were engaged in this conſpiracy. But notwithſtanding the teſtimony of ſome of the rebels ſeems to lean that way, yet it is very far from being clear that any other certainty can be drawn from it, than that they were privy to it, and gave it encouragement before it broke out into action. It is queſtioned indeed by ſome, whether the deſign was ever propoſed directly to any of the Lords and Gentlemen of the Pale, becauſe they had always been enemies to the native Iriſh, and were therefore not likely to join with them in an enterprize for the ruin of the Engliſh intereſt. They were alſo, it is ſaid, under the influence of ſome principal Lawyers, who though an active ſet of men for the redreſs of grievances in a parliamentary way, are yet averſe to war in which their profeſſion is of no uſe: and whatever eſteem their perſons might be held in on account of their gravity, and the opinion which was entertained of their knowledge and wiſdom, yet they could not propoſe any advantage to their fortunes in the ſubverſion of the laws and government. But all this fine ſpeculation is deſtroyed by the Lords and Gentlemen of the Pale going as great lengths as any of the ancient Iriſh in this rebellion in a ſhort time after; which, if this reaſoning had held good, they would not have done. There is no doubt therefore, as I have ſaid, that they were privy to this deſign, and gave encouragement to it, though for reaſons of prudence they concealed their inclinations, till they ſaw a little of the ſucceſs of the firſt projectors; and theſe are to be looked for in the province of Ulſter, which takes in all the North of Ireland.

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† A dialogue on the Rebellion pr. 1747 and Hiſtor. Memoirs of the rebellion pr. 1757.

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‡ For a further account of it, ſee the Hiſt. of Ireland, Introduc. p. 11.

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The chief of theſe firſt conſpirators in point of quality was Connor Macguire, Baron of Iniſkilling. He was the head of the clan of that name in the county of Fermanagh; and was deſcended of anceſtors who had continued loyal to the crown, till one of them revolted in Tyrone's rebellion and forfeited his eſtate. But the grandfather of the Lord we now write of, in conſideration of his ſervices to the King in another rebellion, had the grant of almoſt a whole barony in the ſame county, containing ſix thouſand four hundred and eighty acres, and a penſion for life of two hundred pounds a year. Theſe lands, with a conſiderable privilege annexed, and a penſion for life of an hundred pounds a year, were by Charles the firſt confirmed to his ſon, who was at the ſame time alſo made a Peer of Ireland. To this eſtate, and honour, Connor Lord Macguire ſucceded. But by a very profligate and luxurious way of living he became overwhelmed with debt: and being thus diſtreſſed in his circumſtances, he was ready for any enterpriſe that would probably better his fortune; and ſo of courſe was open to the temptation of engaging in this rebellion.—If hiſtory is philoſophy teaching us by example, as no doubt it is, here is an uſeful leſſon then, it muſt be owned, to the preſent age; in which luxury and diſſipation are at a greater height in theſe kingdoms than they were ever known in any age before it. Here is the inſtance of a man led by theſe means to embark in the moſt pernicious meaſures to his country and himſelf. When once we permit the cravings of vice and luxury to be ſo importunate, as to make the gratifications of them neceſſary to our happineſs, there is no knowing where we ſhall be willing to ſtop: and it is therefore a point of wiſdom moral and political, to want nothing, or rather to ſpeak more acurately, to crave after nothing however faſhionable, which without injury to our circumſtances we cannot poſſeſs.

The next, and principal agent and contriver in this rebellion, tho' not in rank, was Roger Moore Eſq; of the county of Kildare; a Gentleman of ancient and honourable extraction, whoſe anceſtors had made a conſiderable figure in that iſland before the Engliſh conqueſt. He was de-

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ſcended from the principal branch of the O Moores in the county of Leix; and by intermarriages was allied to very conſiderable families of the Engliſh race. The poſſeſſions of his anceſtors were now almoſt all in the hands of the Engliſh: and being incited by a deſire of recovering them, and of making his fortune, which was indigent enough, in ſome meaſure anſwerable to his deſcents, he firſt formed this deſign of an inſurrection, in concert abroad with the Earl of Tyrone; a ſon of the famous old rebel of that name, and at that time a Colonel in the Spaniſh ſervice. The outlines of the plot being drawn between them, tho' perhaps the firſt hint was given by others, it was the buſineſs of Moore, when he returned to Ireland, to uſe all the art and pains that were in his power, in order to draw in all the conſiderable people, both Engliſh and Iriſh, that he thought likely to be won upon, and who could be ſerviceable in the execution of his deſign. The firſt he tried to inflame with the hopes of recovering their ancient grandeur and eſtates; the laſt with the danger under which their religion ſtood with the Engliſh Parliament and the Scots; and both with the glory of being the inſtruments to reſtore the liberties of their country. Of all the men then in Ireland perhaps Moore was the beſt qualified for ſuch a purpoſe: He was very handſome in his perſon and exterior figure, had excellent natural parts, good judgment, and the talents adapted to perſuaſion; affable and courteous in his manner, and extremely agreeable in converſation: He underſtood human nature, and had a thorough acquaintance with the world; and when he wanted to inſpire any one with his ſentiments, or to embark them in his meaſures, he was never at a loſs for the proper topicks of diſcourſe to lead them into his power. In ſhort he was a man of fair character, highly eſteemed by all who knew him, and in ſo great repute among the Iriſh in general for his ſuperior knowledge and abilities, that he was celebrated in their ſongs; and it was a common expreſſion among them, "God and our Lady be our help, and Roger Moore." As full as he was of his project and zealous to promote it all in his power, he was too ſubtile to impart it to thoſe whom he thought unlikely to join in it; and for this reaſon he never opened himſelf about it to his own brother-in-law Mr. Fleming, an Engliſh Gentleman of the Pale, and of conſiderable intereſt in it: but diſcourſing of the rebellion after it broke out, the latter being greatly ſhocked at the barbarities that were committed and the deſolation that was threatened to the whole kingdom, and aſking whence the rebellion ſprung and who could be the author of it, Moore ingenuouſly confeſſed that he was the man who contrived and firſt began it; to which the other replied with an oath, that then he found himſelf miſtaken, "for he thought it was the Devil that had begun it." Whether or not Moore was ſtruck with remorſe at this rebuke, or whether his heart relented at the cruelties which he ſaw were exerciſed on the Engliſh in the province of Ulſter, it may be difficult to determine; but it is certain that he uſed all his influence to put a ſtop to them, and to eſtabliſh a regular diſcipline among the rabble which he commanded. In attempting this at the ſiege of Drogheda, where he acted as Lientenant General, he run the hazard of his life; and had it not been for Sr. Phelim O Neil's interpoſition, would abſolutely have loſt it. This rude ungovernable licentiouſneſs in a multitude, which he himſelf had been the means of ſpiriting up to this rebellion, diſguſted him ſo much as ſoon made him weary of the undertaking and drove him away to Flanders: And though after the ſupreme Council was eſtabliſhed at Kilkenny—as will be ſhewn in the following ſheets—Moore returned again to Ireland, yet he was ſo averſe to the bloody meaſures which were purſued ſo much beyond his intention, that he never choſe to draw his ſword any more in that inſurrection, and not long after died in that city; in all probability of a broken heart for the miſeries which he had introduced into his native country.—This is another inſtructive leſſon to the men of ambition and party violence; which ſhews how dangerous a thing it is to let looſe and countenance a mob, who are never to be reſtrained within the bounds preſcribed, but inſtead of being led, will controul their leaders. Therefore whatever crimes and cruelties are committed in ſuch tumultuary inſurrections muſt lie at the door of thoſe who firſt incited them; a ſenſe of which guilt ought to perſuade us,—not to paſſive obedience under tyranny, let me not be miſtaken—but ſo to govern and reſtrain our paſſions, as that our own private pique and diſappointments may not urge us to diſobedience againſt legal government, and to involve our country in confuſion in order to gratify our revenge.

Charles I.
A. 1641.

Colonel Plunket, a younger ſon of Sir Christopher Plunket near Dublin, and a great acquaintance of Moore's, was early engaged by him as another conſpirator and a principal inſtrument in this plot. Sir Christopher, by his own deſcent and by his marriage, was related to the beſt and moſt conſiderable families of the Pale; by which means his ſon had a numerous kindred and acquaintance in the province of Leinſter, upon whom he was very well qualified to make an impreſſion. The Colonel was brought over to London by his father when he was very young; and having had all the breeding beſtowed upon him which the Court of England could afford, a command was procured for him by his father in the army in Flanders, in which he ſoon diſtinguiſhed himſelf, and was preferred. He was a man of good natural parts, and of a pleaſant lively turn of wit; accompanied with a politeneſs and a natural complacency of behaviour, which made his converſation very agreeable to all who knew him. Mr. Moore's wife was Plunket's couſin german; and that affinity which produced an acquaintance was eaſily improved by the former into an intimacy and friendſhip with the latter. Moore, who was a man of depth and deſign, finding the Colonel to be very vain and an extraordinary bigot, applied ſo artfully to theſe defects and failings in his friend, as to bring him entirely into his ſentiments and to manage him at his pleaſure. To adopt indeed theſe ſentiments, beſides his civility to Mr. Moore, we find that Plunket had another motive; the diſagreeable circumſtances of his family: for his eldeſt brother had not only ruined the eſtate by ſuing for a ſhare of the inheritance to which he thought his wife intitled, but he was alſo confined in priſon for debt when the Colonel returned home from Flanders. As he was himſelf a younger brother who had his fortune to make, it was no difficult matter for a man of Moore's addreſs to perſuade him, that this could not be done ſo readily, ſo ſuitably to his merit, and on all accounts ſo advantageouſly, as by means of an inſurrection; in which his military experience would entitle him to a command of conſiderable rank, and where his ſervices would deſerve a very ample recompence.

The other chief conſpirator, and indeed the chief agent in this horrid enterpriſe, was Sir Phelim O Neil of the county of Tyrone, who had alſo a good eſtate in the adjoining county of Ardmagh, both in the province of

Ulſter; and who was the moſt conſiderable perſon of his name in that kingdom. His grandfather Sr. Henry had deſerved well of the Crown, and had a grant of the whole territory called "Gage's Country:" but being ſlain in the King's ſervice about three years after, it was found by an inquiſition taken of it, that Sir Phelim, then a minor and very young, was the next heir. Soon after he came of age, he applied to the Crown for a new grant, in which he deſired that all the lands mentioned in general terms in his grandfather's patent might be ſpecially named; and on report of the King's counſel, a new patent was granted by Charles the Firſt, veſting all thoſe eſtates in Sir Phelim, in the ſame ample manner and form which he had deſired. Thus far then he had no complaints to make againſt the government; but had obligations to it on his grandfather's and his own account. He had for ſometime reſided here as a ſtudent in Lincoln's Inn, where he profeſſed himſelf a Proteſtant; but being a man of no parts, and conſequently little improved by his Engliſh education, at his return into Ireland, if not before, he again changed his religion and once more became a zealous Catholick. With theſe mean abilities, and without conduct or diſcretion, he entered upon the management of his eſtate; and running ſoon into all the follies and extravagances of a man of faſhion, a heavy debt was contracted on it, which laid him open to any ill impreſſions which the other conſpirators attempted to make upon him. To this may be added, that the Earl of Tyrone had no children: and as Sir Phelim was the neareſt in blood, and the greateſt in intereſt among his clan, he was not only in a fair way of being at the head of his family, but of ſucceding to the title of thoſe vaſt poſſeſſions, and that abſolute power which the O Neils had anciently been inveſted with in the province of Ulſter. Flattered with theſe hopes, and with the zealous affections of his countrymen, he embarked warmly in the deſign as ſoon as it was propoſed to him; and became the moſt active, vindictive, and cruel rebel in the kingdom.—Theſe were the principal conſpirators; and it is obſervable that there is one particular, how different ſoever they were in other reſpects, in which there is a ſimilarity thro' all their characters;—the diſtreſs of their circumſtances occaſioned by vice and folly.

The ſteps which were taken by theſe conſpirators in order to execute their deſigns, are ſet forth with great exactneſs by Lord Macguire, in a narrative which he wrote with his own hand in the Tower, and which he delivered to the Lieutenant that it might be preſented to the Lords of Parliament in England. There is ſo minute a relation in it of the beginning and progreſs of the conſpiracy, of the time, the place, and other circumſtances relating to the ſeveral meetings and conſultations of the rebels, the ſubject of their debates, the reſolutions wherein they agreed, and the motives upon which they proceeded, that—long as it is—the reader no doubt will be pleaſed to ſee it at full length, before he enters upon the execution of the deſign; and it being publiſhed by authority, as well as bearing the marks of truth, it hath been ſubmitted to on every ſide as a fair and juſt account.

Nalson. "Being in Dublin Candlemas-term laſt was twelvemonth—meaning February ſixteen hundred forty one—the Parliament then ſitting, Mr. Roger Moore did write to me, deſiring me if I could in that ſpare time I would come to his houſe (for then the Parliament did nothing but ſit and adjourn, expecting a commiſſion for the continuance thereof, their former commiſſion being expired) and that ſome things he had to ſay unto me, that did nearly concern me: and on receit of his letter, the new commiſſion for continuing the Parliament being landed, I did return him an anſwer that I could not fulfil his requeſt for that preſent; and thereupon he himſelf came to town preſently after, and ſending to me I went to ſee him at his lodging: and after ſome little time ſpent in ſalutations, he began to diſcourſe of the many afflictions and ſufferings of the Natives of that kingdom, and particularly in thoſe late times of my Lord Strafford's government, which gave diſtaſte to the whole kingdom: and then he began to particularize the ſuffering of them that were the more ancient Natives, as were the Iriſh; how that on ſeveral plantations they were all put out of their anceſtors eſtates; all which ſufferings, he ſaid, did beget a general diſcontent thro' all the kingdom in both the Natives, to wit, the old and new Iriſh: and that if the gentry of the kingdom were diſpoſed to free themſelves furtherly from the like inconveniences, and get good conditions for themſelves for regaining their anceſtors eſtates, (or at leaſt a good part thereof) they could never deſire a more convenient time than that time, the diſtempers of

Scotland being then on foot, and did aſk me what I thought of it. I made him anſwer that I could not tell what to think of it, ſuch matters being altogether out of my element. Then he would needs have an oath of me of ſecrecy, which I gave him; and thereupon he told me, that he had ſpoke to the beſt gentry of quality in Leinſter, and a great part of Conaught, touching that matter; and he found all of them willing thereunto, if ſo be they could draw to them the gentry of Ulſter, for which cauſe, ſaid he, I came to ſpeak to you. Then he began to lay down to me the caſe that I was in there, overwhelmed in debt, the ſmallneſs of my eſtate, and the greatneſs of the eſtate my anceſtors had, and how I ſhould be ſure to get it again, or at leaſt a good part thereof; and moreover how the welfare and maintaining of the Catholic religion, which, he ſaid, undoubtedly the Parliament now in England will ſuppreſs, doth depend on it. For ſaid he, it is to be feared, and ſo much I hear from every underſtanding man, the Parliament intends the utter ſubverſion of our religion; by which perſuaſions he obtained my conſent; and ſo he demanded if any more of Ulſter gentry were in town. I told him that Philip Reily, Mr. Tirlogh O Neil, brother to Sir Phelim, and Mr. Macmahon were in town; ſo for that time we parted."

"The next day he invited Mr. Reily and I to dine with him, and after dinner he ſent for thoſe other gentlemen Mr. O Neil and Macmahon; and when they were come he began the diſcourſe, formerly uſed to me, to them; and with the ſame perſuaſion, formerly uſed to me, he gained their conſent: and then he began to diſcourſe of the manner how it ought to be done, of the feaſibility and eaſineſs of the attempt, conſidering matters as they then ſtood in England, the troubles of Scotland, the great numbers of able men in the kingdom—meaning Ireland—what ſuccours they were then more to hope for from abroad, and the army then raiſed, all Iriſhmen, and well armed; meaning the army raiſed by my Lord Strafford againſt Scotland. Firſt that every one ſhould endeavour to draw his own friends into that act, and at leaſt thoſe that did live in one county with them; and when they had ſo done they ſhould ſend to the Iriſh in the Low-Countries and Spain, to let them know of the day and reſolution, ſo that they might be over with them by that day, or ſoon after, with ſupply of arms or ammunition as they could: that there ſhould be a ſet day appointed, and every one in his own quarters ſhould riſe out that day and ſeize on all arms he could get in his county, and this day to be near winter, ſo that England could not be able to ſend forces into Ireland before May, and by that time there was no doubt to be made but that they themſelves ſhould be ſupplied by the Iriſh beyond the ſeas, who could not miſs of help, he ſaid, from either Spain or the Pope; but that his reſolutions were not in all things allowed. For firſt it was reſolved nothing ſhould be done, until they had ſent over to the Iriſh over-ſeas to know their advice, and what hope of ſucceſs they could give; for in them, as they ſaid, all their hope of relief was, and they would have both their advice and reſolution before any further proceedings, more than to ſpeak to and try the gentlemen of the kingdom, every one as they could conveniently, to ſee (in caſe they would at any time grow to a reſolution) what to be, and ſtrength they muſt truſt to. Then Mr. Moore told them that it was to no purpoſe to ſpend much time in ſpeaking to the gentry; for there was no doubt to be made of the Iriſh that they would be ready at any time; and that all the doubt was in the gentry of the Pale, but he ſaid that for his own part, he was really aſſured when they had riſen out, the Pale gentry would not ſtay long after, at leaſt that they wou'd not oppoſe them in any thing but be neuters; and if in caſe they did, that they had men enough in the kingdom without them. Moreover he ſaid he had ſpoke to a great man, who then ſhould be nameleſs, that would not fail at the appointed day of riſing out to appear and to be ſeen in the act, but that until then he was ſworn not to reveal him; and that was all that was done at that meeting, only that Mr. Moore ſhould the next lent following make a journey down into the North to know what was done there, and that he alſo might inform them what he had done: and ſo on parting, Mr. Philip Reily and I did importune Mr. Moore for the knowledge of that great man that he ſpake of; and on long entreaty, after binding us to new ſecrecy not to diſcover him till the day ſhould be appointed, he told that it was the Lord of Mayo, who was very powerful in command of men in thoſe parts of Cōnaught where he lived, and that there was no doubt to be made of him no more than was of himſelf; and ſo we parted."

Charles I.

A. 1641.

« The next lent following, Mr. Moore according to his promiſe came into Ulſter, by reaſon it was the time of aſſizes in ſeveral counties. There he met only with Mr. Reily and nothing was then done, but all matters put off till May following, where we or moſt of us ſhould meet at Dublin, it being both Parliament and Term time. In the mean time there landed one Neil O Neil, ſent by the Earl of Tyrone out of Spain to ſpeak with the gentry of his name and kindred; to let them know that he had treated with Cardinal Richlieu for obtaining ſuccour to come for Ireland, and that he prevailed with the Cardinal ſo, that he was to have arms, ammunition, and money, from him on demand to come for Ireland, and that he only expected a convenient time to come away; and to deſire them to be in a readineſs and to procure all others whom they could to be ſo likewiſe; which meſſage did ſet on the proceedings very much, ſo that Mr. Moore, Mr. Reily, my Brother, and I, meeting the next May at Dublin, and the ſame meſſenger there too, it was reſolved that he ſhould return to the Earl into Spain with their reſolution; which was that they would riſe out twelve or fourteen days before or after Allhallontide as they ſhould ſee cauſe, and that he ſhould not fail to be with them by that time. There was a report at that time, and before, that the Earl of Tyrone was killed, which was not believed by reaſon of many ſuch reports formerly which we found to be falſe; and ſo the meſſenger departed with directions, that if the Earl's death were true he ſhould repair into the Low-Countries to Colonel Owen O Neil and acquaint him with his commiſſion from the Earl, whereof it was thought he was not ignorant, and to return an anſwer ſent by him, and to ſee what he would adviſe or would do himſelf therein. But preſently after his departure, the certainty of the Earl's death was known; and on further reſolution it was agreed, that an expreſs meſſenger ſhould be ſent to the Colonel, to make all the reſolutions known to him, and to return ſpeedily with his anſwer; and ſo one Toole O Conolly, a prieſt, (as I think pariſh prieſt to Mr. Moore) was ſent away to Colonel O Neil. In the interim there came ſeveral letters, and news, out of England to Dublin, of proclamations againſt the Catholicks in England, and alſo that the army raiſed in Ireland ſhould be diſbanded and conveyed into Scotland: and preſently after, ſeveral Colonels and Captains landed with directions to carry away thoſe men; amongſt whom Colonel Plun-

KET, Colonel BIRNE, and Captain BRIAN O NEIL came, but did not come altogether; for PLUNKET landed before my coming out of town, and the other two after: wherein a great fear of ſuppreſſing of religion was conceived, and eſpecially by the gentry of the Pale; and it was very common amongſt them that it would be very inconvenient to ſuffer ſo many men to be conveyed out of the kingdom: it being, as was ſaid, very confidently reported that the Scottiſh army did threaten never to lay down arms until an uniformity of religion were in the three kingdoms, and the catholic religion ſuppreſſed: And thereupon both Houſes of Parliament began to oppoſe their going, and the Houſes were divided in their opinions, ſome would have them go, others not; but what the definitive concluſion of the Houſes was touching the point I cannot tell: for by leave from the Houſe of Lords I departed into the country before the prorogation. But before my departure, I was informed by JOHN BARNWELL a friar, that thoſe gentlemen of the Pale and ſome other members of the Houſe of Commons had ſeveral meetings and conſultations how they might make ſtay of the ſoldiers in the kingdom, and likewiſe to arm them in defence of the King; being much injured both by England and Scotland then, as they were informed, and to prevent any attempts againſt religion: And preſently after I departed into the country, and MR. REILY being a member of the Houſe of Commons ſtayed the prorogation, and on his coming into the country ſent to me to meet him, and I came to his houſe; where he told me that he heard for certain that the former narration of BARNWELL to me—for I did acquaint him with it—was true, and that he heard it from ſeveral there, and alſo that EVER MACMAHON, made firmly privy to all our proceedings at MR. REILY'S, was lately come out of the Pale, where he met with the aforenamed JOHN BARNWELL who told him as much; and he formerly told me moreover that thoſe Colonels that lately came over did proffer their ſervice and induſtry in that act, and ſo would raiſe their men under colour to convey them into Spain and then ſeize on the caſtle of Dublin, and with the arms there to arm their ſoldiers and have them ready for any occaſion that ſhould be commanded them; but that they had not concluded any thing becauſe they were not aſſured how the gentlemen of the remote parts of the kingdom, and eſpecially of Ulſter, would ſtand affected to that act, and aſſurance of that doubt was all their impediment. Then we three began to think how we might aſſure them help and of the aſſiſtance of Ulſter gentlemen. It was thought one ſhould be ſent to them to acquaint them therewith, and they made choice of me to come; by reaſon, as they ſaid, that my wife was allied to them and their countrywoman, and would believe me and truſt me ſooner than other of their parts; they, or moſt of them, being of the Pale: And ſo, without as much as to return home to furniſh myſelf for ſuch a journey, "volens nolens," they prevailed, or rather forced me to come to Dublin to confer with thoſe Colonels, and that was the laſt Auguſt was twelvemonth."—Meaning that immediately preceding the inſurrection.

"Coming to town I met SR. JAMES DILLON accidentally, before I came to my lodging, who was one of thoſe Colonel's; and after ſalutations he demanded of me where my lodging was, which when I told him we parted. The next day being abroad about ſome other occaſions in town, I met him, as he ſaid, coming to wait on me in my chamber; but being a good way from it he deſired me to go into his own chamber being near at hand; and then began to diſcourſe of the preſent ſufferings and afflictions of that kingdom, and particularly of religion, and how they were to expect no redreſs; the parliament in England intending, and the Scots reſolving never to lay down arms until the Catholic religion were ſuppreſſed. Then he likewiſe began to lay down what danger it would be to ſuffer ſo many able men as was to go with them to depart the kingdom at ſuch a time: Neither, ſaid he, do their other gentlemen that are Colonels and myſelf affect our own private profit ſo as to prefer it before the general good of the kingdom: And knowing you are well affected thereunto, and I hope, ſaid he, ready to put your helping hand to it upon occaſion, I will let you know the reſolution of thoſe other gentlemen and mine, which is, if we are ready [meaning the conſpirators] to raiſe our men and after to ſeize on the caſtle, where there is great ſtore of arms, and arm ourſelves. This was the firſt motion that ever I heard of taking the caſtle; for it never came into our thoughts formerly, nor, I am perſuaded, ever would, if it had not proceeded from thoſe Colonels who were the firſt motioners and contrivers thereof, for ought known to me; and then to be ready to prevent and reſiſt any danger that the gentlemen of the kingdom like thereof, and help us;

for we of ourſelves neither are able, nor will do any thing therein without their aſſiſtance. I began, according to the directions that were ſent with me, to approve of their reſolution, and alſo to let him know how ſure he might be of the aſſiſtance of thoſe of Ulſter. Then he told me, that for my more ſatisfaction I ſhould confer with the reſt of the Colonels themſelves, as many as are privy to the action; and accordingly a place of meeting was appointed for that afternoon."

"At the time and place appointed, there met Sr. James himſelf, Colonel Birne, and Colonel Plunket: and that former diſcourſe being renewed, they began to lay down the obſtacles to that enterpriſe, and how they ſhould be redreſſed. Firſt, if there ſhould war enſue, how there ſhould be money had to pay to the ſoldiers. Secondly, how and where they ſhould procure ſuccours from foreign parts. Thirdly, how to draw in the Pale gentlemen. Fourthly, who ſhould undertake to ſurpriſe the caſtle, and how it ſhould be done. To the firſt it was anſwered, that the rents in the kingdom every where, not having reſpect whoſe they ſhould be, due to the Lords and gentlemen thereof, ſhould be collected to pay the ſoldiers: and moreover they might be ſure, nay that there was no doubt thereof, to procure money from the Pope, who gave ſeveral promiſes formerly to my Lord of Tyrone—in caſe he could make way to come into Ireland—to maintain ſix thouſand men yearly at his own charge; and notwithſtanding my Lord of Tyrone was dead, yet that he would continue the ſame forwardneſs now. To the ſecond it was anſwered by Colonel Birne, that help from abroad could not fail them: for ſaid he, Colonel O Neil told me that he had, or would procure in readineſs—I do not remember which of thoſe the Colonel ſpake, or whether he ſpoke poſitive that Colonel O Neil had arms, or would procure them—arms for ten thouſand men: And moreover ſaid he, I make no great queſtion that if we ſend into Spain we ſhall not miſs of aid; for I being in London the laſt year in the Scots troubles, I was in conference with one of the Spaniſh ambaſſadors then there, and talking of their troubles then a-foot, he ſaid, that if the Iriſh did then riſe too and ſend to Spain, their meſſengers would be received under canopies of gold. Theſe laſt words he told me, and ſome one man of thoſe that were preſent privately, whoſe name I cannot call to mind;

neither remember I whether he ſpoke to them all or no: Then it was thought that when they were both in arms for the defence of the Catholic cauſe, they would be ſuccoured by the Catholic Princes of Chriſtendom. [Here is an evident miſtake in the copy, and the word "both" ſhould be omitted, it being well known that the Scots were not in arms in defence of the catholic cauſe.] To the third it was anſwered by Colonel Plunket, that he was as morally certain—for thoſe were his words—as he could be of any thing, that the Pale gentlemen would join with them and aſſiſt them. For he ſaid, I have ſpoke to ſeveral of them ſince my landing in the kingdom, and I find them very ready and willing: and withal I have at London ſpoke to ſome of the committee, and particularly to my Lord of Gormanston, to let them know his reſolution, and they approved it very well."

"All this was not done at the firſt meeting, but at three or four meetings; and ſo on the laſt meeting, it was reſolved to the laſt doubt touching ſeizing the caſtle, that Colonel Plunket and Colonel Birne ſhould undertake that taſk, becauſe they were nearer to it than any other; and alſo ſeize on the forts, garriſons, and other places where they think any arms ſhould be, and in particular Londonderry, which ſhould be undertaken by thoſe of Ulſter; and then there was a ſet day appointed for execution thereof, that was the fifth of the enſuing October—this being the latter end of Auguſt, or the beginning of September ſixteen hundred forty-one, I do not know whether—and every one ſhould make proviſion to riſe out that day. They were named that ſhould firſt ſuccour them that would take the caſtle with men preſently, namely Sr. James Dillon who did undertake to be with them within three, or at moſt, four days with a thouſand men, and ſo much more ſhould come to them out of the North. For theſe two Colonels did not intend to uſe above an hundred men in the ſurpriſal, whereof they were to have twenty good able gentlemen: for they made account that having the caſtle, they with the artillery would maſter all the town until they were relieved by men from the country: And becauſe there was a doubt how all this ſhould be done in ſo ſhort a time, they did appoint that all that were there preſent ſhould not fail to meet there again the twentieth of September to give an account of all things, as well hopes as impediments; and if on that interview all things ſhould

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happen to be well they ſhould go forward, or if otherwiſe to prolong the execution of it to a more convenient time; and ſo we parted, every man into the country about his own taſk."

"In my way home I came to Mr. Reily's houſe, and there I received a letter from Sr. Phelim O Neil, that his Lady was dead and to be buried on the Sunday following—this being on the Saturday—and deſiring me in all kindneſs to come to the burial: and Mr. Reily, having received another letter to the ſame effect, would needs have me go thither—whereunto I was very unwilling, being weary, and withal not provided to go to ſuch a meeting—as well, he ſaid, to prevent any jealouſy from the lady's friends, as alſo to confer with Sr. Phelim touching all thoſe proceedings. For neither he nor I ſpoke to Sr. Phelim concerning the matter before, but to his brother Tirloch O Neil: and coming thither we found Captain Brian O Neil lately come out of the Low-Countries, ſent over by Colonel O Neil to ſpeak to, and to provoke thoſe of Ulſter to riſe out in arms, and that he would be with them on notice of their day, the ſame day or ſoon after it; and it was aſked of the ſaid Captain what aid he could ſend or procure, being but a private Colonel, or where he could get any. He replied that the ſaid Colonel told him, that he had ſent to ſeveral places that ſummer to demand aid, and in particular to Cardinal Richlieu into France, to whom he had ſent twice that year, and had comfortable and very hopeful promiſes from them, and eſpecially from that Cardinal, on whom he thought the Colonel did moſt depend; ſo that there was no doubt to be made of ſuccour from him; and eſpecially when they had riſen out, that would be a means to the Cardinal to give aid. We did the more credit him, in regard of the former treaty between the Cardinal and the Earl of Tyrone, as formerly is ſaid. For my own part I did, and do believe, that the Colonel doth depend on France for aid more than any other place, as well for thoſe reaſons, as alſo that Ever Macmahon, formerly mentioned, told me, that preſently after the iſle of Rhee's enterpriſe—he being then in the Low-Countries—did hear for certain, that the Earl of Tyrone, together with the Colonel, did ſend into France to the Marſhall of France that was General of the French forces at the iſle of Rhee, to deal with him for procuring of aid to come then for

Ireland; and that he received an anſwer from the ſaid Marſhall, that he was moſt willing and ready to contribute his endeavours for his furtherance therein; but that he could not for the preſent anſwer my Lord's expectations, by reaſon that the King had wars in Italy, which he thought would be at an end in half a year or little more, and then my Lord ſhould not doubt of any thing he could do for his aſſiſtance: but theſe continued a great deal longer; ſo for that time that enterpriſe failed. After the burial was done, I gave thoſe gentlemen knowledge of what I had done at Dublin, and how I was to retire thither; and then they began to think how they ſhould ſurpriſe Londonderry, they being near it, but could not then agree in the manner; and ſo Sr. Phelim deſired me to take his houſe in my way going to Dublin, and that I ſhould have a reſolution to carry with me touching Londonderry; and thereupon I parted home."

" Soon after I came to Dublin to the fore-appointed meeting of thoſe Colonels; but firſt I took in my way Sr. Phelim O Neil's houſe, to be certain what he had done; and his anſwer was, that he knew that matter could not be put in execution by the fifth of October as was appointed, and that they would make another longer day for it, and he would provide for the taking of Londonderry by that day; and ſo I came to Dublin to give an account of that was done, and alſo know what further ſhould be done. I was not two hours in my lodging when Mr. Moore came to me, who knew what was done by thoſe Colonels formerly from Colonel Birne; and told me, that the meſſenger ſent to Colonel O Neil was come with an anſwer, deſiring us not to delay any time in riſing out, and to let him know of that day before hand, and that he would not fail to be with us within fourteen days of that day with good aid; alſo deſiring us by any means to ſeize the caſtle of Dublin if we could, for he heard that there was great proviſion in it for war: and Mr. Moore moreover ſaid, that that time was not to be over-ſlipped, and deſired me to be very preſſing with the Colonels to go on in their reſolution. But on meeting with the Colonels, they were fallen from their reſolution, becauſe thoſe of the Pale would do nothing therein firſt; but when it was done, they would not fail to aſſiſt us, as Colonel Plunket did affirm: and ſo by ſeveral meetings, it was reſolved on by them to deſiſt from that enterpriſe for that time, and

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to expect a more convenient time. But before that their reſolution, SR. PHELIM O NEIL, and the aforeſaid Captain BRIAN O NEIL followed me to Dublin to aſſiſt, as they ſaid, and adviſe me how to proceed with that Colonel; but neither they nor MR. MOORE would be ſeen therein themſelves to thoſe gentlemen, but would meet me privately and know what was done at every meeting; alledging for excuſe, that I being firſt employed in that matter, it would not be expedient that they ſhould be ſeen in it. Moreover they would not be known to be in town but by a few of their friends, until they were in a manner ready to depart the town; at leaſt as long as I was in town, for I left them there. But when I made them acquainted with their determination of deſiſting from that enterpriſe, they thought it convenient we ſhould meet with MR. MOORE and Colonel BIRN to ſee what was further to be done concerning the further intention of their own, and according we did ſend to them that they ſhould meet us; and on that meeting it was, where was only SR. PHELIM, MR. MOORE, Colonel BIRN, Captain NEIL, and myſelf. After long debate it was reſolved, that we with all thoſe that were of our faction ſhould go on with that determination that was formerly made, and concluded to riſe out: moreover to ſeize on the caſtle as the Colonels were purpoſed; for if it were not for their project and the advice ſent by Colonel NEIL we would never venture to ſurpriſe it: neither was it ever thought on in all the meetings and reſolutions between us before thoſe Colonels did reſolve on it; but by reaſon that the other gentlemen that were privy to thoſe proceedings were not preſent, the certainty of the time and the manner how to execute it, was put off to a further meeting in the country; and this was reſolved in Dublin upon the Sunday at night, being the twenty-ſixth or twenty-ſeventh of September, and the meeting was appointed on the Saturday following at Maccalloe, MACMAHON's houſe in Farney in the county of Monaghan: and thereupon we all left the town; only SR. PHELIM ſtaid about ſome other his private occaſions but did aſſure his being there at that day: and by reaſon that at that meeting the gentry of Leinſter could not be, conſidering the remoteneſs of the place from them, it was thought fit that MR. MOORE ſhould there meet to receive the final reſolution and ſhould acquaint them therewith; and in the mean time Colonel BIRN, who had undertaken for

Colonel Plunket, ſhould inform them of all the intention conceived, and diſpoſe them in readineſs againſt that day that ſhould be appointed."

"On Saturday I came to Mr. Macmahon's houſe; there met only Mr. Macmahon himſelf, Captain Neil, Ever Macmahon, and myſelf: and thither that ſame day came the meſſenger that was ſent to Colonel Neil, and did report the Colonel's anſwer and advice "verbatim," as I have formerly repeated from Mr. Moore: And by reaſon that Sr. Phelim, his brother, or Mr. Philip Reily that were deſired to meet, did not meet, we ſtaid that night to expect them; and that night I received a letter from Sr. Phelim, intreating us by any means not to expect him till the Monday following, for he had not, nor could diſpatch ſome occaſions nearly concerning him, but whatever became of them he would not fail on the Monday: On the next day after receipt of the letter, being Sunday, by Mr. Moore's advice we departed from Colonel Macmahon's houſe, to prevent, as he ſaid, the ſuſpicion of the Engliſh there,—many living near—to Loghroſſe in the county of Ardmagh to Mr. Tirloch O Neil's houſe—not Sr. Phelim's brother but ſon to Mr. Henry O Neil of the Fewes, ſon-in law to Mr. Moore—and left word, that if Sr. Phelim, or any of thoſe gentlemen did come in the mean time, they ſhould follow us thither; whither only went Mr. Moore, Captain O Neil, and myſelf, and there we expected them until the Tueſday ſubſequent before any of thoſe did come. On the Tueſday came Sr. Phelim, and Ever Macmahon; all the reſt failing to come. Mr. Macmahon's wife was dead the night before, which was the cauſe he was not there; but I gave his aſſent to what ſhould be concluded to therein and to execute what ſhould be appointed him: And then we five, *viz.* Sr. Phelim, Mr. Moore, Captain O Neil, Ever Macmahon, and myſelf, aſſuring ourſelves that thoſe gentlemen abſent ſhould both allow and join to what we ſhould determine, did grow into a final reſolution, grounding all or moſt part of our hope and confidence on the ſuccours from Colonel O Neil, to ſeize on the caſtle, and riſe out all in one day; and the day was appointed on the twenty third of that month, this being the fifth day of October: Having regard therein to the day of the week whereon that day did fall, which was the Saturday being the market-day; on which day there would be leſs notice of people up and down the ſtreets. Then began a queſtion who ſhould be deputed for the ſurpriſal of the caſtle; and then Mr. Moore ſaid he would be one of them himſelf, and that Colonel Birn ſhould be another, and what other gentlemen of Leinſter they could procure to join with them: And ſeeing the caſtle had two gates, the one the great, the other the little gate going down to my Lord Lieutenant's ſtables—hard by which ſtables without the caſtle was the ſtore-houſe for arms—they of Leinſter would undertake one gate, and that ſhould be the little gate; and the great gate ſhould be undertaken by thoſe of Ulſter, and ſaid he, of neceſſity one of you both—meaning Sr. Phelim and me—muſt be there for the mere countenance of the matter, it being the glory of all our proceedings; and all that his ſpeech was well liked of all preſent. But Sr. Phelim would be exempted from that employment, and ſo would I; but then all of them ſet on me deſiring me to be one, alledging for reaſon that their proceedings and reſolutions were very honourable and glorious, it being for religion, and for to procure more liberty for their country, as did, ſaid they, of late Scotland; and that in taking the caſtle conſiſted all the glory and honour of the ſaid act: all which ſhould be attributed to them which ſhould be employed therein; and ſo by conſequence all, or moſt part to be there, being, as they ſaid, the chief in that enterpriſe: and more Sr. Phelim ſaid, that he would endeavour to take, or procure others to take Londonderry the ſame day, and if he ſhould be away that place would not be taken. With theſe, and many other perſuaſions, they obtained my conſent, and then the Captain offered himſelf. They began to think what number ſhould be employed in that act, and they concluded on two hundred men, one hundred from each province, for thoſe gates which they were to ſeize on; of which number Sr. Phelim O Neil ſhould ſend forty, with an able ſufficient gentleman to conduct them, and likewiſe Captain Neil twenty, Mr. Macmahon, Mr. Reily, ten more, and I ſhould bring twenty two. Then began a doubt how they ſhould raiſe thoſe men and convey them to Dublin without ſuſpicion: and it was anſwered, that under pretence of carrying them to thoſe Colonels that were conveying ſoldiers out of the kingdom, [the copy ſays, "into," but it is evidently a miſtake] it might ſafely be done: And to that purpoſe Sr. Phelim O Neil, Mr. Moore, and the Captain, had ſeveral blank patents with deputations to make Captains to thoſe Colonels, which they ſent to thoſe that ſhould ſend men to Dublin. For the more colour, they bethought of what was to be done in the country that day; and it was reſolved that every one privy to that matter in every part of the kingdom, ſhould riſe up that day and ſeize on all the forts and arms in the ſeveral counties, to make all the gentry priſoners, the more to aſſure themſelves againſt any adverſe fortune, and not to kill any but where of neceſſity they muſt be forced thereunto by oppoſition —— and that thoſe that were appointed for taking of the caſtle ſhould obſerve — and in particular the gentry. All their army in Ulſter were to take that day Londonderry, which Sr. Phelim did undertake, and Knockfergus, which they thought Sr. Henry Mac O Neil would do; and to that end Sr. Phelim's brother Tirlogh O Neil ſhould be ſent to them; and the Newry which ſhould be undertaken by Sr. Conn Macgennis and his brothers, for whom Sr. Phelim, in regard they were his brothers-in-law — his deceaſed lady being their ſiſter — did undertake. Moreover it was agreed, that Sr. Phelim, Mr. Reily, Mr. Macmahon, and my brother, ſhould with all the ſpeed they could after that day raiſe all the forces they could and follow us to Dublin; but to arm the men, and ſuccour, and attend, and garriſon the town and caſtle: And likewiſe Mr. Moore ſhould appoint Leinſter gentlemen to ſend like ſupply of men; then there was fear of the Scots conceived, that they ſhould perſonally oppoſe themſelves, and that would make the matter more difficult; and to avoid which danger it was reſolved on not to meddle with them or any thing belonging to them, and to demean themſelves towards them as if they were of themſelves, which they thought would pacify them from any oppoſition: And if the Scots would not accept of that offer of amity but would oppoſe them, they were in good hope to cauſe a ſtir in Scotland that might divert them from them; and I believe the ground for that hope was, that two years before, in or about the beginning of the Scots troubles, my Lord of Tyrone ſent one Tirlogh O Neil, a prieſt, out of Spain (and that this I take it was the time that he was in treaty with Cardinal Richlieu) to my Lord of Argyle, to treat with him for help from my Lord for him to come into Ireland, as was ſaid, for marriage between the ſaid Earl and my Lord of Argyle's daughter, or ſiſter — I know not which; — and this meſſenger was in Ireland, with whom Mr. Tirlogh O Niel, Sr. Phelim's brother, had conference; from whom this relation was had. That ſaid meſſenger went into Scotland, as I did hear from the ſaid Mr. Neil, or from Ever Macmahon aforenamed, I know not from which of them; but what he did there I could never hear, by reaſon that my Lord of Tyrone was preſently after killed. They were the more confirmed therein, hearing that my Lord of Argyle did ſay—near to the ſame time as I gueſs, and when the army was raiſed in Ireland, as I think—to a great Lady in Scotland—I know not her name, but did hear that ſhe was much embarked in the troubles of that kingdom, and ſhe queſtioning how they could ſubſiſt againſt the two kingdoms of England and Ireland—that if the King did endeavour to ſtir Ireland againſt them, he would kindle ſuch a fire in Ireland as would hardly or never be quenched: And moreover they knew my Lord to be powerful with the Highlanders, Redſhanks in Scotland, whom they thought would be prone and ready to ſuch actions; they for the moſt part deſcending out of Ireland, holding the Iriſh language and manners ſtill; and ſo we parted."

"The next day being Wedneſday, from Loghroſſe every man went about his own taſk; and ſo when I came home I acquainted my brother with all that was done, and what they had appointed him to do; and did like according as they had appointed me ſend to Mr. Reily to let him know as much, and the eighteenth of the ſame month I began my journey to Dublin: And when I came to Dublin—being the day before the appointed day for putting that reſolution in execution there——I met with Captain Con O Neil, ſent out of the Low-Countries by Colonel O Neil, who was ſent, after the meſſenger ſent by us formerly to the ſaid Colonel was by him diſappointed of his anſwer, to encourage us in our reſolution and to ſpeedy performance, with aſſurance of ſuccour; which he ſaid would not fail of the Colonel's behalf: and for the more certainty of help from him, and to aſſure us that the Colonel had good hopes to procure aid from others, he ſaid that it was he himſelf that was employed from him to Cardinal Richlieu twice; that ſome men gave fair promiſes to aſſure the Colonel's expectations, with which he ſaid that the ſaid Colonel was really aſſured with himſelf of the Cardinal's aid; and that he was likewiſe commanded by the Colonel, upon our reſolution of the day, to give notice thereof to him, and that he would be within fourteen days over with them with aid: but he landed nine or ten days before, and meeting with Captain Brian O Neil, who made him acquainted with what was reſolved, he did write all the matter to Colonel O Neil, ſo as he was ſure of his ſpeedy coming; and ſo he and I came to meet the other gentlemen: And there were met Mr. Moore, Colonel Birn, Colonel Plunket, Captain Fox, and other Leinſter gentlemen, a Captain I think of the Birn's—but I am not ſure whether a Birn, or a Toole—and Captain Brian O Neil; and taking an account of thoſe that ſhould have been there, it was found that Sr. Phelim O Neil, and Mr. Col. Macmahon did fail of ſending their men; and Colonel Birn did miſs Sr. Morgan Cavenagh that had promiſed him to be there, but he ſaid he was ſure he would not fail to be that night or the next morning in town: And of the two hundred men there were only eighty preſent; yet notwithſtanding they were reſolved to go on in their reſolution, and all the difference was, at that time of the day they would ſet on the caſtle; and after ſome debate it was reſolved in the afternoon; for they ſaid, if they ſhould take the caſtle, and be enforced by any extremity for not receiving timely ſuccour out of the country, having them they could not want; and ſo parted that night, but to meet in the morning to ſee what was further to be done: And immediately thereupon I came to my chamber, and about nine o'clock Mr. Moore and Captain Fox came to me, and told me all was diſcovered, and that the city were in arms and the gates were ſhut up; and ſo departed from me: And what became of them and of the reſt I know not, nor think but they eſcaped; but how, and what time, I do not know, becauſe I myſelf was taken that morning."

Thus ends the narrative of Lord Macguire: and tho' I have taken the liberty now and then to alter or tranſpoſe a word in order to make it more intelligible, yet it is all in his own ſenſe and language; which, as the reader muſt have obſerved, is not very gramatically expreſſed, nor accurately connected. But long and tedious as it is, being drawn by one of the principal conſpirators, whoſe authority cannot be ſuſpected, and the facts being ſtated with as little artifice as there is ſkill in the compoſition, I thought it better to give it thus at length in its original dreſs, than to abridge it, or to change the ſtile. There is a great appearance of a ſtrict regard to truth

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throughout the whole; and where his memory does not ſerve him to ſpeak poſitively, he acknowledges the uncertainty that he is in. But this is in matters of no moment. It may be proper now, before we go any further, to make a few obſervations on ſome particular paſſages which the narrative contains; and which will help to illuſtrate or aſcertain ſome parts of the following hiſtory.

Notwithſtanding there is a great appearance of a regard to truth, as I ſaid, in this account, yet it reſpects only the facts which came within Lord Macguire's knowledge; and not the informations which he received from others, in order to encourage one another in the conſpiracy. For it is well known to thoſe who are verſed in the hiſtory of undertakings of this nature, that men have a wonderful facility in impoſing upon themſelves as well as others; and that the intelligence which they communicate contains often ſuch things as they rather wiſh might be true than ſuch as they know to be ſo. The hopes which are even grounded on mere ſuppoſitions, in the warmth of their imagination grow up into certainties; and from the effuſions of their own zeal, they conclude the part which others, who are embarked in the ſame meaſures, will take. The vanity of ſome, and the credulity of others, nay the deſign of many to keep up the ſpirit of the party by it, all contribute to work one another up to look on the ſucceſs of the enterpriſe as infallible. In the preſent caſe, this repreſentation was literally fulfilled, and truth was ſacrificed to their paſſions. In the firſt converſation which Moore had with Lord Macguire, he pretended to have ſpoken to the beſt gentry and quality of Leinſter, and ſome of Conaught: but this ſeems to have been an artifice to draw in his Lordſhip and the gentry of the province of Ulſter; becauſe in the progreſs of the conſpiracy nothing appears to have been then ſettled or conſulted with them. Of the ſame nature was his intelligence that the Parliament of England intended to ſuppreſs the Catholic religion in the three kingdoms; there being nothing done by them at that time—in February ſixteen hundred forty one—which could authoriſe ſuch an aſſertion. But it is evident from this narrative, of how great prejudice it was to the Proteſtant intereſt then in Ireland, that the army which was diſbanded had not been permitted to be ſent abroad according to the King's intention, and his engagement to the

Spaniſh Miniſter. That the majority of the Iriſh committee then in England who were Papiſts, and who, if the evidence of Colonel Plunket in this narrative is to be credited, knew at that time of this conſpiracy, ſhould make a point of detaining ſo many men trained to arms, whoſe ſervices they confided in for their grand deſigns, is no wonder. But that the Engliſh Parliament ſhould fall into this ſnare, and interfere in a matter wherein they had no concern, nor any right to interfere, nay ſhould carry their oppoſition ſo far as to declare, "that whoſoever ſhould aſſiſt in tranſporting theſe Iriſh troops ſhould be deemed an enemy to the ſtate," this can be reſolved into nothing but a determined reſolution to thwart the King in every thing; and at all events to deprive him of the exerciſe of his power, where they were not conſulted and had not given their conſent. For, great reaſon as they certainly had not to truſt him, yet their jealouſy on this occaſion was manifeſtly groundleſs; and it is very certain that moſt of theſe ſoldiers were on the ſide of the rebels.

It appears alſo from this narrative, contrary to the opinion delivered by Temple in his hiſtory, that this project was not formed by any of the Lords or Gentlemen of the Engliſh Pale; though, contrary alſo to the judgment of Mr. Carte, they had been conſulted with, and conſented to it. But it was merely a plot of the native Iriſh, to reſtore their religion to its former ſplendour, and to recover the eſtates and power of their anceſtors that were forcibly uſurped, and in their opinion unjuſtly occupied, by the Engliſh. Whatever cruelties are to be charged upon them in the proſecution of their undertaking—and they are numerous and horrid—yet their firſt intention we ſee went no further than to ſtrip the Engliſh and the Proteſtants of their power and poſſeſſions, and unleſs forced to it by oppoſition, not to ſhed any blood. But how it could be ſuppoſed that ſo many thouſand people were to be deprived of their habitations and eſtates by force of arms, againſt the laws, without making any reſiſtance, and without a general carnage, is very difficult to be conceived. The project in ſhort was conſerved to about half a ſcore perſons till almoſt the moment of execution; and in a matter as important as this, all was looſe and abandoned to the diſpoſitions of fortune, without ſubordination, without order, and without concert. The party were rendered ſanguine by their paſſions, and

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deſperate by their circumſtances; but the enterpriſe in itſelf was a mere rope of ſand, liable to be broken or untwiſted by a thouſand accidents, and if it failed in one place, no proviſion made to redreſs it, or to improve and ſtrengthen it in another. The whole foundation upon which they built this mighty fabrick of a conqueſt or revolution ſeems to have been, that when the Chiefs ſhould declare to their vaſſals a riſing out, as they called it, there was no doubt to be made but that from their attachment to the cauſe and religion of the old Iriſh, from their love of rapine, and from their mortal hatred to the Engliſh, they would powerfully ſupport their leaders; and that the old Engliſh Catholicks, when they ſaw their ſucceſs, would ſecond their endeavours for a total ſubverſion of the new Engliſh intereſt.

The ſecret, it muſt be owned, was confided to few perſons, and might have eluded the diſcovery of the moſt vigilant adminiſtration. But yet the Lords Juſtices had ſufficient intimations given them of ſome ill intentions towards the ſtate, and time enough to prevent or to provide againſt them. If according to their duty they had paid a regard to the King's advice and directions given them in March by Sr. H. Vane, they ought to have ſecured and examined the prieſts and friars who were all the ſummer following crowding into Ireland in great numbers: And when Sr. Wm. Cole informed them of ſome uncommon agitation amongſt the Lord Macguire, Sr. Phelim O Neil and others of the old Iriſh in Ulſter, tho' we ſhould allow the excuſe for not ſeizing them which hath been mentioned, which can ſcarcely be allowed, yet nothing can wipe off the reproach of their negligence and inattention, in not obſerving the motions of the Colonels and other Officers whom they were particularly charged to watch; whom there was great reaſon to ſuſpect; who, without any warrant or licence from the King, had arrived juſt before from abroad, raiſing men under foreign commiſſions and marching them to Dublin; and who had in fact ſo large a ſhare in the conſpiracy. But the Lords Juſtices owed their poſts to the governing party in the Engliſh Parliament or Council, rather than to the favour and approbation of the King; and they had not therefore that zeal and affection for his ſervice, which might naturally be expected from thoſe who were entruſted with the adminiſtration of his affairs. The dark ſide which has been given of the characters of theſe men, will prepare the reader for the ſteps which they took on the diſcovery of this conſpiracy; and by leading us to the opening of the ſcene of rebellion which we have ſeen contriving, will naturally put a period to this book.

Carte.

Sr. William Parsons, the firſt in the commiſſion and the moſt active in the exerciſe of the government, was an Engliſhman of mean extraction; and reading and writing was all the learning he had. With theſe qualifications, and about forty pounds in money, he went over to Ireland to ſeek his fortune. He began the world in that country in the ſervice of the eſcheater general; and being of a plodding indefatigable genius, and much addicted to avarice, he was ſo good a proficient in the arts of making the moſt of his employment—which is no difficult matter for a man of indifferent parts to do, in an employment which gives opportunity, and when he is not troubled with ſcruples about the ways of getting it—he ſoon grew rich. After this he married a niece of the ſurveyor general; and being employed under him in that poſt, upon his uncle's reſignation ſucceded him in it. At the death of his uncle, he obtained another place which he held as commiſſioner of the revenue; and to this was added in a ſhort time after, the place of a commiſſioner of the lands eſcheated or veſted in the Crown; by which he procured eighteen hundred acres in the province of Ulſter to be allotted him. Thus having the ſole care of the admeaſurement of the lands as ſurveyor general, and as commiſſioner a great influence in the diſpoſal of them, here was a fair opportunity for ſuch a man to amaſs an immenſe fortune; and he did not miſs it. Tho' great complaints were made againſt him with too much reaſon in both theſe reſpects, yet he had the art or the good fortune by making his court to Buckingham the favourite, at the expence of other miniſters, to retain his poſt of ſurveyor general, and to be maſter of the court of wards; of which he had been the projector. In this employment he acquired new grants of lands and manors to a very conſiderable amount; which had made him very obnoxious to all the Iriſh, and not a little diſliked by the reſt of the people. He had in his early days imbibed the ſentiments of the Puritans; and had all that gravity in his exterior which is often miſtaken for true wiſdom, of which it is only the ſemblance. Tho' he owed the poſts which had enabled him to amaſs his riches, and the grants of his eſtate, to the King's bounty, yet being ſtill as ſelfiſh and

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greedy of wealth as ever, and finding that his Majeſty's power was ſunk in that of the Parliament, he ſtruck into their meaſures, and by their recommendation was made one of the Lords Juſtices.

Sr. John Borlase had been bred a ſoldier in the wars of the Low-Countries at the beginning of that century; and was a man of a quiet eaſy nature, of no extraordinary parts, but honeſt, open, and without deſign. His behaviour in the commands which had been entruſted to him had been unexceptionable; and he had acquired a good ſhare of reputation for his military ſkill. Therefore when he returned home to Ireland, he was thought a proper man to keep up the diſcipline of that army; was preferred to a company of foot and a troop of horſe; and made Maſter general of the ordnance. Avarice was not his vice; and having made no great profit by his commiſſions, his fortune was very moderate. The genius that he had was wholly confined to his profeſſion of arms; and when he was made a Lord Juſtice, he was grown old, indolent, and inactive; giving himſelf little trouble about the exerciſe of his power, and leaving all to the managemment of his colleague.——Theſe were the men at that time entruſted with the adminiſtration of affairs in Ireland; and under theſe it is no wonder, that with other circumſtances concurring, a conſpiracy of the kind we have now in view ſhould make ſuch an aſtoniſhing progreſs as we ſhall ſee in the following book.

THE

THE HISTORY OF THE REBELLION and CIVIL-WAR IN IRELAND.

BOOK II.

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TEMPLE.
BORLASE.
COX.
CARTE.
Hiſt. Mem.
CASTLEHA.
CLAREND.

ON the twenty-ſecond of October about nine o'clock at night, MR. OWEN O CONOLLY, a gentleman of Iriſh extraction, but who had long lived among the Engliſh and been bred a Proteſtant, applied himſelf to SR. W. PARSONS as one of the Lords Juſtices, and informed him that there was a great conſpiracy then on foot for ſeizing the caſtle of Dublin the next day. He gave him the names of the chief conſpirators, aſſured him that they were now in town for the execution of their purpoſe, and that he had this intelligence from MR. HUGH MACMAHON who came up that afternoon to aſſiſt in it, and with whom he had been drinking very freely. Whether O CONOLLY's anceſtors, who were of the old Iriſh ſtock, had been diſpoſſeſſed of their eſtates by the plantations, or whether there was any affinity or peculiar friendſhip between him and **Macmahon**, that was the motive of confiding ſuch a ſecret to the former, does not appear. But having received a letter from **Macmahon**—who was a grandſon to old **Tyrone**, and had been Lieutenant-Colonel in the Spaniſh ſervice—to repair to him at his houſe in the county of Monaghan, he went thither accordingly; and finding his friend was gone to Dublin, and not knowing the buſineſs on which he was ſent for, followed him thither. He had there indeed drank ſo freely with the Colonel, that he could not give his information with accuracy and clearneſs: and inſtead of detaining him till he grew ſober, and of ſecuring his perſon as an evidence to proceed upon, the Lord Juſtice **Parsons** ſent him back to **Macmahon**'s lodgings, in order to make a further diſcovery of the certainty and particulars of the plot. But O **Conolly**, though in liquor, had more ſenſe than the magiſtrate; and knowing that it was with difficulty and ſtratagem that he had got away from **Macmahon** to make his information, inſtead of returning to him, choſe rather to walk the ſtreet, and to content himſelf with the diſcovery he had already made. On ſecond thoughts however, **Sr. W. Parsons**, conſidering the great importance of the information, ſent an order immediately to the conſtable of the caſtle to have the gates well guarded; and to the Mayor and Sheriffs to ſet a good watch in every part of the city, and to detain all ſtrangers whatſoever. Theſe directions being given, he went about ten o'clock to his colleague **Sr. John Borlase**, to acquaint him of the intelligence he had received, and with the ſteps he had taken. His colleague had either more underſtanding than he had, or more attention to the public good. He ſaw in a moment the error of **Parsons** in giving the alarm, and in letting O **Conolly** go; as having no body to puniſh in caſe the information ſhould prove falſe, or if it was true, to make any proof, and to get at more diſcovery. Some of the ſervants were therefore diſpatched about the town in ſearch of O **Conolly**; and others were ſent for ſuch of the Council as were known to be at Dublin, to attend the Lords Juſtices that night at the houſe of **Sr. John Borlase** on College-green. **Sr. Tho. Rotherham**, and **Sr. Rob. Meredith** chancellor of the exchequer, were all that came: and juſt as the watch had taken up O **Conolly** and was carrying him away as a ſtranger to ſecure him, one of PARSONS's ſervants, who was ſent to look after him and had ſeen him at his maſter's that night, came up with them and brought him away. When he appeared before the Council, perceiving that his information was not thoroughly credited, he aſſured them that what he had told the Lord Juſtice PARSONS was very true; and that if he had the liberty to repoſe himſelf a little, his diſcovery ſhould be clearer and more diſtinct. Upon this he was ordered to lie down upon a bed in SR. JOHN BORLASE's houſe, whilſt the Council entered upon a conſultation about what was fit to be done.

The effects of ſudden events, it is well known, are very wonderful; and even men of good ſenſe are often found as unable to conduct themſelves properly upon ſuch occaſions, as they are unprepared to expect them. The Lords Juſtices had not been ſufficiently attentive to the danger, of which we have ſeen in the former book they had notice given them more than once, and againſt which it was their duty to be upon their guard. A diſcovery therefore when they found themſelves upon the brink of ruin ſo terrified them with its ſurpriſe, as betrayed them into blunders, for which nothing but ſuch a confuſion and ſuch a panick could be an excuſe. In ſhort, if ſome of the conſpirators had not failed in ſending their promiſed quota of men, or if the reſt had had courage and reſolution enough to make the attempt that was intended with the men they had, in the firſt moments after they perceived the deſign was known, the errors and negligence of the Lords Juſtices would in all probability have proved fatal. But an impartial man muſt be ſurpriſed, to find this conduct, which was merely owing to fright and ſurpriſe, imputed by the Catholic writers to the wiſhing that no diſcovery had been made, or to an endeavour to ſuppreſs it after it had been made. Had the hiſtory of this time been wholly ſilent, the imminent danger to their own lives and properties from an inſurrection of this kind is a ſufficient refutation of ſuch a charge. Neither is there the leaſt ſhadow of proof, from the hiſtory of that country or of this, that there was any combination—as thoſe writers ſuggeſt—between the Puritans of both kingdoms, to have at firſt lighted up, and afterwards ſpread abroad the flames of this rebellion.——When O CONOLLY had ſomewhat recovered himſelf from his confuſion, occaſioned partly, as he ſaid himſelf, from the horror with which he was ſtruck at the plot which had been diſcovered to him, and partly with his drinking too much with MACMAHON that he might more eaſily get from him, he confirmed all that he had before related, with an addition of theſe particulars: "That he came to town this evening at ſix o'clock, and going directly to the lodgings of MACMAHON whom he found at home, they went together to the Lord MACGUIRE's, but his Lordſhip not being within, they ſtaid there and drank a cup of beer; when he was informed by MACMAHON "that great numbers of noblemen and gentlemen of the Iriſh Papiſts would be in town that night, who with himſelf had determined to take the caſtle of Dublin, and poſſeſs themſelves of all his Majeſty's ammunition there to-morrow morning: that they intended firſt to batter the chimnies of the ſaid town, and if the city would not yield, to batter down the houſes, and ſo to cut off all the Proteſtants that would not join with them: that the Iriſh had prepared men in all parts of the kingdom to deſtroy all the Engliſh inhabiting there to-morrow morning by ten o'clock; and that in all the ſea-ports and other towns in the kingdom all the Proteſtants ſhould be killed this night, and that all the poſts that could be could not prevent it." Upon this information he moved his friend to forbear being concerned in this buſineſs, and to diſcover it to the government that he might ſave his own eſtate: but his anſwer was "that he could not help it; that they did owe their allegeance to the King and would pay him all his rights, but that they did this for the tyrannical government which was over them, and to imitate Scotland who got a privilege by that courſe." When he was returned from Lord MACGUIRE's to MACMAHON's lodgings, the latter ſwore that he ſhould not go out that night, but ſhould go with him the next morning to the caſtle; and ſaid if this matter were diſcovered ſomebody ſhould die for it. Upon hearing him ſay this, O CONOLLY feigned a neceſſity of going down to eaſe himſelf; and tho' he left his ſword as a pledge of his return, MACMAHON ſent his man down with him: but coming into the yard, and finding an opportunity, he leaped over a wall and two pales, and ſo came to SR. W. PARSONS.

This is the ſubſtance of the examination, and almoſt in the ſame words, which was taken upon oath that night before the council: and before I go any further I ſhall make this obſervation on it, which is alſo applicable to many other examinations on both ſides in this hiſtory; that no ſtreſs is to be

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laid upon what is depoſed to have been ſaid by ſome of the Engliſh or the Iriſh. For tho' theſe evidences may be allowed juſtly enough to prove that ſuch things were ſaid, yet they cannot fairly be admitted to prove—what all the hiſtorians of this rebellion bring them to prove—that the chiefs of the Engliſh or the Iriſh intended to act in the very manner, which, in the hearing of theſe witneſſes, the others had reported. For inſtance in the caſe before us; we ſee that Macmahon went much beyond what the principal conſpirators had determined, in affirming that all the Engliſh were to be deſtroyed by ten o'clock the next morning, and all the Proteſtants in the ſea-ports and towns ſhould be killed that night: whereas it appears by Lord Macguire's narrative, that no lives were to be taken away unleſs occaſioned by an oppoſition; and that the general riſing out was not to be in any part of the kingdom till the next day. But it is no uncommon thing for men who are engaged in ſuch criminal combinations, to talk in very hyperbolical ſtrains of terrors paſt and to come; in order to make ſure of their confederates, or to convert others to their enterpriſe.

If the Lords Juſtices and Council had not been ſtruck with a pannick upon this examination, it was their buſineſs to ſend, without loſing a moment, an order to ſeize the perſons of Lord Macguire and Macmahon, of whoſe lodgings O Conolly had informed them. But inſtead of this, they contented themſelves with ſetting a watch upon thoſe houſes; by which means, and by Parsons's imprudently giving the alarm, the report of a diſcovery had taken air; and Moore, Plunket, Birn, and all the other chiefs made their eſcape. In ſhort, of the great numbers that came up out of ſeveral counties in order to ſeize on the caſtle and city of Dublin, what with the terror and confuſion of the Council which deprived them of a right preſence of mind, and what with the negligence or connivance of the inhabitants, there were not above thirty taken, and thoſe moſtly ſervants and low people; the men of fortune having friends enow in the town either to conceal them or to aſſiſt in their eſcape. Nor was much greater care taken to ſecure thoſe that had been ſeized and brought before the Council; two of whom, a ſervant of Sr. Phelim O Neil, and Paul O Neil a prieſt who had been an active man in the conſpiracy, found means to get away.

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The time which ſhould have been employed in a ſpeedy exertion of their power, was thrown away in deliberating how they ſhould exert it.

Indeed the deſign which they had to defeat, it muſt be owned was of vaſt importance, as being very dangerous in its conſequence if not defeated, and yet not difficult in its execution. The number of Papiſts to Proteſtants was more than ten to one in the city, and not a ſingle company of the army in it. For as it had been objected to the Earl of Strafford that he had billeted ſoldiers in Dublin, contrary to a pretended meaning of a clauſe in the charter, tho' it had been practiſed by all former Deputies and was a meaſure neceſſary, ſo the preſent Lords Juſtices, either to give a ſanction to that complaint, or to ſhew how well they could govern in a different manner, diſtributed the troops they had into other quarters. Unguarded however thus as it was, there were at this time in the caſtle fifteen hundred barrels of powder, match and bullet proportionable, arms for ten thouſand men, and thirty-five pieces of artillery in the arſenal adjoining, with all the neceſſary equipage belonging to it: and had the rebels made themſelves maſters of the caſtle and of theſe arms and ammunition, it is probable they would ſoon have become maſters of the kingdom.

But what did the Lords Juſtices and Council do in this ſituation? They ſate up all night in conſultation: and it was not till five o'clock on the next morning that they ſent to ſeize Macmahon and Lord Macguire; and not till the latter had for ſeveral hours had notice from Moore, as we have ſeen at the end of his Lordſhip's narrative, that the conſpiracy was diſcovered, the gates guarded, and the city in arms. Macmahon and his ſervant were taken in their own lodgings, where at firſt they drew their ſwords and made ſome little reſiſtance; but finding themſelves overpowered, they ſoon ſubmitted and were brought before the Council. There was but little difficulty in bringing the maſter to confeſs the plot; not out of any fear, or ſenſe of guilt, but as an action in which he thought it to his reputation to have been concerned. He told them " that all the forts and ſtrong places in Ireland would on that day be taken; that he with the Lord Macguire, Colonel Birn, Captain Brian O Neil, and ſeveral other Iriſh gentlemen were come up expreſly to ſurpriſe the caſtle of Dublin; and that twenty men out of each county in the kingdom were to be there to join them; that all the Lords and gentlemen in Ireland that were Papiſts were engaged in this plot; that what was that day to be done in other parts of the country, was ſo far advanced by that time, as it was impoſſible for the wit of man to prevent it. He added moreover, it was true they had him in their power, but he was ſure he ſhould be revenged." After tracing Lord Macguire from one houſe to another, he was taken at laſt by the Sheriffs at an obſcure houſe in a cockloft in diſguiſe. At his lodgings were found ſome hatchets with the handles newly cut off, many daggers, and ſeveral hammers: but when he was brought before the Council, he denied every thing, except that he had heard of this conſpiracy in the country and ought to have informed them of it; but when he heard of it, or from whom, he would not diſcover then, nor till ſix months after.

The noiſe of this conſpiracy began by this time to be ſpred abroad confuſedly all over the city; and intelligence was brought to the Council, that great numbers of ſtrangers had been obſerved to come to town the night before and very early that morning in great parties ſeveral ways; and finding the gates ſhut had moſt of them ſet their horſes in the ſuburbs. Wherefore the Lords Juſtices and Council having committed Lord Macguire and Macmahon to the cuſtody of the conſtable of the caſtle, their Lordſhips drew up a proclamation; commanding all men not dwelling in the city or ſuburbs to depart within an hour upon pain of death, and making it alike penal to thoſe who ſhould harbour and conceal them. This proclamation being red by the Sheriffs in proper places, and the commitment of the two chiefs above mentioned, and of ſome others being divulged, which ſhewed the plot to be diſcovered, the ſtrangers ſoon diſappeared. The Council were now joined by ſix more of their body, among whom was Sr. Fran. Willoughby governour of the fort of Galway; which he had made one of the completeſt fortifications in that kingdom. Having been ſent for from thence a little before by the Lords Juſtices, he arrived at his houſe in the ſuburbs of Dublin in the preceding night. But he had not perceived, either at Galway, or in any part of the road, the leaſt diſpoſition in the inhabitants to an inſurrection; nor did he entertain the moſt diſtant

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ſuſpicion of any hazard or inſecurity to his perſon. Intending therefore the next morning to wait on the Lords Juſtices, he was infinitely ſurpriſed to meet with the gates of the city ſhut, and to learn that the keys had been carried to Sr. John Borlase's houſe, where the Council had ſate up all the night in conſultation. Thither he repaired as faſt as poſſible—the houſe being then without the town—over Stephen's green; where his ſurpriſe was greatly increaſed, when he was informed of Macmahon's examination, and of the intelligence that had been given of the great number of ſtrangers that had come to town from all parts the night before.

It appears however that Sr. Francis had more poſſeſſion of himſelf than the reſt of the Council: For he had no ſooner heard the particulars which have been related, than he obſerved to them the inſecurity and the inconvenience of the place where they were, out of town, and without any guard; and therefore propoſed, in order for their own ſafety as well as that of the caſtle, they ſhould remove thither immediately, and there conſider at leiſure of their further reſolutions in this buſineſs. Strange as it is that this obſervation had never entered their heads before, yet it was no ſooner mentioned than aſſented to, and the advice that he had given immediately carried into execution. To give a further proof of their confidence in his zeal and ability, when they found themſelves ſafe in the council chamber, they commanded him to take upon himſelf the government of the caſtle and city, and to provide for the defence of both. In thoſe days there were no good fortifications about the town or ſuburbs, tho' they were afterwards made better, and are now again deſtroyed: and the only guard there was to the caſtle, was eight warders, weak old men, and the forty halberdiers which in ſolemn parade uſed to eſcort the Lords Juſtices to church. In ſo critical a ſituation, and with ſuch a feeble force, the Governor durſt not let down the drawbridge of the caſtle upon any occaſion for the firſt fourteen days without all his guard being preſent, nor allow himſelf to go to bed; the council table ſerving him for a couch, and the cuſhion to reſt his head on. In the mean time he broke down the back ſtairs, in order to prevent any attempt that way, and made the great gates ſerve as ſo many baſtions to the caſtle wall. By this management it was not only out of danger from a ſurpriſe, but a regiment which

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he had carried over into England for the King's ſervice againſt the Scots, having been broken at Carliſle where he was governor, and many of the ſoldiers coming over at this time to Dublin, he entertained two hundred of them to guard the caſtle.

We muſt now return to the Lords Juſtices and the Council, who from a ſenſe of their danger were ſtill in a terrible conſternation. But imagining that the conſpirators in the remote parts of the kingdom would be ſomewhat diſheartened, as ſoon as it ſhould be known that the deſign of ſeizing the caſtle of Dublin was diſappointed, and on the other ſide that the Proteſtants and other loyal ſubjects would be comforted and defend themſelves with more ſucceſs, they drew up and printed the following proclamation; and thus concluded their conſultation.

By the Lords Juſtices and Council,

Temple.

WILLIAM PARSONS. JOHN BORLASE.

Theſe are to make known and publiſh to all his Majeſty's good ſubjects in this his kingdom of Ireland, that there is a diſcovery made by us, the Lords Juſtices and Council, of a moſt diſloyal and deteſtable conſpiracy, intended by ſome evil affected Iriſh Papiſts againſt the lives of us the Lords Juſtices and Council, and many others of his Majeſty's faithful ſubjects univerſally throughout this kingdom; and for the ſeizing not only his Majeſty's caſtle of Dublin, his Majeſty's principal fort here, but alſo of the other fortifications in the kingdom: And ſeeing by the great goodneſs and abundant mercy of almighty God to his Majeſty and this ſtate and kingdom, thoſe wicked conſpiracies are brought to light, and ſome of the conſpirators committed to the caſtle of Dublin by us, by his Majeſty's authority, ſo as thoſe wicked and damnable plots are now diſappointed in the chief parts thereof; We therefore have thought fit hereby not only to make it publicly known, for the comfort of his Majeſty's good and loyal ſubjects in all parts of the kingdom, but alſo hereby to require them that they do with all confidence and chearfulneſs betake themſelves to their own defence and ſtand upon their guard, ſo to render the more ſafety to themſelves and all the kingdom beſides; and that they advertiſe us with all poſſible ſpeed of all occurrents which may concern the peace and ſafety of the kingdom, and now to ſhew fully that faith and loyalty, which they have always ſhewn for the public ſervices of the Crown and kingdom, which we will value to his Majeſty accordingly, and a ſpecial memory will be retained for their advantage in due time: And we require that great care be taken that no levies of men be made for foreign ſervice, nor any men ſuffered to march upon any ſuch pretence. Given at his Majeſty's caſtle of Dublin, the twenty-third of October ſixteen hundred forty-one.

This proclamation, ſigned by eight of the Council, was immediately printed, and ſent by expreſs meſſengers to the nobility and gentry in ſeveral parts of the kingdom to diſperſe and publiſh; with hopes that it might contain ſuch as had not declared themſelves within the bounds of their duty and obedience to the King. On the ſame day at twelve o'clock at night, Lord Blaney came to town with the news of the rebels ſeizing his houſe at Caſtle-Blaney in the county of Monaghan with two hundred men, and making his Lady, and children, and ſervants priſoners; alſo a houſe belonging to the Earl of Essex, and another of Sr. Hen. Spotswood's in the ſame county with two hundred men. At the laſt place, there being a little plantation of Britiſh, they plundered the town, and burnt divers houſes, with ſeveral adjacent villages; robbing and ſpoiling the Engliſh Proteſtants, and leaving the Papiſts as well as the Iriſh unmoleſted. On Sunday morning at three o'clock, intelligence came from Sr. Arth. Tyringham, that the Iriſh had the day before broken up the King's ſtore of arms and ammunition at Newry; where they had lain for many years, and where they found fourſcore and ten barrels of powder. Being furniſhed thus with arms and ammunition, they put themſelves under the command of Sr. Con Macgennis and one Creely a monk; and plundering the Engliſh there diſarmed the garriſon. From the intelligence given by Lord Blaney and Sr. A. Tyringham, in which there is no mention made of any murders, Abbé Geoghgan very ingeniouſly draws a concluſion, that none ſuch were committed in Ulſter. But he does not inform his readers that their intelligence came away in a few hours after the inſurrection had broken out; neither had they opportunities of knowing what was done in other parts of the country.

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On Sunday morning the twenty-fourth, the Lords Juſtices and Council met again in the caſtle, and iſſued orders to draw ſeven troops of horſe to Dublin as a further ſtrength; in caſe the enemy ſhould march thither and they ſhould be obliged to give them battle. They alſo diſpatched letters to the Preſidents of the provinces of Munſter and Conaught, and to the Sheriffs of the five counties of the Pale, in order that they ſhould conſult on the beſt ways and means for their own preſervation. On the ſame day, the Lords GORMANSTON, NETTERVILL, FITZWILLIAM, and HOWTH, and the next morning the Lords KILDARE, FINGALL, DUNSANY, and SLANE, all of them noblemen of the Engliſh Pale, repaired to the caſtle, and declared to the Lords Juſtices and Council that they had not before heard any thing of the conſpiracy; that the Council might depend on their loyalty to the King and their concurrence with the ſtate, but that they had no arms wherewith to defend themſelves or to annoy the enemy. In anſwer to this the Council told them, that they would willingly ſupply them with arms as they deſired, relying entirely upon their fidelity to the Crown, but they were not then ſure that they had enow for the guard of the city and caſtle: however they ſupplied ſuch of them as lay moſt in danger with a ſmall proportion of arms and ammunition for the defence of their houſes, leſt they ſhould imagine that the Council had any jealouſy or ſuſpicion of them. At the ſame time, they directed them to be very diligent in ſending out ſpies to watch the motions of the rebels, and to make all the diſcoveries which they could for the information of the government; which they readily promiſed to do, and ſo departed.

Amidſt theſe diſtractions, the Lords Juſtices and Council, recollecting that the Parliament had been adjourned to the middle of November, and that Michaelmas term was juſt at hand, "both which would draw a great concourſe of people of all ranks to Dublin, and under the pretence of thoſe occaſions might give the rebels an opportunity of executing new deſigns to the further danger of the ſtate" they thought it neceſſary to prorogue the Parliament, and to direct the term to be adjourned to the firſt day of Hilary, except in the court of Exchequer; where the Judges might ſit for the more ſpeedy collecting the rents due to the Crown. Having taken theſe meaſures on Monday the twenty-fifth, the Council ſent a letter to England the ſame day to the Earl of Leicester the Lord-Lieutenant, with an account of every thing which is above related; and informing him further, "that in a caſe of this nature where all their lives and fortunes, and above all, his Majeſty's power and regal authority were at ſtake, they muſt vary from ordinary proceedings; not only in executing martial law as they ſhould ſee cauſe, but alſo in putting ſome to the rack to find out the bottom of this treaſon and the contrivers of it, which otherwiſe they foreſaw would not be done." In the ſame letter, they obſerve "that if the conſpiracy be ſo univerſal as Macmahon had ſaid in his examination, namely, that all the counties in the kingdom had conſpired in it, then indeed they ſhould be in high extremity, conſidering their want of men and money, and arms; and muſt depend on aid from England for their preſent ſupply with all poſſible ſpeed, eſpecially money, of which they had none; nor was money to be borrowed there." From this view of their condition they imagine his Lordſhip would ſee how neceſſary his preſence amongſt them was for the better guiding of the affairs of the King and kingdom; and that the Parliament in England ſhould be moved immediately to advance a good ſum of money to be ſent over directly, in order to prevent an expence of blood and treaſure in a long continued war: but if his Lordſhip ſhould delay his departure for any time, they deſire him to appoint a Lieutenant-General to command their forces." Theſe, they acquaint him, conſiſt only of two thouſand foot and a thouſand horſe; and are ſo diſperſed in garriſons about the country, as that if they were to be drawn together, the ſafety of the places where they lie would not only be endangered by their abſence, but by coming together in ſuch ſmall numbers would be liable to be cut off in their march: nor indeed had they money to pay the ſoldiers to enable them to leave their garriſons. This letter to the Earl of Leicester, ſigned by the two Lords Juſtices and thirteen of the Council, was ſent over by O Conolly who had given the information of the conſpiracy; and in a poſtſcript, ſigned by Sr. W. Parsons alone, he is recommended "as very worthy of a recompence for his faith and loyalty expreſſed in this buſineſs to his own extreme hazard; which they beſeech his Lordſhip may be taken into conſideration in England, in ſuch manner as that his Majeſty's royal bounty may extend to him and his poſterity." A diſpatch of the ſame nature with this, was at the ſame time ſent to the King then at Edinburgh, by Sr. Hen. Spotswood, who went with it by ſea to Scotland.

Theſe informations to the ſupreme authority in the ſtate having been ſent away, the care of the Council was next employed in the further ſecurity of the city and the parts adjacent; wherein they met with many difficulties from the want of men and money. To this purpoſe they ſent letters to the nobility and gentry in the province of Leinſter, as they had done before to thoſe of Munſter and Conaught, and to all the counties to which meſſengers could paſs; giving them notice of the diſcovery of the plot, and directing them to provide in the beſt manner they could for their own ſafety and the defence of the country round them. Another expreſs with the ſame intelligence was ſent to the Earl of Ormonde, then at his houſe at Carrick in the county of Tipperary almoſt fourſcore miles from Dublin, deſiring him to repair thither immediately with his troop of horſe. For tho' the caſtle was tolerably ſecured in the manner which hath been related, yet the numbers of deſpoiled and naked Engliſh which were every hour now arriving with the horrid tales of the cruelties that they had endured, had ſtruck ſuch a terror among the well affected inhabitants of the city, that they expected every minute when their own turn would come.

Theſe terrors were greatly aggravated by the rumours that were ſpred of a ſudden approach of a great number of rebels out of the adjacent counties; ſome pretending that they were diſcerned already marching down from the mountain ſide within view of the town: and though ſome of the council went upon the platform of the caſtle in order to be aſcertained of the fact, or to contradict it, which they did, yet ſo powerful is imagination when poſſeſſed by fear, that ſeveral would not be perſuaded but that they ſaw the motions of the men as they marched along. On the back of this rumour another was ſpred about, that ten thouſand rebels were aſſembled in a body at the hill of Tarah about ſixteen miles from Dublin, and that they intended to march without delay and to ſurpriſe it. It is eaſy to conceive that ſuch rumours as theſe, ſome of which no doubt were raiſed and propagated with an ill deſign, muſt exceedingly encreaſe the fears and diſtractions of the people; already at a great height from what they had ſeen and heard among the ſufferers out of the country, and who were multiplying every hour. Nor were the common people the only perſons who were thus terrified: for as they were running up and down the ſtreets, communicating their intelligence to one another and mutually adding to their terror, ſome ſwords were drawn upon a ſlight accident about ſeven o'clock: a gentleman of diſtinction perceiving this at a diſtance repaired in a great fright to the Council ſitting then at the caſtle, which he pretended to have reached with ſome difficulty, and aſſured them that the rebels had actually poſſeſſed themſelves of a good part of the town, and came then with great fury marching along the ſtreet which leads directly towards the caſtle. But Sr. Fran. Willoughby the governor, letting down the draw-bridge and reconnoitring with his guard, ſoon found the alarm to have no other foundation than what has been mentioned. In this critical ſituation, many who conſulted with nothing but their fears, and who preferred their own particular ſafety before any other conſideration, laid aſide all thoughts of defence, and were for retiring with their effects to England: others, who were detained by contrary winds in the harbour, choſe rather to endure all extremities on ſhipboard than to hazard themſelves on ſhore. Even ſome Scotch fiſhermen, who lay with their veſſels within the bay in great number catching herrings, and who had with great forwardneſs offered the government to land five hundred men and to enter into arms for their defence, were no ſooner accepted than they were terrified with a falſe alarm, and ſuddenly in the night put out to ſea.

There remained at this time embarked within the harbour of Dublin, four hundred Iriſh ſoldiers levied with his Majeſty's conſent, under the command of Colonel Barry for the ſervice of the King of Spain; and who would have been ſailed long ago, if they had not been ſtopped by order of the Engliſh Parliament, as before mentioned. The inconvenience of this order to the ſtate of Ireland was now very apparent; as theſe troops were become a terror to the Proteſtant inhabitants of the city, and as the Council were perplexed to diſpoſe of them in ſuch a manner as to prevent their doing miſchief when they were landed. Colonel Barry was gone into the country, on the evening on which the diſcovery of the conſpiracy had been made; and though the men were in great extremity on ſhipboard for

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want of proviſions, having exhauſted the ſtore they had taken in when the embargo was laid on, yet there was no order nor authority how they were to be ſupplied. For the government to permit them to land, ſeemed to be adding ſo many inſtruments of miſchief to thoſe they already had to encounter with: and therefore one of the King's frigates lying in the harbour, the Captain was ordered to prevent their diſembarking, which he did till it was evident they muſt all be ſtarved; and then the Council conſented to their landing, on condition that none of them ſhould approach or enter the city.—After having made theſe men their enemies by almoſt ſtarving them, they took care by this means of the ſafety of their own perſons; but they let them looſe upon the country, thus provoked, inſtead of incorporating them with their other troops; and moſt of them accordingly joined the rebels. As to Temple's imputation, of bringing theſe men together juſt before the time appointed for the breaking out of this plot, to a deſign and contrivance that they might aſſiſt in the execution of it, when they would have been in Spain at that time if they had not been prevented, this is ridiculous and abſurd: but it ſhews to what a degree party prejudice and hatred will miſlead the underſtanding againſt the evidence of facts.

The city was not only in a poor ſtate of defence from the crazineſs of the walls, the great extent of its ſuburbs, and the general weakneſs of the place, but alſo much more in reſpect of the ill affections of its inhabitants, moſt of which were Papiſts: and theſe were ſo deluded by the ſuggeſtions of their prieſts, as to do all that lay in their power to promote a work which they believed to be intended only for the reſettlement of their religion and the recovery of their liberties. To them it was therefore owing that the principal conſpirators were privately conveyed away when the plot was firſt diſcovered; by them many of the rebels who came out of the country were ſecretly entertained; and from them not only relief, but ammunition, and intelligence of what was doing there, were alſo ſent to the enemy. It is not then to be wondered at that they ſhould ſhew no diſpoſition to aſſiſt the government in any ſhape. For when the Mayor and aldermen were ſent for, and the Council, laying before them the great neceſſities of the ſtate and the danger of the kingdom, deſired to borrow a ſum of money of them, which ſhould be repaid out of the firſt ſupply that was received from England, after a ſolemn conſultation among themſelves, the anſwer was that they were not able to furniſh above forty pounds, and part even of that muſt be in cattle. The Council perceiving themſelves in this ill ſituation from the inhabitants, in order to prevent others from joining with them, iſſued out a proclamation for the diſcovery and removal of all ſuch as did or ſhould come and continue at Dublin without juſt cauſe: And yet that they might not irritate the ill humours of the Iriſh, no puniſhment was inflicted on thoſe who did continue, and of ſeveral of whom they had ſufficient cauſe to be jealous; and others who were brought before them and convicted of holding ſeditious language, were left unpuniſhed. But this was certainly falſe policy; and it had been better not to publiſh the proclamation at all, than to permit it to be contradicted openly with impunity, and thereby to bring their authority into contempt.

Within two or three days after their firſt attendance, the Lords of the Pale came again to the Council board with a petition; wherein they ſet forth the deep ſenſe they had of an expreſſion in the late proclamation iſſued out on the diſcovery of this conſpiracy, intended, as it is there ſaid, by ſome evil affected Irish Papists; which words they feared might be miſinterpreted, and a conſtruction put upon them which might reflect upon their perſons as comprehended in them When men who are not accuſed are very officious to exculpate themſelves it is a ſtrong ſymptom of guilt. The phraſe "evil affected Iriſh Papiſts" indeed was general; but it no way comprehended them if they were innocent, and if they were guilty there was no pretence for this petition: it ſerved however, for what no doubt it was brought, as a handle of diſcontent and of quarrel with the adminiſtration. Wherefore the Lords Juſtices and Council thought fit to deſcend ſo far to their ſatisfaction, as not only to aſſure them of the clearneſs of their intention towards them, but alſo, that it might appear to the whole kingdom that they did not entertain the leaſt jealouſy of their Lordſhips, the Council cauſed another proclamation to be publiſhed by way of explanation of the former; which after the preamble is as follows:

We do therefore, to give them full ſatisfaction, hereby declare and publiſh to all his Majeſty's good ſubjects in this kingdom, that by the words

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Irish Papists, we intended only ſuch of the old mere Iriſh in the province of Ulſter, as have plotted, contrived, and been actors in this treaſon, and others who adhere to them; and that we did not any way intend or mean thereby any of the old Engliſh of the Pale nor of any other parts of this kingdom; we being well aſſured of their fidelity to the Crown, and having experience of their good affections and ſervices of their anceſtors in former times of danger and rebellion: And we further require all his Majeſty's loving ſubjects, whether Proteſtants or Papiſts, to forbear upbraiding matter of religion one againſt the other; and that upon pain of his Majeſty's indignation. Given at his Majeſty's caſtle of Dublin the twenty-ninth of October ſixteen hundred and forty-one.

Signed by Nine of the Council.

It being apprehended that it might be dangerous in a time of ſuch diſtraction to admit ſuch a multitude of ſuitors of all ſorts into the caſtle as had occaſion daily to attend on the council board, the Lords Juſtices transferred the place of their meeting in council to Cork houſe; tho' their perſons were there expoſed continually to danger, not indeed then known, from the confident reſort of ſeveral Lords and Gentlemen in great numbers, who within few days after declared themſelves and joined the rebels. This opportunity however was luckily not taken: for there was no great difficulty to make away with the Lords Juſtices and Council at that houſe, the majority of the city and ſuburbs being on their ſide, and by that means to have brought all things into ſuch confuſion as would ſoon have given them the upper hand. But theſe people being then entirely unſuſpected, the care of the Council was to ſecure the caſtle, in which they apprehended their own ſafety principally conſiſted: And from the intelligence which they received of the rebels carrying all before them in the North, they thought it expedient to furniſh the caſtle with proviſions, that it might be enabled to endure a ſiege; in caſe they ſhould be obliged to leave the town, through the treachery of thoſe within, or through the forces of thoſe without who might attempt to ſurpriſe it. But tho' this was a work highly neceſſary in itſelf, and at that time eſſential to the ſafety of the whole kingdom, yet how to perform it without money was a taſk of no little difficulty. This taſk however was impoſed by the Lords Juſtices and Council on Sr. John Temple, Maſter of the rolls, and one of their body—the hiſtorian of this rebellion ſo often referred to in this work—and he executed it with great ability and diſpatch. There was no occaſion for him to add to the fears and diſtractions of the well affected, nor to beigthen the apprehenſions which they had of their preſent danger; but of theſe he artfully took an advantage. He ſent immediately for ſome of the chief Proteſtant Merchants, and condoling with them very pathetically on the great neceſſities and diſtreſſes of the ſtate, the imminent danger of the town, and of their own, and of the public ſafety, he recommended their inſtantly depoſiting in the caſtle as a place of ſecurity ſuch of their proviſions as they had lying by them in unſafe places in the city. The impreſſion had its effect; and the project took place without the leaſt delay. The Merchants were but too well convinced of the common danger, and that their ſafety could not ſurvive the ruin of the caſtle: And therefore what with their good affections to the ſervice, and what with a prudential care to ſecure their property, they brought in immediately great quantities of beef, and herrings, and corn; enough indeed not only to victual the caſtle for many months, which for want of money and credit could not otherwiſe have ben provided for, but which proved of excellent uſe afterwards in maintaining all the army which was for a long time quartered in the city. The Maſter of the rolls had aſſured the Merchants, that in caſe it ſhould be found neceſſary for the public ſervice to make uſe of their proviſions, that he would ſee that a reſtitution ſhould be made in kind to the ſeveral owners, or the value paid in money: and this engagement he made good in a few months afterwards, by bills on the chamber of London in purſuance of an order from the Engliſh Parliament. The caſtle being thus ſupplied amply with proviſions, the next care was to dig, and clear out an old well within its walls, that had long ſince been ſtopped up, and to lay in all other neceſſaries fit for a ſiege; which being effected gave great comfort and ſecurity to all the Proteſtants and Engliſh. ——It will now be proper therefore to leave the proceedings at Dublin, and to give the reader a view of the riſe and progreſs of the rebellion in the ſeveral counties.

Notwithſtanding the diſcovery which had defeated the deſign upon the caſtle, yet this was not known at any diſtance: the next was the day agreed upon for the general inſurrection, and the ſurpriſal of all the forts and garriſons in the province of Ulſter; and the rebel chiefs accordingly having divided their forces, one of the parties ſurpriſed one caſtle or garriſon in which there were companies of foot or troops of horſe belonging to the army, whilſt another effected the ſame deſign at other places according to their combination. In theſe atchievements their progreſs was ſo rapid, that in a week's time they got poſſeſſion of all the towns, forts, caſtles, and gentlemen's houſes of Proteſtants and Engliſh, within the counties of Tyrone, Donegal, Fermanagh, Cavan, Ardmagh, Londonderry, Monaghan, and half the county of Down; except the cities of Londonderry, Colerain, the town and caſtle of Iniſkilling, and ſome other caſtles and places which were at firſt well defended, but for want of relief ſurrendered into their hands. Sr. Phelim O Neil, one of the principal conſpirators, led the way; and the baſe and cowardly treachery with which he ſet out, ſo characteriſtic of the man, was a ſure preſage of every thing which followed. The fort of Charlemont was a very conſiderable and important place in thoſe days, when the country was full of woods and paſſages that were difficult, becauſe it commanded a paſs over the Black-water in the great northern road. The Lord Charlemont formerly maſter of the ordnance, who had ſerved with reputation in the war againſt Tyrone, but was now very old, was governour of the fort as well as proprietor of the land, and had his company of foot there in garriſon. Sr. Phelim, living in his neighbourhood and in good correſpondence with him, ſent him word that he would come and make merry with him that day; when he was accordingly well received, and as the manner of the Iriſh is, very jovially entertained, with the company which he brought with him as uſual upon ſuch occaſions. Such a feaſt as this was a ſort of notice to the country to come in: and many of Sr. Phelim's followers, in order, as it was pretended, to partake of the good cheer and hoſpitality of the noble Lord, repaired to the caſtle in different parties in the afternoon, when the chief obſerving his men to be ſtrong enough, on a ſudden ſeized on his Lordſhip and the family that were in the room with him; as his followers did on the ſoldiers who were making merry in the fort, and had laid aſide their arms not in the leaſt ſuſpecting any enemy. In this ſurprize, the whole company were diſarmed or taken priſoners; and the ſame night Sr. Phelim took the caſtle of Dungannon. Being thus furniſhed with arms which they took at theſe and other forts, and with the powder they ſeized at Newry, mentioned before, they became maſters of the open country with great eaſe: for the common Iriſh riſing univerſally with their chiefs, in hopes of enriching themſelves with the plunder of the Engliſh, againſt whom they breathed utter extirpation, there was no want of men.

It appears from the examination of Dr. Hen. Jones who was a priſoner with the rebels, that in the beginning of October there was a meeting of the heads of the Romiſh clergy and laymen of their faction at the abbey of Multifarnam in the county of Weſtmeath; where, among many other things there debated, was the courſe which ſhould be taken with the Engliſh and other Proteſtants in the enſuing inſurrection. Men of different diſpoſitions were of different ſentiments: ſome were only for their extirpation without taking away their lives, as the King of Spain had ſerved the Moors, which had redounded much to his honour; and alledged that the ſame uſage of the Engliſh, to whom many even there preſent owed obligations at leaſt for their education, would be of advantage to their cauſe in England and in other parts: but if a contrary courſe were taken and they were put to death, beſides the curſe it would draw from heaven upon their enterpriſe, it might juſtly provoke the people of England to take a ſevere revenge upon them when it was in their power. On the other ſide, it was ſaid to have been falſe policy in the King of Spain not to maſſacre all the Moors, for which his own dominions and all Chriſtendom had ſuffered to that day: nor would it be leſs dangerous to expel the Engliſh, who might return again with ſwords in their hands, and being exaſperated by that ſeverity and by the hopes of recovering their former poſſeſſions, would be far more revengeful than ſtrangers not injured who might be ſent againſt them; and therefore that a general maſſacre was the ſafeſt and readieſt way to free the kingdom from ſuch fears. Others amongſt them inclined to a milder method than either of theſe; neither to extirpate nor to murder them, but to take poſſeſſion of their eſtates, and to impriſon their perſons.

It muſt be obſerved that Lord MACGUIRE takes no notice at all in his narrative of this meeting at the abbey of Multifarnam, and we may preſume therefore was neither preſent at it nor had heard any thing of it; nor does any determination appear to have been made there of this important point. There is no doubt but that DR. JONES had the above account, as he hath depoſed, from a Franciſcan friar, one of the guardians of the order at this abbey, and preſent at the conſultation: but it would weigh no more with me, for a reaſon given before, than many other parts of the Doctor's examination relating to what had been ſaid by ſome Popiſh prieſts ſome time before the rebellion, if the event had not correſponded exactly with the account and confirmed the truth of it. For in ſome places the Engliſh and Proteſtants were only robbed of their goods and clothes, and turned out of their houſes, which were deſtroyed or burned, and ſo left expoſed to cold and hunger. In other places their perſons were only reſtrained, after their houſes were plundered and ſpoiled of every thing;—perhaps kept for ranſom, or exchange of priſoners, or to procure a pardon for their other crimes; —— and many were ſent under convoy to the Engliſh quarters. Through the humanity of PHILIP O REILY the latter was the caſe particularly in the county of Cavan; in which fewer and leſs horrid cruelties were exerciſed, than in any others of the province of Ulſter. As to the murders that were committed in the firſt week of the rebellion, if we ſay with the Proteſtant writers that there were great numbers, we ſhall ſpeak, by all that I have ſeen, without authority: and if we affirm with the Popiſh writers, that there were not above ſeventeen perſons killed at the beginning of this inſurrection, we ſhall conclude againſt evidence and probability. But throughout this whole affair, not a ſingle writer that I have ſeen obſerves dates with any accuracy. For inſtance, how is it poſſible to have a preciſe idea of the time intended by theſe laſt mentioned writers, by the "beginning of this inſurrection?" Nor is TEMPLE leſs general, nor more deciſive, when he ſays, "that then—meaning Sunday the twenty fourth—"the ſad relations of burning, ſpoiling, and horrible murders committed within the province of Ulſter began to muliply;" whereas it appears by the account ſent on the next day by the Council to the Lord-Lieutenant, that at that time they had not heard of any murders that had been committed. But as theſe hiſtorians have not obſerved any accuracy in their dates, ſo for want of a preciſion in their language, and perhaps their ideas, a greater diſagreement may appear to be in their ſeveral accounts of the beginning of this tranſaction, than what there is perhaps in reality. In order to make Temple conſiſtent with the relations given by authority—of which he himſelf was one who ſigned them—we muſt either transfer his date to four or five days further than he hath placed it, or he muſt have admitted into his idea or phraſe of "murders," the turning them naked out of their houſes in ſuch cold froſty weather, and ſo driving them through woods and bogs up to the mountains, whereby multitudes of them periſhed. This indeed in fact was a cruel kind of taking away their lives, and was true from the firſt hour of the inſurrection: but this not being Murder in the ſtrict and primary ſenſe of the word, the Catholicks probably ſcreen themſelves under it; and Temple himſelf in another place hath ſaid, "that the Iriſh at the very firſt, for ſome few days after their breaking out, did not in moſt places murder many of them." But though the charge of murdering great numbers at the beginning of the inſurrection may be thus evaded by the Catholicks, yet it appears by evidence upon oath, that on the very firſt day of the inſurrection, the Miniſter of Donnoghmore was murdered by the Donnellies, and on the ſecond, that Roger Macguire, brother to the Lord of that name—after getting by treachery into Caſtle-Skeagh, ſeizing the money of Mr. Middleton, burning the public records, and compelling him to acknowledge the Maſs—cauſed him, his wife, and children to be hanged, and a hundred at leaſt in that town to be murdered. Nay it is ſaid that the rebellion on his part commenced in blood; and that on the day before this, which was the firſt of this riſing out, he hanged no leſs than eighteen in the church of Clowniſh, and afterwards burnt it. Moreover on the thirtieth of October, which was but a week from the firſt day of the inſurrection, the Lords Juſtices and Council mention in a proclamation, as we ſhall ſee preſently, that the rebels had "ſlain divers of his Majeſty's good ſubjects." But to put the matter out of diſpute; in the Manuſcript collection of depoſitions in my poſſeſſion, authenticated under the hands of the commiſſioners appointed to enquire into the murders and other cruelties of the rebels, it is ſworn by the widow of Mr. Champion a Juſtice of the peace in the county of Fermanagh, that on the firſt day of the inſurrection, the rebels killed her huſband and eight others his relations,

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friends or tenants whom ſhe names, and twenty four beſides whoſe names ſhe did not remember.

It matters little however in my opinion, as to the guilt of the Iriſh Papiſts in this rebellion, whether many murders were committed in the firſt week, or in the firſt two months; though ſo warmly charged on one ſide, and ſo ſtifly contended againſt on the other: Nor does it in fact at all leſſen their guilt or abate their cruelty, that without any provocation from the Engliſh Proteſtant inhabitants, they only plundered or burnt their houſes, deſpoiled them of their eſtates, ſtripped them naked, and expoſed them to a lingering death by cold and famine: And whatſoever the leading part of the Iriſh might deſign, yet ſtill they were inexcuſable; for as Lord CASTLEHAVEN honeſtly confeſſes, "there is no great difference whether a man kills another himſelf, or unchains a maſtiff that will tear him in pieces; and he could not therefore but believe the contrivers and abettors of the Iriſh rebellion guilty of the maſſacre that enſued." Indeed if there is any difference, between putting to death immediately by the ſword or a rope, and taking away the life by nakedneſs and want, the laſt is infinitely moſt cruel.

Whatever might be at firſt intended or put in practice, their cruelties, as their ſucceſs, encreaſed. The brother and uncle of Lord MACGUIRE made all the havock and devaſtation in the county of Fermanagh which the moſt malicious bloody diſpoſition could ſuggeſt. In this extremity, the Britiſh in thoſe parts, who had lived ſecurely and amicably with the Iriſh, who had enriched the country with corn and cattle, and good houſes, and who thought of nothing leſs than a rebellion, had recourſe to their landlords or tenants of that nation for the preſervation of their lives and the ſafety of their goods and cattle: but this protection availed them little; moſt of thoſe in whom they confided either baſely deſtroying them with their own hands, or betraying them perfidiouſly to the enemy. Thoſe who had houſes or caſtles capable of holding out againſt the ſudden attack of a party of robbers endeavoured to maintain them; but this defence ſerved only to delay, and not to prevent their ruin. The prieſts had ſo infatuated, and made ſuch cruel impreſſions upon the minds of the people on their firſt ſucceſs, that they held it a mortal ſin to give any manner of relief or protection to the Engliſh; and thus all ties of faith and friendſhip were diſſolved, and all other relations cancelled and foregone. This utter infraction of all the bonds of ſociety, and which was not more ſudden and unexpected in itſelf than fatal in its effects, bred ſo general a terror and aſtoniſhment among the Engliſh, that they knew not which way to turn themſelves, neither what to think, nor what to do. It is obſerved very juſtly, "that fear is a betraying of the ſuccours which reaſon offers:" and under that impreſſion therefore it is no wonder, that people uſually have recourſe to the firſt means which preſent themſelves with the hopes of ſafety, without ſtaying to conſider thoroughly the foundation of thoſe hopes. To what elſe can be imputed the unſafe and imprudent meaſures purſued by the Britiſh and Proteſtants at this time, and of ſtanding by themſelves and keeping ſingly upon their guard? The terror they were under did not ſuffer them to perceive, that this muſt infallibly end in their common deſtruction, and enable the Iriſh to effect it with the greateſt eaſe. For if upon the firſt notice of the inſurrection, the Engliſh had quitted their houſes and drawn out in large bodies in their ſeveral counties, under the command of the chief Lords or Gentlemen of their party — as they were tolerably well provided with arms by the condition of their plantations,—they would have been able, if not to vanquiſh the Iriſh, who were very ill furniſhed with warlike weapons, at leaſt to have made a ſtand, and thrown great difficulties in their way. This advice indeed was given by Lord Clanricarde in his letter of the firſt of November to the Lords Juſtices; in which he ſays, "if I may preſume to deliver my ſenſe freely, I conceive that many Engliſh of quality ſhutting themſelves up in forts, no enemy appearing, without any confidence or community with the gentlemen of quality in the country, left without any arms or defence, between whom and others good diſtinction might be made, I humbly leave it to your Lordſhip's conſideration whether it may not be of ill conſequence." Of very ill conſequence indeed it was: for being forced or ſtarved in their own houſes, they fell one after another an eaſy prey without almoſt any reſiſtance; and by that means ſupplied the rebels with the greateſt part of thoſe arms which they appeared with afterwards in the field. In the places where they acted upon the plan I have mentioned, and gathered together in any conſiderable number, the Iriſh were obliged to have recourſe to ſtratagem, to aſſure them of conditions of good quarter, not only for their lives, but for their goods alſo, and a ſafe conduct to whatever place they choſe. Theſe conditions indeed, though often made under hand and ſeal, and ratified with an oath, were in the general but ill obſerved: the Engliſh had no ſooner ſurrendered, than the conditions of the treaty were thought to be diſſolved; and the ſoldiers were left at liberty, at leaſt they took that liberty, to plunder and abuſe them. The truth is, that in moſt of the counties of the province of Ulſter, where the rebellion firſt began, there was little or no dexterity or good conduct ſhewed by the Engliſh in their defence; every one ſeeking only the preſervation of his own houſe and family, goods and cattle, without joining their forces together for their common ſafety: And to this imprudent conduct muſt principally be imputed, the aſtoniſhing rapidity with which the rebels overrun that province in the beginning of the inſurrection.

It muſt be owned however that though this was the principal, yet it was not the only reaſon of their ſucceſs. For no method which fraud or artifice could ſuggeſt, in order to draw in their own people, or to enſnare the Engliſh, was left untried. In ſeveral places they came under divers pretences, and borrowed ſuch weapons and arms as the Proteſtants had in their houſes: and in Cavan, the high Sheriff, being an Iriſh Papiſt, got poſſeſſion of the arms of all the Proteſtants in that county, by pretending that they were wanted to ſecure them againſt the violence of the rebels that were in arms in the next county. That they might keep off the Scots in that province, who were very numerous, from giving the Engliſh any aſſiſtance, they openly profeſſed to ſpare, as they actually did at firſt, the whole Scottiſh nation; and that they and the Engliſh Papiſts might live quietly with them: hoping no doubt by this means to reſtrain them all from taking arms, till they had ſubdued the Engliſh and the Proteſtants, and that then they ſhould be in a condition to deal with them. But the chief engine of fraud and artifice made uſe of to delude the ignorant and unwary, was the pretending to have received a commiſſion from the King in Scotland for what they did under the great ſeal; ſhewing the commiſſion itſelf to all their principal followers that were with them, and ſending copies to their confederates in every part of the kingdom with the following letter.

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From our camp at the Newry this fourth of November ſixteen hundred forty one.

Rush[illegible]r.

Phellim O Neile, Rory Macguire, &c.

To all Catholicks of the Roman party both Engliſh and Iriſh within the kingdom of Ireland, we wiſh all happineſs, freedom of conſcience, and victory over the Engliſh Hereticks; who have for a long time tyranniſed over our bodies, and uſurped by extortion our eſtates.

Be it hereby made known unto you all our friends and countrymen, that the King's moſt excellent Majeſty, for many great and urgent cauſes thereunto moving, repoſing truſt and confidence in our fidelity, has ſignified unto us by his Commiſſion under the great ſeal of Scotland, bearing date at Edinburgh the firſt day of this inſtant October ſixteen hundred forty one, and alſo by letters under his ſign manual bearing date with the ſaid commiſſion, of divers great and heinous affronts that the Engliſh Proteſtants, eſpecially the Parliament there, have publiſhed againſt his royal perſon and prerogative, and alſo againſt our Catholic friends within the kingdom of England; the copy of which commiſſion we have here ſent unto you to be publiſhed with all ſpeed in all parts of this kingdom, that you may be aſſured of our ſufficient warrant and authority herein, *viz.*

CHARLES by the grace of God, King of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, Defender of the faith, &c. To all Catholic ſubjects within our kingdom of Ireland greeting: Know ye that we for the ſafeguard and preſervation of our perſon, have been forced to make our abode and reſidence in our kingdom of Scotland for a long ſeaſon, occaſioned by reaſon of the obſtinate and diſobedient carriage of our parliament of England againſt us, who have not only preſumed to take upon them the government, and diſpoſing of thoſe princely rights and prerogatives that have juſtly deſcended to us from our predeceſſors, Kings and Queens of the ſaid kingdom for many hundred years paſt, but alſo have poſſeſſed themſelves of the whole ſtrength of the ſaid kingdom, in appointing governors, commanders, officers, in all parts and places therein at their own will and pleaſure without our conſent; whereby we are deprived of our ſovereignty and left naked

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without defence: and foraſmuch as we are in ourſelves very ſenſible, that theſe ſtorms blow aloft, and are very likely to be carried by the vehemency of the Proteſtant party into our kingdom of Ireland, and endanger our royal power and authority there alſo, Know ye therefore that we repoſing much care and truſt in your duty and obedience which we have for many years paſt found, do hereby give unto you full power and authority to aſſemble and meet together with all the ſpeed and diligence which a buſineſs of ſo great conſequence doth require, and to adviſe and conſult together by a ſufficient and diſcreet number, at all times days and places which you ſhall in your judgment hold moſt convenient and material, for the ordering, ſettling, and effecting of this great work, mentioned and directed to you in our letters; and to uſe all ways and means poſſibly to poſſeſs yourſelves for our uſe and ſafety, of all the forts caſtles and places of ſtrength and defence within the ſaid kingdom, except the perſons places and eſtates of our loyal and loving ſubjects the Scots; and alſo to arreſt and ſeize the goods, eſtates, and perſons of all the Engliſh Proteſtants within the ſaid kingdom to our uſe: and in your care and ſpeedy performance of this our will and pleaſure, we ſhall perceive your wonted duty and allegeance unto us, which we ſhall acknowledge and reward in due time. Witneſs ourſelf at Edinburgh the firſt day of October, in the ſeventeenth year of our reign.

RAPIN hath obſerved that RUSHWORTH, who inſerted this commiſſion in his collections, had bad memoirs and little judgment not to ſee in it things which happened not till the next year; ſuch as the Parliament poſſeſſing themſelves of the ſovereignty, and appointing governors and commanders in all places. But the want of judgment is in himſelf. For whoſoever could be weak enough to believe, that the King would give a commiſſion to the Catholicks in Ireland to ſeize the goods, eſtates, and perſons of all his Proteſtant ſubjects in that kingdom, was certainly ignorant enough to be impoſed upon by the aſſertion, to which he objects, of what was doing in England: neither was the aſſertion greatly beyond the truth. For he himſelf hath related, "that the Commons had rendered themſelves ſo formidable in the very beginning of the Parliament—the year before—that the King found himſelf on a ſudden deſerted by all the world, without having other refuge than to conſent to whatever the Parliament propoſed." If to this we add their forcing him to conſent to the execution of the Earl of Strafford, to exclude the Biſhops from Parliament, to ſuppreſs his power of diſſolving it without their own conſent, to remove Lord Dillon whom he had appointed to be Lord Juſtice, and againſt his conſent had prevented the Iriſh troops from being ſent to Spain, the aſſertion abovementioned will not appear to be without foundation. But if the rebel chiefs had not known the ignorance of the people whom it was their intention to delude, they would not have pretended any ſuch commiſſion at all; there being nothing more unlikely for a man of common ſenſe to believe. But this want of judgment in Rapin is much more excuſable than his want of candour and impartiality. In one place, he thinks "it is for many reaſons more than probable, that the King never granted a commiſſion to the Iriſh to take up arms;" and in another place, he ſays, "it is pretended they forged it themſelves;" when it is impoſſible for him in his hiſtorical reſearches into this period not to have met with the account, where, and when, and by whom it was forged. Suppoſing him not to ſee it any where elſe, he muſt have red it in Rushworth, in the very next page from whence he tranſcribed the commiſſion, taken from Lord Clarendon: and therefore to ſay "it is probable it was never granted, and that it is pretended it was forged," is at beſt a ſuppreſſion of the truth; which in an hiſtorian is highly criminal.

It is very certain that this pretenſion and report of a commiſſion from the King to the Catholicks of Ireland to take up arms, was of the utmoſt ill conſequence to his affairs in that kingdom, and in this. It encouraged thoſe people to join in the inſurrection; and it ſtill further alienated the minds of thoſe, who were before but too much prejudiced againſt his Majeſty, and who thought him capable of doing any thing to avoid the ſervitude they were preparing for him. In ſhort, the calumny impoſed more on many ſober and moderate men here—who before had diſliked the paſſionate proceedings of the Parliament—than could be imagined then, or can now perhaps be believed; ſo great a prejudice or want of reverence—ſays Lord Clarendon,—being univerſally contracted againſt the Court: and to thoſe who did not believe it, but were enemies to the King, it ſerved as a handle to act againſt him, as tho' they did believe it; for tho' it required only a little good ſenſe and impartiality to diſcern the cheat, yet theſe we find are the portion of but a ſmall part of the world. Thus not only General LUDLOW—one of the greateſt republican bigots that ever lived—hath propagated a report, which he ſays in his memoirs, " he had heard from perſons of undoubted credit, that the news of this rebellion was not diſpleaſing to the King tho' it was attended with the maſſacre of many thouſand of the Proteſtants there;" but many of the King's friends were weak enough to be impoſed upon by the pretence of this commiſſion; as the reader will ſee hereafter. At preſent I ſhall only relate what DR. MAXWELL hath depoſed, who was for ſome time a priſoner among the rebels in Ulſter under SR. PHELIM O NEIL. He ſays, that having aſked ſome of the officers and the friars, " why they ſometimes pretended a commiſſion from the King, at other times from the Queen, ſince all wiſe men knew that the King would not grant a commiſſion againſt himſelf, and the Queen could not? They ſaid it was lawful for them to pretend what they could in advancement of their cauſe: that many garriſon ſoldiers now their priſoners, whom they determined to employ in the war and to train others, would not ſerve them in regard of their oath, unleſs they were made ſo to believe: that in all wars, rumors and lies ſerved many times to as good purpoſe as arms; and that they would not diſclaim any advantage. But they ſaid, for the Queen, in regard as a Catholick ſhe had enemies enow already, they would command their prieſts publickly at Maſs to diſcharge the people from ſpeaking of her as a cauſe or abettor of the preſent troubles." To the ſame purpoſe with the former part of this anſwer, is what Lord MUSKERY ſaid to Lord ORRERY after the reſtoration, when he was reproached by him with the wickedneſs of that forgery; " that it would have been impoſſible to have held their people together without this device."

BORLASE.

I have ſaid that it required only a little good ſenſe and impartiality to diſcern the cheat of this commiſſion, and of a report of the King's having had any hand, or ſatisfaction in this rebellion; and I will now explain what I mean. If the King could have been ſuppoſed weak enough to incline to extirpate the Proteſtant religion, in which he was himſelf very zealous and ſincere; and if he could have been wicked enough to deſire the ruin and deſtruction of his Proteſtant Engliſh ſubjects there, or even only to ſtir up this inſurrection, yet common policy would have reſtrained him at that time without any other motive. Becauſe nothing in his then ſituation with the Parliaments of England and Scotland, could poſſibly have been more unſeaſonable than a rebellion in his other kingdom at that juncture. It was in truth the greateſt evil that could have befell him; as it obliged him to leave all the management of that war to the two Houſes of Parliament here, and to furniſh them with the means of raiſing men and money; a great part of which was employed againſt himſelf. Nor was this the only miſchief: for though the Parliament did not appear much to regard the calumny that was ſpread againſt him on account of this rebellion, yet if it did not fill them with diſtruſt, it gave them a pretence to feign one; and by that means to ſtrengthen the ſuſpicions and fears of thoſe, upon whom the leaders wanted to make an impreſſion, in order to bring them into their meaſures againſt his Majeſty.

The pretence of the rebels to ſuch a commiſſion from the King, and ſome other reports that were ſpread in Ireland to his diſadvantage, made the following proclamation appear neceſſary.

Borlase.

By the Lords Juſtices and Council,

WILLIAM PARSONS. JOHN BORLASE.

Whereas we the Lords Juſtices and Council have lately found that there was a moſt diſloyal, wicked, and deteſtable conſpiracy intended and plotted againſt the lives of us the Lords Juſtices and Council, and many others of his Majeſty's faithful ſubjects, and eſpecially in Ulſter and the borders thereof, and for the ſurpriſing not only his Majeſty's caſtle of Dublin, his Majeſty's principal fort, but alſo of other fortifications in ſeveral parts: and altho' by the great goodneſs and abundant mercy of almighty God to his Majeſty and to this ſtate and kingdom, theſe wicked conſpiracies are brought to light, and ſome of the conſpirators committed to the caſtle of Dublin by us, by his Majeſty's authority, ſo as thoſe wicked and damnable plots have not taken effect in the chief parts thereof, yet ſome of thoſe wicked malefactors have ſurpriſed ſome of his Majeſty's forts and garriſons in the North of Ireland, ſlain divers of his Majeſty's good ſubjects, impriſoned ſome, and robbed and ſpoiled very many others, and continue yet in thoſe rebellious courſes, againſt whom therefore ſome of his Majeſty's forces are now marching to fight againſt them and ſubdue them, thereby to render ſafety to his Majeſty's faithful ſubjects: and whereas to colour and countenance their wicked intendments and acts, and in hope to gain the more numbers and reputation to themſelves and their proceedings in the opinion of the ignorant common people, thoſe conſpirators have yet gone further, and to their other high crimes and offences have added this further wickedneſs, even to traduce the Crown and ſtate as well of England as Ireland, by falſe ſeditious and ſcandalous reports and rumours ſpred abroad by them: We therefore to vindicate the Crown and ſtate of both kingdoms from thoſe falſe and wicked calumnies, do hereby in his Majeſty's name publiſh and declare, that the ſaid reports ſo ſpred abroad by thoſe wicked perſons are moſt falſe wicked and traiterous, and that we have full power and authority from his Majeſty to proſecute and ſubdue thoſe rebels and traitors, which now we are doing accordingly by the power and ſtrength of his Majeſty's army, and with the aſſiſtance of his Majeſty's good and loyal ſubjects; and we no way doubt but all his Majeſty's good and faithful ſubjects will give faith and credit to us, who have the honour to be truſted by his Majeſty ſo highly as to ſerve him in this his kingdom, rather than to the vain idle and wicked reports of ſuch lewd and wicked conſpirators who ſpred thoſe falſe and ſeditious rumours, hoping to ſeduce a great number to their party: and as we now believe that ſome who have joined themſelves to thoſe conſpirators had no hand in contriving or plotting the miſchiefs intended, but under pretence of thoſe ſeditious ſcandals were deluded by thoſe conſpirators, and ſo are now become ignorantly involved in their guilt, ſo in favour and mercy to thoſe ſo deluded, we hereby charge and command them in his Majeſty's name, now from us to take light to guide them from that darkneſs into which they were miſled by the wicked ſeducement of thoſe conſpirators, and to depart from them and from their wicked counſels and actions; and according to the duty of loyal ſubjects to ſubmit themſelves to his ſacred Majeſty, and to his royal authority entruſted with us. But in caſe thoſe perſons who were no plotters nor contrivers of the ſaid treaſon, but were ſince ſeduced to join with them as aforeſaid, lay not hold on this his Majeſty's grace and favour now tendered unto them, then we do by this proclamation publiſh and declare, that they ſhall hereafter be reputed and taken equally guilty with the ſaid plotters and contrivers, and as uncapable of favour and mercy as they are. Given at his Majeſty's caſtle of Dublin the thirtieth of October, ſixteen hundred forty one. Signed by Nine of the Council.

The reports of the cruelties exerciſed upon the Engliſh encreaſing every day, with the addition of divers murders as mentioned above in this proclamation, the Lords Juſtices and Council ſent commiſſions about this time to the Lords CLANDEBOIS, and ARDES, SR. WIL. and SR. ROB. STEWART, and other Gentlemen of rank and fortune in the North, "giving them power to proſecute the rebels with fire and ſword, yet ſo as to reſcue ſuch as ſhould ſubmit to his Majeſty's grace and mercy; ſignifying withal, that altho' by the ſaid commiſſion they gave them full power thereunto, yet they acquainted them that for thoſe who were chief among the rebels and ringleaders of the reſt to diſobedience, that they adjudged them leſs worthy of favour than the others whom they had miſguided: and therefore for thoſe principal perſons, they required them to take care not to be too forward, without conſulting the council board, in proffering or promiſing mercy to thoſe, unleſs they the ſaid commiſſioners ſaw it of great and unavoidable neceſſity."

It is plain that ſome murders, tho' probably not very many, conſidering the nature of the inſurrection and the end intended, were committed in the firſt week; but the main view of the common Iriſh was plunder: they ſaw the opulence of their Engliſh neighbours at the ſame time that they felt the miſerableneſs of their own condition; and not being able, by their ſtrong averſion to labour, to bring themſelves to mend it in any ways of induſtry, they eagerly catched at the means of doing it by the ſpoil of others: and chiefly by theſe temptations of licentiouſneſs and rapine, SR. PHELIM O NEIL in a week's time had thirty thouſand men under his command; with which he boaſted in his letter to his confeſſor, that he had gained great and many victories. Indeed in that ſpace of time, ſo very rapid was their progreſs, they left the Proteſtants but little in the whole province of Ulſter, except Londonderry, Colerain, and Iniſkilling, and part of the counties of Down and Antrim: and ſuch of them whoſe lives they thought fit then to ſpare they drove out of the country, either into thoſe towns, or ſome of the northern ports. Many of thoſe who had got together and made a ſhew of ſtanding on their defence, if they were not plundered, ſtripped, or murdered on their ſurrender—as was the caſe of thoſe who had ſhut themſelves up in the cathedral of Ardmagh and yielded to Sr. Phelim O Neil, and his brother Turlogh—by giving up all their plate and money and goods, had leave to come up to Dublin under convoy. Several of theſe came up accordingly in troops of many hundreds, without any weapons, or any thing elſe but the clothes upon their backs: others, who had the misfortune to meet with more unjuſt and mercileſs convoys, were ſtripped of theſe, or perfidiouſly given up into the hands of other rebels who kept no terms with them whatever; and thus multitudes were ſtarved and periſhed in the road as they travelled along. Of the great numbers that were allowed to go to Dublin, or other places of ſafety in the North, many of the men, but moſt of the women and children, ſurvived only a little time the bitterneſs of their paſſage: and being either overwhelmed with grief at their condition, or wearied with travel beyond their ſtrength, contracted ſuch diſeaſes, as, being aggravated with cold and nakedneſs and want, ſtruck ſo deeply into conſtitutions which had been nouriſhed in eaſe and plenty, that they ſoon brought them down with ſorrow to their graves. Theſe were the firſt fruits of this rebellion: which having covered over the northern parts of the kingdom with a deſolation that muſt be left to the reader's imagination—for words cannot expreſs it—began now to be diffuſed over the other provinces. But we muſt leave what was carrying on in Ireland for the preſent, and turn to ſee what was done by the King and Parliament of England, when they received the news of this inſurrection.

The King, as we have obſerved, was at this time in Scotland; whither Sr. Hen. Spotswood had been ſent by ſea to his Majeſty, with letters from the Lords Juſtices and Council on the twenty fifth of October, the third day after the rebellion had broken out. But it appears by what follows, that the King had received the firſt intelligence from the Lord Chichester. For on the fifth of November, the Lord Keeper informed Nalson.
the Houſe of Lords, that he had received a letter from the Lord Howard,

dated the thirtieth of October, which was commanded to be read; and in which, among other things it is ſaid, " that concerning the rebellion in Ireland, his Majeſty upon the firſt notice thereof moved the Parliament of Scotland to take this buſineſs into conſideration; which accordingly they did, and appointed a committee for this very purpoſe, which made report; whereof a copy is incloſed together with a ratification thereof in Parliament, wherein they have teſtified their affection and reſpect to this kingdom." It is proper the reader ſhould be informed, before he goes any further, who Lord Howard was, and in what employment, from whom this account was ſent; or otherwiſe he will be at a loſs to underſtand ſome paſſages that will follow hereafter in this book. When the King went to Scotland, a ſmall committee, of one Lord and two Commoners, was appointed by the two Houſes to attend upon his Majeſty, as it was pretended, but in truth to be ſpies upon him, and to give the ſame aſſiſtance to the Parliament there upon any emergent occaſion, as the Scottiſh commiſſioners had done here. Lord Howard being the perſon appointed by the Lords to be of this committee, as one entirely devoted to the party againſt the Court, it fell to his ſhare to tranſmit the following account to the Lord Keeper.

Nalson.

The report of the committee in the Parliament of Scotland, the King being preſent, the twenty eighth of October ſixteen hundred forty one.

" His Majeſty produced a letter written to him by the Lord Viſcount Chichester, anent ſome commotions in Ireland, which was publickly red in audience of the King's Majeſty and Parliament; and his Majeſty deſired that ſome may be appointed to think upon the buſineſs, ſo far as may concern his Majeſty and the kingdom: and the eſtates nominated the Lord Chancellor, Lord General, Lord Lothian, Lord Amond—and eight or nine Commoners—to think upon ſome courſe neceſſary to be done anent the ſaid letters, and what is incumbent to be done by this kingdom thereupon, and report again to the Parliament.

" On the ſame day in the afternoon, the committee above nominated, appointed for taking into conſideration the report of the commotions in

Ireland,

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Ireland, being met in the Lord General's houſe, and having red the letter directed to the King's Majeſty from the Lord Chichester, dated at Belfaſt the twenty fourth day of October ſixteen hundred forty one, hath conſidered that his Majeſty, out of his wiſdom and royal care of the peace of his kingdoms, hath already acquainted the Parliament of England with the intelligence from Ireland, and has ſent to Ireland to know the certainty of the commotions and of the affairs of that combination, which till it be perfectly known there can be no particular courſe taken for the ſuppreſſing thereof; and the kingdom of Ireland being dependent upon the crown and kingdom of England, the Engliſh may conceive jealouſies, and miſtake our forwardneſs, when they ſhall hear of our preparations without their knowledge in this, wherein they are firſt and more properly concerned: And if the inſurrections be of that importance, as the Britiſh within Ireland are not powerful enough to ſuppreſs it, without greater forces than their allies, and that his Majeſty and Parliament of England ſhall think our aid neceſſary to join with them, we conceive that the aſſiſtance which we can contribute may be in readineſs, as ſoon as England; and if after reſolution taken by his Majeſty, with advice of both Parliaments, it ſhall be found neceſſary that we give our preſent aſſiſtance, we ſhall go about it with that ſpeed which may witneſs our dutiful reſpects to his Majeſty's ſervice and our affections to our brethren, his Majeſty's loyal ſubjects of England, and Ireland."

"The twenty ninth day of October ſixteen hundred forty one.

Red in audience of his Majeſty and Eſtates of Parliament "ad futuram rei memoriam," as ane teſtimony of their affections to his Majeſty's ſervice and the good of their neighbour kingdoms, and appoints three of the Barons and three Boroughs to meet the Earl of Eglington at three hours afternoon, to take to their conſideration by way of eſtimation or conjecture, the number of boats or lime-ſaddes, which, in the parts of this kingdom lying oppoſite to Ireland, may be had in readineſs, and what number of men may be tranſported therein, and to report again to the Parliament."

Beſides this report of the committee, and the ratification of it in the Parliament of Scotland, the King alſo ſent expreſſes to both houſes of Parliament

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ment in England, advertiſing them of this melancholy affair in Ireland, and referring it to their care and management. By this means they became poſſeſſed of a large power and dependence, the miſchief of which, though but little taken notice of in the beginning, was afterwards felt by the King very ſenſibly. At the ſame time he ſent another expreſs to the Earlof Ormonde in Ireland, who had been Lieutenant-General of the army that was diſbanded, with the following letter.

Ormonde,

Carte.

Though I am ſorry for this occaſion I have to ſend unto you, which is the ſudden and unexpected rebellion of a great and conſiderable part of Ireland, yet I am glad to have ſo able and faithful a ſervant as you are, to whom I may freely and confidently write in ſo important a buſineſs. This is therefore to deſire you to accept of that charge over this, which you lately had over the former army: the which though you may have ſome reaſon to excuſe, as not being ſo well acquainted with this Lord-Lieutenant as you was with the laſt, yet I am confident that my deſire and the importance of the buſineſs will eaſily overcome that difficulty; which laid aſide for my ſake, I ſhall accept as a great renewed teſtimony of that affection which I know you to have to my ſervice. So referring what I have elſe to ſay to Captain Weemes's relation, I reſt

Your moſt aſſured friend,

Edinburgh
31ſt Octob. 1641,

CHARLES R.

By the ſame meſſenger a letter was ſent to the Earl of Ormonde by Mr. Secretary Vane; acquainting his Lordſhip "how unwelcome and how unexpected to the King this revolt in Ireland was; but that his Majeſty's care and affection of his faithful loving ſubjects was ſuch, as that all poſſible diligence had been uſed in ſending for ſupplies of men and money from England, and troops out of Scotland to reinforce the Lords in the North." The reader will recollect another letter from the ſame Secretary to the Lords Juſtices, recited in the former book, and which he was deſired then to keep in remembrance for this occaſion; as it ſerves to ſhew the King's deſire to have prevented this inſurrection: and had the Lords Juſtices done their duty, according to the advice and orders ſent them in that letter, in all probability it would have been prevented. It appears by the journal of the Parliament of Scotland above recited, that the King had alſo ſent into Ireland—to the Lords Juſtices no doubt—to enquire into the certainty and the circumſtances of theſe commotions: He ſent over alſo ſeveral commiſſions to perſons of honour and truſt in the North, ſome arms and ammunition, and all the money that he could ſpare: ſo that his Majeſty we ſee was not idle nor careleſs on his part about the conſequences of this rebellion; nor could he poſſibly do more than he did, at the diſtance he was at in Scotland, to remedy and ſuppreſs it. Let us now ſee what was done by the Council and Parliament of England, on receiving the intelligence of this inſurrection.

O Conolly, the firſt diſcoverer of the plot, and who was ſent over with the letters to the Lord Lieutenant, arrived at London on the laſt day of October, and late in the evening delivered them to his Lordſhip. The Lord-Lieutenant, having red them over, and received a full information of all the particulars that O Conolly then knew, on the next day went to the Council Board; and having acquainted the Lords with them, he was directed to communicate them to both houſes of Parliament then ſitting. Accordingly on the ſame day, "The Lord Keeper informed the houſe of Lords, that the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland having yeſterday received a packet of letters and examinations from the Juſtices and Council of Ireland, diſcovering an inſurrection and treaſon in that kingdom, and that the rebels have already committed divers murders, and fired houſes and villages of the Proteſtants there; upon this the Privy Council met at Whitehall, and conſidering it to be a matter of ſo great importance, thought it not fit to omit any opportunity, nor loſe time: therefore becauſe this Houſe was appointed not to ſit till this afternoon, the Lords of the Council, as Privy-counſellors, thought it expedient to communicate the ſame ſpeedily to the Houſe of Commons: And this morning in a full houſe, their Lordſhips in perſon cauſed the letters and examinations concerning the buſineſs to be publickly red unto them, and deſired the Houſe of Commons to take the ſame into

Nalson.

conſider-

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conſideration." The letter of the Council to the Lord Lieutenant, the whole contents of which the reader hath already ſeen in the former part of this book, was then red in the Houſe of Lords; with the examinations and proclamations there already alſo recited. Two private letters to the Lord Lieutenant from the two Lords Juſtices were alſo red; declaring the ſtate and danger which that kingdom is in, if there be not preſent ſupply of arms, men, and money from England. The Lord Keeper then acquainted the Houſe, that the Lords of the Council being informed of the packets of letters that came this week from Ireland, had ſent out their orders and ſtaid them, and committed them into the hands of the Gentleman-Uſher, until their Lordſhips further directions be known herein. Whereupon the Lord Privy-Seal, Lord Admiral, Lord Chamberlain, Earl of Bath, Earl of Southampton, Earl of Leicester, and Earl of Warwick were appointed to be a committee, to open and read ſuch letters as conduce any thing to the diſcovery of the affairs of Ireland, and to report the ſame to this houſe, and to return thoſe which concern merchants affairs to the Poſtmaſter to be delivered to the owners; their Lordſhips, or any ſeven or more of them to meet when they pleaſe, and have power by virtue hereof to divide themſelves into ſeveral, by any four or more, as they ſhall ſee occaſion."——Let us now ſee what paſſed relating to this affair in the Houſe of Commons.

Rushwor.

"Upon the firſt day of November, Mr. Pym acquainted the Houſe, that there was a noble Lord at the door, one of the King's Privy-council, who ſaith that certain Lords of the Privy-council Members of the Houſe of Peers, have buſineſs of great importance to impart to this Houſe, and deſire to do it in perſon; it being privately intimated to the Houſe, that it was to impart intelligence newly come of a breaking out of a rebellion in Ireland. The Houſe thereupon ordered chairs to be ſet for thoſe Lords; and as they entered into the Houſe they came uncovered, the ſerjeant carrying the mace before them. Likewiſe the members of the Houſe of Commons at their coming were uncovered till their Lordſhips were ſate on their chairs; which being done, both the Houſe, and the Lords ſate covered. The Lords that came, were the Lord Keeper of the great ſeal of England, the Lord Privy-ſeal, the Lord High-chamberlain, the Lord Admiral, Earl Marſhall, Lord Chamberlain, Earl of BATH, Earl of DORSET, Earl of LEICESTER, Earl of HOLLAND, Earl of BRISTOL, Earl of BERKSHIRE, Lord Viſcount SAY and SEAL, Lord GORING, Lord WILMOT; being all Lords of his Majeſty's moſt honourable privy council. The Lord Keeper firſt ſtood up and ſaid, that the occaſion of their coming thither, was to impart what intelligence they had received out of Ireland of a great conſpiracy in that kingdom, to enter into an attempt of hoſtility and to raiſe rebellion, which was diſcovered but the night before it was deſigned to be put in execution: therefore becauſe it is a matter of great importance, and requires a ſpeedy reſolution to ſuppreſs them in the beginning, the Houſe of Peers have thought fit to communicate this matter to this Houſe." Then the Earl of LEICESTER—ſometime before made Lord Lieutenant of Ireland—ſtood up and ſpake uncovered, much to the ſame purpoſe of what the Lord Keeper had ſaid, and communicated letters and papers ſent by the Lords Juſtices; adding further, " that they had information of ſhedding much blood of the Proteſtants there, and ſome of the rebels confeſs that all the Proteſtants were to be cut off, and not to ſave any Britiſh men, women, or children alive, but to root them out of the nation: that the time for putting this bloody deſign in execution, was upon Saturday the twenty third of October, a day dedicated to ST. IGNATIUS the founder of the ſociety of the Jeſuits. Their deſign was to ſeize upon the King's forts, caſtles, and magazines throughout the kingdom; to kill the Lords Juſtices and all the King's Privy Council, and to ſeize upon the caſtle of Dublin; having in Ulſter ſeized already ſeveral forts and magazines." The Lord Lieutenant further added, " that there muſt be a ſpeedy courſe taken—for a little thing will draw diſeaſes away at firſt—that there be timely ſupply from England with men and money, which will enable us to do great things to ſave Ireland; for the ſafety of England depends upon it: and then he delivered the examinations and letters mentioned above, which were red by the clerk of the Houſe of Commons."

Before I relate the proceedings of the Houſe of Commons on this intelligence, the reader will give me leave to obſerve, that the Lord Keeper in the Houſe of Lords, and the Lord Lieutenant in the Houſe of Commons, had both exceeded the informations that had been given, either in the letters,

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or in the examinations tranſmitted over. No hiſtorian hath taken notice of this falſification; and yet one cannot believe that it was owing in both to accident or miſtake. The Lord Keeper hath ſaid, "that the rebels have already committed divers murders," and the Lord Lieutenant, beſides, affirming "that they had information of ſhedding much blood of the Proteſtants there," added moreover "that the deſign of the rebels was to kill the Lords Juſtices and all the King's Privy-council. Whereas neither in the letters, nor in the examinations, is there a ſingle word of any murder being then committed; nor was there the leaſt thought among the conſpirators, for any thing that appears, of killing particularly the Lords Juſtices and all the King's Privy-council: and the Council in their letter, after giving an account of ſeveral robberies, burning houſes and villages, and ſeizing ſome forts and caſtles, expreſly ſay, "and this though too much, is all that we yet hear is done by them." For what end or purpoſe, an enterpriſe, ſo deteſtable in itſelf, ſhould be thus made more odious than the truth would warrant, let the reader determine for himſelf. There is no accounting fairly for ſuch a repreſentation, but by ſuppoſing——what might be the caſe—that an information of ſome murders had been received in the inſtant of O Conolly's leaving Dublin, which was not committed to writing.

Rushwor.

The examination of O Conolly, the letter of the Council to the Lord Lieutenant, and the proclamation which was iſſued firſt, having been red, the Lords of the Council withdrew: And the Commons being unwilling to loſe time in helping the diſtreſſed kingdom of Ireland, reſolved themſelves into a committee of the whole houſe; whereupon Mr. Speaker left the chair, and Mr. Whitlock a Member of great parts and ability being made chairman, the committee came to ſeveral reſolutions, which he reported when the Speaker reſumed the chair; and which were agreed to by the Houſe to be the heads of a conference to be deſired with the Lords.

"Reſolved,

That fifty thouſand pounds ſhall be forthwith provided for the ſervice of Ireland; and that a conference be had with the Lords, to move them that a ſelect committee of the Members of both Houſes may be appointed to

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go to the city of London, and make a declaration to them of the ſtate of the buſineſs in Ireland, and to acquaint them that the lending of monies at this time will be an acceptable ſervice to the commonwealth; and that they propoſe unto them the loan of fifty thouſand pounds, and aſſure them that they ſhall be ſecured both for the principal and intereſt by act of Parliament.

Reſolved, that another head of this conference ſhall be to deſire the Lords, that a ſelect Committee of both Houſes may be named to conſider the affairs of Ireland, and of the raiſing and ſending of men and ammunition from hence into that kingdom.

Reſolved, that Owen O Conolly who diſcovered this great treaſon in Ireland, ſhall have five hundred pounds preſently paid him; and two hundred pounds a year penſion, until a proviſion be made for an inheritance of greater value.

Reſolved, that the perſons of Papiſts of quality in the ſeveral counties of this kingdom may be ſecured.

Reſolved, that another head ſhall be, that a liſt be brought in of the Queen's prieſts and other ſervants.

Reſolved, that a proclamation be iſſued forth commanding all ſtrangers, that are not of the Proteſtant religion, to deliver in tickets of their names and an account of their ſtay here, within two days after the iſſuing forth of the ſaid proclamation, or elſe to depart the kingdom forthwith."

Theſe votes were accordingly communicated to the Lords at a conference managed by Mr. Whitlock: whereupon the Lords afterwards ſent a meſſage to the Houſe of Commons, that they had appointed a ſelect committee of twelve Lords to go into the city, deſiring that a proportionable number of the Houſe of Commons may go with them, to move the city for the loan of fifty thouſand pounds for the preſent occaſions of Ireland; and thereupon the Houſe of Commons named a committee accordingly.

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The Lords alſo acquainted the Commons, that they had named a ſelect committee of Lords to be a ſtanding committee to manage the affairs of Ireland; and deſired the Houſe of Commons to name a proportionable number of their Houſe: thereupon a committee of fifty two were named to meet with the Lords to be a ſtanding committee for the affairs of Ireland. —It may be proper to inform the reader, that Nalson makes Mr. Pym the manager of this conference; and to the reſolutions above recited adds another, that a committee of Lords may be nominated to take the further examination of Owen O Conolly upon oath, upon ſuch interrogatories as ſhall be offered by a committee of the Houſe of Commons, and in the preſence of that committee. There is ſome other difference in the account, but which is not very material: and Nalson tells us, that "Mr. Pym ſaid he was commanded by the Houſe of Commons to deſire their Lordſhips to let the Earl of Leicester know, that they take his diligent and timely acquainting the Parliament with his intelligence, concerning the rebellion and treaſon in Ireland, very well; for which he was commanded to give his Lordſhip thanks from the Houſe of Commons for his good ſervice done therein to the King and kingdom."

Nalson.

The Lords having agreed to the reſolutions of the Commons communicated at the conference, the Lord Keeper by command of the Houſe, returned their thanks to the Lord Lieutenant—as Mr. Pym had done in the name of the Commons—deſiring alſo his Lordſhip to write ſpeedily to the King, to acquaint him with the affairs of Ireland and the danger that kingdom is now in; and to let his Majeſty know what the Parliament had done towards a ſupply and aid for reducing the rebels. At the ſame time it was ordered, that his Lordſhip ſhould write to the Lords Juſtices and Council of Ireland, to acquaint them that the Parliament had taken into their care to ſend them a ſupply of men and money with all convenient ſpeed, and are reſolved to give them aſſiſtance in this great defection: wiſhing them to perſiſt in their diligence and care in defending that kingdom againſt the rebels until ſuccours can be ſent them; and that they give intelligence with the firſt opportunities how the ſtate of that kingdom is, and how the rebels behave themſelves."

The Parliament of England having proceeded thus far, on the two firſt days after the diſcovery had been made to them of the Iriſh inſurrection, on the two days following—being the third and fourth of November—the Houſe of Commons came to theſe further reſolutions;—"That the Houſe holds fit that two hundred thouſand pounds be forthwith ſupplied for the preſent occaſions of Ireland; That a convenient number of ſhips ſhall be provided for the guarding of the ſea-coaſts of Ireland; That this Houſe holds fit that ſix thouſand foot and two thouſand horſe ſhall be raiſed with all convenient ſpeed for the preſent expedition into Ireland; That the Lord Lieutenant ſhall preſent to both Houſes of Parliament ſuch officers as he ſhall think fit to ſend into Ireland to command any forces to be tranſported thither; That the magazines of victuals ſhall be forthwith provided at Weſt-Cheſter to be ſent over to Dublin, as the occaſions of that kingdom ſhall require; That the magazines of arms, ammunition, and powder, now in Carliſle, ſhall be ſent over to Knockfergus in Ireland; That it be referred to the King's Council, to conſider of ſome fit way, and to preſent to the Houſe, for a publication to be made of rewards to be given to ſuch as ſhall do ſervice in this expedition to Ireland, and for a pardon of ſuch of the rebels in Ireland as ſhall come in by a time limited, and for a ſum of money to be appointed for a reward of ſuch as ſhall bring in the heads of ſuch principal rebels as ſhall be nominated; That letters ſhall be forthwith ſent to the Juſtices in Ireland, to acquaint them how ſenſible this Houſe is of the affairs of Ireland; That the committee of Iriſh affairs ſhall conſider how and in what manner this kingdom ſhall make uſe of the friendſhip and aſſiſtance of Scotland in the buſineſs of Ireland; That directions ſhall be given for the drawing of a bill for the preſſing of men for this particular of Ireland." Rushwor.

To theſe reſolutions, Nalson hath added, "That in Briſtol and Weſt-Cheſter, and one other port in Cumberland, magazines of arms, ammunition, powder, and victuals ſhall be provided, to be tranſported into the next convenient ports of Ireland, as the occaſions of that kingdom ſhall require; That all arms, ammunition, and powder in the magazines at Hull —— except ſuch a proportion of powder, bullet, and match, as ſhall be thought fit for the ſupply of the northern counties as occaſion ſhall require

—be tranſported to the Tower of London; That a convenient number of engineers and gunners ſhall be ſent into Ireland; That a Poſt ſhall be ſet up between Beaumaris and Holyhead; That the Houſe holds it fit that a drum ſhall be forthwith beaten for the calling in of volunteers for the ſervice of Ireland; That the eleven thouſand pounds in ready caſh in the chamber of London ſhall be forthwith paid over to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland for the preſent occaſions of that kingdom, and that the commiſſioners and treaſurers appointed in the act grant forth their warrants and orders accordingly; That the officers and cuſtomers of the ſeveral ports of this kingdom towards Ireland, do make diligent ſearch in all trunks and other carriages that come to be tranſported from England to Ireland, that belong to any Papiſt or ſuſpected perſon; and particularly that thoſe trunks ſent by Exeter ſhall be ſtayed and ſearched."

Nalson.

In the mean time, whilſt the Commons were employed about theſe reſolutions, " it was ordered in the Houſe of Peers, that the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland ſhould take care, that all ſuch perſons as are now in this kingdom, and have places of truſt or command in Ireland, ſhould ſpeedily repair thither to their ſeveral charges in the defence of that kingdom. The ſeveral interrogatories prepared for the examination of O Conolly were red, as follow. What ground had you to ſuſpect that the Papiſts had any deſign upon the ſtate of Ireland? What have you heard any Prieſts or others ſay concerning the promoting the Romiſh religion? What diſcourſe have you had with Macmahon concerning any ſuch deſign in Ireland? Have you heard of any deſign in England or Scotland of the like nature, and what is it you have heard? Declare your whole knowledge."—I ſee nothing in thoſe queſtions that can warrant the accuſation which Nalson has formed upon them againſt the Parliament; " of their deſigning purpoſely to draw out ſomething from him, which might give colour to the pretended calumnies againſt the King or Queen, or both of them, as being ſome way or other concerned in promoting popery and the rebellion in Ireland." But it was impoſſible for the Parliament to be more prejudiced againſt the King, or more ready to ſuſpect him on every occaſion which adminiſtered the leaſt room to do ſo, than this writer was prejudiced againſt the Parliament, and ready to impute intentions to them on the moſt diſtant grounds.

Nalson.

"The Lord Privy-Seal reported, that the committees of both Houſes had gone into the city the day before in the name of the Parliament, to acquaint them with the ſtate of affairs in Ireland; and that without a ſpeedy ſupply of men, arms, and money, that kingdom would be in danger to be loſt; but the Parliament required nothing of them but the loan of money—fifty thouſand pounds—which ſhould be ſecured to them by act of Parliament, with advantage to themſelves, with intereſt. Upon this, his Lordſhip ſays, that the Mayor, Aldermen, and Common-council, being much moved at the relation, and as it was the caſe of religion, retired to conſult among themſelves till it was very late, and ſo the committee left them. But the Recorder had that morning waited on the Lords of the Council at Whitehall, and declared, that he was ordered to acquaint their Lordſhips, that ſo great ſums of money had been lately drawn from that body that they were hardly able to ſupply this occaſion: "yet that they had ſuch hearty and good affection to the cauſe, it being for religion's ſake, the ſaving the lives and eſtates of Proteſtants, the ſaving of a kingdom, and the preſerving it to the dependency of this crown, they would do their utmoſt endeavours, but would not promiſe any thing before every man had conſulted with himſelf what he was able to do; which they promiſed to do ſpeedily, and the Recorder hoped to give a further account of it that night."

"The Lord Keeper then ſignified that he had received a letter from Mr. Secretary Vane, dated the twenty eighth of October laſt from Holyrood-houſe, touching the intelligence which his Majeſty had received in Scotland concerning the rebellion in Ireland; which is by his Majeſty's command to be communicated to both Houſes of Parliament here, to whom he hath recommended the care of thoſe affairs, and expects their advice what courſe is fitteſt to be taken for the reducing of that kingdom. His Lordſhip added, that he had received copies of other letters, which were ſent to his Majeſty out of the north parts of Ireland, deſiring him to ſend them ſpeedy ſupplies for the ſaving of that kingdom." Theſe were all referred to the committee for Iriſh affairs. The reſolutions of the Houſe of Commons above recited were then red and agreed to: and the Lord Keeper was ordered to take care to ſee them ſent to Ireland; as alſo to ſend copies of them to his Majeſty, that he may ſee the care of his Parliament in his abſence concerning the affairs of Ireland. The Lord Admiral was alſo ordered to give command for the ſtopping the Poſts towards Ireland, upon ſuch as were then going from Flanders thither: and a draught of a declaration to be ſent into Ireland to the Lords Juſtices, with a letter from the Speakers of both Houſes of Parliament, were preſented to the Houſe and red. The declaration was as follows:

Nalson. Rushwor.

The Lords and Commons in this preſent Parliament being advertiſed of the dangerous conſpiracy and rebellion in Ireland, by the treacherous and wicked inſtigation of Romiſh prieſts and jeſuits, for the bloody maſſacre and deſtruction of all the Proteſtants living there, and other his Majeſty's loyal ſubjects of Engliſh blood, tho' of the Romiſh religion, being ancient inhabitants within ſeveral counties and parts of that realm, who have always in former rebellions given teſtimony of their fidelity to this Crown: and for the utter depriving of his royal Majeſty and the Crown of England from the government of that kingdom—under pretence of ſetting up the Popiſh religion—have thereupon taken into their ſerious conſideration, how theſe miſchievous attempts might be moſt ſpeedily and effectually prevented, wherein the honour ſafety and intereſt of this kingdom are moſt nearly and fully concerned: wherefore they do hereby declare, that they do intend to ſerve his Majeſty with their lives and fortunes for the ſuppreſſing this wicked rebellion, in ſuch a way as ſhall be thought moſt effectual by the wiſdom and authority of Parliament: and thereupon have ordered and provided for a preſent ſupply of moneys, and raiſing the number of ſix thouſand foot and two thouſand horſe to be ſent from England, being the full proportion deſired by the Lords Juſtices and his Majeſty's Council reſident in that kingdom, with a reſolution to add ſuch further ſuccours as the neceſſity of thoſe affairs ſhall require. They have alſo reſolved of providing arms and munition, not only for thoſe men, but likewiſe for his Majeſty's faithful ſubjects in that kingdom, with ſtores of victuals, and other neceſſaries as there ſhall be occaſion: and that theſe proviſions may more conveniently be tranſported thither, they have appointed three ſeveral ports in this kingdom; that is to ſay, Briſtol, Weſt-Cheſter, and one other in Cumberland, where the magazines and ſtorehouſes ſhall be kept for the ſupply of the ſeveral parts of Ireland. They have likewiſe reſolved to be humble mediators to his Majeſty for the encouragement of thoſe Engliſh or Iriſh, who ſhall upon their own charges raiſe any number of horſe or foot for his ſervice againſt the rebels; that they ſhall be honourably rewarded with lands of inheritance in Ireland according to their merits: and for inducing the rebels to repent their wicked attempts, they do hereby commend it to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, or in his abſence to the Lord Deputy or Lords Juſtices there, according to the power of the commiſſion granted them in that behalf, to beſtow his Majeſty's gracious pardon to all ſuch as within a convenient time, to be declared by the Lord Lieutenant, Lord Deputy, or Lords Juſtices and Council of that kingdom, ſhall return to their due obedience; the greateſt part whereof they conceive have been ſeduced on falſe grounds, by cunning and ſubtle practices of ſome of the moſt malignant rebels, enemies to this ſtate and to reformed religion; and likewiſe to beſtow ſuch rewards, as ſhall be thought fit and publiſhed by the Lord Lieutenant, Lord Deputy, or Lords Juſtices and Council, upon all thoſe who ſhall arreſt the perſons, or bring in the heads of ſuch traitors as ſhall be perſonally named in any proclamation publiſhed by the State there: and they do hereby exhort and require all his Majeſty's loving ſubjects, both in this and that kingdom, to remember their duty and conſcience to God and his religion, and the great and imminent danger which will involve this whole kingdom in general, and themſelves in particular, if this abominable treaſon be not timely ſuppreſſed; and therefore with all readineſs, bounty, and chearfulneſs, to confer their aſſiſtance in their perſons and eſtates to this ſo important and neceſſary a ſervice for the common good of all."

The letter to the Lords Juſtices from the Speakers of both Houſes, which was to accompany the declaration, was as follows:

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My Lords Juſtices, and the reſt of his Majeſty's Council of his Majeſty's kingdom of Ireland.

I have received a command from the Lord's Houſe in this preſent Parliament, to ſend unto you this incloſed declaration of the Lords and Commons in Parliament, for the better encouragement of his Majeſty's faithful ſubjects, to unite and employ themſelves in oppoſing and ſuppreſſing the rebels of this and that kingdom; the publiſhing whereof I am to recommend to your care and wiſdom, and reſt, &c.

Nalson.

When theſe letters had been red and agreed to in the Houſe of Lords, an ordinance of Parliament to give power to the Lord Lieutenant to grant commiſſions and to raiſe men for Ireland, which had paſſed the Houſe of Commons the day before, was then agreed to by the Lords, as follows:— "The Lords and Commons in Parliament, being very ſenſible of the great danger and combuſtion in Ireland by reaſon of the multitude of rebels now in arms for the deſtruction of his Majeſty's loyal ſubjects there, and the withdrawing that kingdom from the allegeance of his Majeſty and the Crown of England; and foraſmuch as in this time of his Majeſty's abſence, his royal commiſſion cannot be ſo ſoon obtained as the neceſſity of that kingdom doth require; and for more ſpeedy oppoſing the wicked and traiterous attempts of the rebels there, and for that his Majeſty hath eſpecially recommended the care of the preſervation of that kingdom unto both the Houſes of Parliament, do hereby ordain and authoriſe Robert Earl of Leicester Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, by warrant under his hand and ſeal, to give one or more commiſſions to ſuch captains, commanders, and other officers, as to his Lordſhip ſhall ſeem expedient, for the levying of three thouſand five hundred foot and ſix hundred horſe, by the beating of drum, of ſuch perſons as ſhall voluntarily undertake the ſame ſervice by accepting of preſt money; which perſons are to be raiſed in ſuch ſeveral parts of the kingdom, as ſhall be moſt convenient for their paſſage into the parts of Ireland, which his Lordſhip ſhall think moſt neceſſary to be forthwith ſupplied: and for the furniſhing of the ſame men, as alſo of other of his Majeſty's ſubjects in that kingdom, we have ordained that the Earl of Newport, Maſter of his Majeſty's ordnance, ſhall deliver a number of arms, munition and powder anſwerable, unto the ſaid Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, to be diſpoſed of as he ſhall think fit for the beſt defence of that kingdom: and for the levying the ſaid number of men this ordinance of Parliament ſhall be his ſufficient warrant."

Nalson. The ordinance to the Lord NEWPORT juſt mentioned was red and agreed to at the ſame time; together with another to the Lord High Admiral, to provide ſhips with all expedition for the tranſporting of the men, ammunition, arms, and other proviſions that were thus ordered to be ſent to Ireland; the Parliament having reſolved to ſee moneys ſupplied for the performance of this ſervice. But notwithſtanding the ordinance of Parliament, the Earl of LEICESTER it ſeems made a ſcruple of raiſing men to be employed in the war in Ireland, without the King's commiſſion: and this being communicated to the Houſe by the Lords committees for Iriſh affairs, the Lords, according to the power given them by his Majeſty mentioned in that ordinance, thought fit to order again, "that the ſaid Lord Lieutenant ſhall have full power by virtue of this order to levy men according to the order given him from the Parliament, in the interim, until his Majeſty ſhall grant him a commiſſion under the great ſeal of England for his warrant for ſo doing." The Houſe of Commons being alſo made acquainted with his Lordſhip's ſcruple, agreed to a reſolution that he ſhould proceed to raiſe men for the ſervice by virtue of the ordinance of Parliament.——It appears very ſtrange, that a ſeparate vote of the two houſes ſhould be thought to give an authority, to which the ordinance of Parliament had not been deemed ſufficient.

Nalson. About the ſame time a letter from the Lord HOWARD, dated at Edinburgh the ſecond of November, and directed to the Lord Keeper, was produced and red in the Houſe of Lords; the purport of which was this: "That the King had again moved the Parliament of Scotland to take the buſineſs of Ireland into further conſideration; and tho' they will not do any thing in it till they hear from the Parliament of England, yet they have taken a ſurvey of what ſhipping and boats they have to tranſport men in, and what number of men they are able to ſend over if need be; and they find they are able to land a conſiderable number of men in the North

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of Ireland, and that with more ſpeed and leſs charge than it can be done from any other part of the King's dominions, and their Highlanders are conceived proper to fight with the Iriſh in their own kind and country amongſt hills and bogs." On the next day the Lord Keeper reported a conference with the commons; in which Mr. Pym delivered by command of that Houſe divers heads agreed unto by them, as inſtructions to be ſent to the Commiſſioners of both Houſes then attending on his Majeſty in Scotland, in which they deſire their Lordſhips to join with them. "Firſt, you ſhall humbly inform his Majeſty, that the propoſitions made to the Parliament of Scotland, concerning their aſſiſtance for ſuppreſſing the rebellion in Ireland, hath been fully conſidered and debated by both Houſes of Parliament here; and their wiſe and brotherly expreſſions and proceedings are apprehended and entertained here by us, not only with approbation but with thankfulneſs: wherefore we deſire that his Majeſty will be pleaſed, that you, in the name of the Lords and Commons of England, give public thanks to the ſtates of the Parliament of Scotland, for their care and readineſs to employ the forces of that kingdom for the reducing the rebellious ſubjects of Ireland to their due obedience to his Majeſty and the Crown of England. Secondly, you ſhall further make known to his Majeſty, that in the great and almoſt univerſal revolt of the natives of Ireland, cheriſhed and fomented as we have cauſe to doubt by the ſecret practices and encouragements of ſome foreign ſtates ill-affected to the Crown, and that the northern parts of that kingdom may with much more eaſe and ſpeed be ſupplied from Scotland than from England, we humbly deſire and beſeech his Majeſty, to make uſe of the aſſiſtance of his Parliament and ſubjects of Scotland, for the preſent relief of thoſe parts of Ireland which lie neareſt to them; according to the treaty agreed upon and confirmed in both Parliaments, and this affectionate and friendly diſpoſition now lately expreſſed, as is more particularly ſpecified in the fifth article. Thirdly, you ſhall preſent to his Majeſty the copy incloſed of the declaration which we have ſent into Ireland, for the encouragement of his good ſubjects there, and for the more ſpeedy and effectual oppoſing of the rebels: and in the execution and performance of our expreſſions therein made of zeal and faithfulneſs to his Majeſty's ſervice, we have already taken care for fifty thouſand pounds to be preſently borrowed and ſecured by Parliament. We have likewiſe reſolved to haſten the Earl of Leiceſter,

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Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, very ſpeedily to repair thither, and forthwith to raiſe a convenient number of horſe and foot for ſecuring Dublin and the Engliſh Pale, with ſuch other parts as remain in his Majeſty's ſubjection, intending to ſecond them with a far greater ſupply. Fourthly, we have further ordered and directed, that his Majeſty's arms and munition lying in the caſtle of Carliſle, ſhall be tranſported into the North parts of Ireland for the ſupply of Carricfergus and other his Majeſty's forts and garriſons there; and that a convenient number of men ſhall be ſent from the North parts of England, for the better guard and defence of thoſe forts and countries adjoining; and that a large proportion of arms and other munition ſhall be ſpeedily convey'd out of his Majeſty's ſtores to Weſt-Cheſter, to be diſpoſed of according to the direction of the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, for arming the men to be ſent from England, and ſuch other of his Majeſty's loyal ſubjects as may be raiſed in Ireland. Fifthly, and becauſe we underſtand that the rebels are like with great ſtrength to attempt the ruin and deſtruction of the Britiſh plantation in Ulſter, we humbly adviſe his Majeſty, by the counſel and authority of his Parliament in Scotland, to provide that one regiment conſiſting of a thouſand men furniſhed and accompliſhed with all neceſſary arms and munition, as ſhall ſeem beſt to their great wiſdom and experience, may with all poſſible ſpeed be tranſported into Ireland, under the command of ſome worthy perſon well affected to the reformed religion and the peace of both kingdoms, and well enabled with ſkill and judgment and reputation for ſuch an employment; which forces we deſire may be quartered in thoſe Northern parts for the oppoſing the rebels, and the comfort and aſſiſtance of his Majeſty's good ſubjects there; with inſtructions from his Majeſty and the Parliament of Scotland, that they ſhall upon all occaſions purſue and obſerve the directions of the Lord Lieutenant, his Lieutenant General, or the Governour of Ireland, according to their authority derived from his Majeſty and the Crown of England. Sixthly, and as touching the wages and other charges needful which this aſſiſtance will require, we would have you in our name to beſeech his Majeſty to commend it to our brethren the eſtates of the Parliament of Scotland to take it into their care, on the behalf of his Majeſty and this kingdom, to make ſuch agreements with all the commanders and ſoldiers to be employed, as they would do in the like caſe for themſelves;

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and to let them know for our parts we do wholly rely upon their honourable and friendly dealing with us, and will take care that ſatiſfaction be made accordingly."

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To theſe ſix articles the Lords aſſented, making only this alteration in which the Commons acquieſced; "that a thouſand Scots for the preſent be ſent over into Ireland, with an intimation of a deſire of nine thouſand more, to make up ten thouſand men, if occaſion be, according to ſuch articles as ſhall be agreed upon with the Parliament of England." But to theſe the Commons had added two other articles, complaining of the great miſeries and diſtempers which for ſeveral years had afflicted all his Majeſty's kingdoms, and had iſſued from the falſe and malicious practices of ſome in places of council and authority about the King; many of whom they enumerated with great aſperity, and with more paſſion than truth. "To the ſame evil counſellors they profeſs to impute the cauſe of the conſpiracies and commotions then in Ireland; who, if they were ſtill to continue in credit and authority, would apply thoſe aids which the Parliament might raiſe for ſubduing that rebellion to the fomenting it, and in the end to the deſtruction of the Proteſtant religion and all his loyal ſubjects in both kingdoms. They beſeech him therefore to change theſe councils, and to employ ſuch Miniſters as ſhall be approved of by his Parliament:" and if his Majeſty will not condeſcend to this ſupplication, they proceed to threaten him in plain terms, "that they ſhall reſolve upon ſome ſuch way of defending Ireland from the rebels, as may concur to the ſecuring themſelves from ſuch miſchievous councils and deſigns, as have been and ſtill are in practice againſt them, as they believe; and to commend thoſe aids, which this great neceſſity would require, to the cuſtody and diſpoſing of ſuch perſons as they had cauſe to confide in." The Lords had not yet loſt all ſpirit; and tho' they did not put a direct negative to theſe articles, which bore ſo hard and ſo unceremoniouſly upon the Crown, yet they evidently ſhewed their diſlike of them by deferring the debate upon them till another day: and when the Commons afterwards in a conference preſſed the Lords to agree with them in theſe articles, relating to evil counſels and counſellors, as they had done in the others, and they would tarry four or five days for their Lordſhip's reſolutions, yet the Peers ſtill perſiſted in putting off the conſideration of thoſe articles to a day which never came. They agreed however to a petition, which was to be ſent to his Majeſty with thoſe inſtructions, in the following words:

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To the KING's moſt excellent Majeſty.

The humble petition of the Lords and Commons in Parliament.

Moſt gracious Sovereign,

Whereas this meſſenger, MR. PICKERING, is employed with inſtructions to our committees in Scotland, to petition your Majeſty to propound to your Parliament of Scotland, our deſire of ſome aids from that kingdom for the ſuppreſſing of the rebels in Ireland; if it fall out that your Majeſty ſhall be come out of Scotland, or our committees, before the arrival of this meſſenger there, we humbly beſeech your Majeſty to give authority to the ſaid MR. PICKERING to preſent the ſaid inſtructions to the Parliament of Scotland, and to bring back their anſwer to the Parliament of England.

After this, an order made by the Houſe of Commons was red and agreed to; "that an ordinance of Parliament may paſs, to engage the honour credit and authority of both Houſes of Parliament, for the ſecuring and repaying to the city the fifty thouſand pounds with intereſt, deſired to be borrowed of them for the occaſions of Ireland; and that a proviſional act ſhall paſs with all ſpeed for repayment of the ſaid ſum with intereſt within ſix months." At the ſame time an ordinance of Parliament, that had paſſed concerning Iriſh affairs, was red, as follows: Whereas there is juſt cauſe to conceive that divers ill-affected perſons here, being natives or inhabitants of Ireland, do intend to paſs over thither to join with the rebels, it is ordained by the Lords and Commons in Parliament, that no Iriſhman ſhall paſs out of any of the parts of this kingdom to return into Ireland, without ſpecial licence of the committees of both Houſes for Iriſh affairs, or the Lords of his Majeſty's moſt honourable Privy-council, or of the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. It is further ordered, that no arms, munition, or powder, ſhall be tranſported, without ſuch licence as is aforeſaid. It is likewiſe ordained by the ſame Lords and Commons, that whereas upon

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the peruſal of divers letters and other intelligence here, there is juſt cauſe to ſuſpect that divers of his Majeſty's ſubjects in Ireland had ſome hand in the conſpiracy and rebellions of the Iriſh, that the Lord Lieutenant ſhall certify from time to time, during his abode in England, into Ireland, the names of ſuch ſuſpected perſons, and the grounds and reaſons of the ſuſpicion; and that thereupon the Lords Juſtices of Ireland and the reſt of his Majeſty's Council there, ſhall enter into examination of the ſaid parties, and ſhall have power to commit them to priſon till the truth may be fully diſcovered; that ſo they may either be cleared if they be innocent, or if they be found guilty, they may be proceeded againſt according to the laws: and that this ordinance of Parliament ſhall be a ſufficient warrant to the Lord Lieutenant, Lords Juſtices and Council aforementioned.—There is ſomething ſo extremely ſilly and ridiculous in the latter half of this ordinance, in ſuſpecting ſome of the ſubjects in Ireland to have had a hand in the conſpiracy and rebellion there,—for who elſe had any hand in it?—and in giving authority to the Lord Lieutenant and Lords Juſtices, to do what they had already a full power to do by their commiſſions, and what they certainly would do of themſelves if there was occaſion, that we are obliged, I think, to ſuppoſe the Parliament exceſſively fond of their power in making ordinances, or they would never have made them to purpoſes ſo unneceſſary and impertinent.

Nalson. The Lord Admiral next acquainted the Houſe, that he had command and directions from his Majeſty to ſend ſome ſhips for the guarding the Iriſh coaſts, and alſo ſome ſhips to keep the narrow ſeas; becauſe his Majeſty conceived, that the rebellion in Ireland is fomented from abroad, and that they expect ſome ſupply from foreign parts.—In other times of order, and of decent regard to royal authority, ſuch a direction as this from the Sovereign to the Lord High Admiral, would have been deemed a ſufficient warrant: nay a neglect, or a diſobedience to this command, would be thought a crime and a miſdemeanor of no ſmall degree. But at this time the Parliament had aſſumed the ſupreme dictatorſhip of the whole ſtate; and little more of ſovereignty was then left to the King, than the name, and mere appearance. It doth not belong to this hiſtory, to ſhew for what reaſons, and by what ſteps, this ſtrange revolution in the government was brought about: in what manner the King aſſumed an arbitrary power the firſt fifteen years of his reign, and intended to render himſelf abſolute; and how the Houſe of Commons obliged him to redreſs their grievances and to ſecure the liberties of the people, but not ſtopping at this juſt reſiſtance, grew to be greater tyrants than the King. This is too well known already, I ſuppoſe, to all who will read this hiſtory; and if it is not, this is not a place to relate it in: a writer of the hiſtory of England in thoſe times muſt be conſulted for that account, if the reader can meet with one that is impartial enough to lay it before him with truth and faithfulneſs; which I have never met with. But in this preſent work, I confine myſelf entirely to what relates to Ireland, or is ſo connected with the affairs of it at that time, as makes it neceſſary to be mentioned: and therefore I proceed to relate, that the Lord High Admiral, inſtead of obeying the King's directions as the immediate ſervant of the Crown, deſired the directions of the Parliament in what manner he ſhould comply with his Majeſty's orders in this particular; and it was reſolved to have a conference with the Commons upon the ſubject. Several orders of the lower Houſe were then red and aſſented to, relating to their giving leave to Merchants for the tranſportation of Spaniſh money into Ireland, to the amount of twenty thouſand pounds, in ſuch ſhips as had been appointed to that ſervice; the ſaid ſums of money ſo tranſported being entered here in the Cuſtom-houſe, and certificates returned from the ports of Ireland in which the money was landed.—The reader hath now had an account of all the meaſures that were taken by the King and Parliament of England, in conſequence of the firſt intelligence which they received of the inſurrection that was broke out in Ireland. The King, it muſt be owned, had done every thing on his part towards the ſuppreſſing it, and for the ſpeedy aſſiſtance of his Proteſtant ſubjects, that was in his power to do. The two Houſes of Parliament too, on whom, being then himſelf in Scotland, he had devolved the care and management of relieving Ireland, had readily undertaken it. Many ſpeeches had been made; many zealous and ſpirited reſolutions had been taken; and much ſeeming concern employed, to ſtop the progreſs of this rebellion, and to give aſſiſtance and ſupply, of men, and money, and arms, to the Proteſtant ſubjects of that kingdom. But notwithſtanding all theſe pompous votes, and their care of Ireland, of which they made many vain oſtentatious boaſts, yet it was not leſs than two months after they had the news of the rebellion, and the deplorable ſtate which that kingdom was in for want of men and money, before any material ſuccours were received in that unhappy country. But we muſt now take our leave of England for a while, and attend the progreſs of the rebels, and the meaſures purſued in Ireland for their defeat.

When Sr. Phelim O Neil had made ſuch a rapid progreſs as we have ſeen in the firſt week of his inſurrection, and had ſo many thouſand men under him as their Chief, his head, which was always weak, began to be turned with his ſucceſs. One would think that he had promiſed himſelf that he ſhould be King of Ulſter: for he aſſumed all the dignity and juriſdiction which had of old belonged to that title, being indeed deſcended from the firſt Earl of Tyrone. Thus he cauſed his proclamations to be made in the name of the O Neil, made grants of manors to his adherents with power to try treaſons and felonies; warranting them in the exerciſe of thoſe powers in the ſtile of a Monarch, "according to our royal intention;" and ſubſcribing his letters as Earl of Tyrone. It appears from the account which I have given of the common Iriſh, in my former volume, that far from imagining there was any thing very criminal in acts of rapine and plunder, they rather deemed them to be heroical. To ſuch a people, who imagine there is no great heinouſneſs in their offence, the firſt general offers of pardon are ſeldom made without effect. Their Chief therefore took care that their hands ſhould be dipped in blood; and that they ſhould exerciſe ſuch cruelty to the Proteſtants and Britiſh as muſt make them deſpair of pardon. But whether this was the ſcheme of Sr. Phelim and his confederates to keep his men together, by making all accommodation and laying down of arms impoſſible, or to make his ſoldiers terrible by their cruelty, which he could not aſſure himſelf of by their valour; and whether it was owing to the ſuggeſtion of others, or to the cowardlineſs of his own heart, it is not eaſy for us to determine; perhaps theſe motives might all concur. But it is certain that he firſt began and encouraged thoſe maſſacres, which have juſtly rendered his memory execrable to poſterity, and left ſuch a ſtain upon his nation and religion—whether it ſhould do ſo, or not—as will never be wiped away. There is one circumſtance which inclines people to think, that his cruelty was rather owing to the violence of his nature, than to any policy; which cruelty on ſome occaſions approached to rage and frenzy. On any news of ill ſucceſs, he would immediately order all his priſoners to be murdered, or ſome other act of barbarous and ſenſeleſs vengeance to be committed. In one of theſe fits, he ordered Mr. Blaney, Knight of the ſhire of Monaghan, to be hanged in his own garden; and the old Lord Charlemont to be ſhot: In another, when he heard that the rebels had been repulſed, and ſeveral of the clan of O Neils ſlain in their attack of the caſtle of Augher, he ordered all the Engliſh and Scots within three pariſhes to be killed. But when he was told of the taking of Newry by Lord Conway, he went in haſte and fury to Ardmagh, and in breach of the capitulation made by himſelf under hand and ſeal, as before mentioned, he ordered an hundred people to be murdered, burnt the town, and the cathedral dedicated to St. Patrick;—a name reverenced enough by the Iriſh, one would have thought, to have protected it;—fired all the houſes and villages in the neighbourhood; and butchered many people of all ages and ſexes in the town and country round about. His brother Tirlogh was equal to him, if he did not exceed him, in acts of cruelty: nor were their followers at all unwilling to execute their inſtructions; but giving a looſe to the mortal hatred which they bore the Britiſh and the Proteſtants, rivers of blood were inhumanly ſhed. The reader's humanity will be too much ſhocked with a particular recital of their ſanguinary meaſures. Let it ſuffice here therefore to ſay, that every thing which the moſt ſavage ferocity could ſuggeſt was put in practice by the common ſoldiers; and their maſſacres were committed with ſuch a variety of helliſh tortures, and with ſo many circumſtances of horror, as is ſcarcely to be parallelled in any hiſtory. Nay their inbred hatred to the Engliſh, did not confine itſelf to their perſons and their houſes, but extended even to the poor cattle; many thouſands of which they deſtroyed with the moſt ſenſeleſs and lingring tortures, merely for being Engliſh.

But tho' Sr. Phelim was not yet at the height of his cruelty, yet he was at the height of his ſucceſs; for he never ſucceeded after the firſt week, at the end of which he began the maſſacre, in any one enterpriſe that he undertook. In the laſt wars againſt Tyrone, Dundalk in the county of Lowth had been a frontier town to ſecure the Pale; and had ſo well defended itſelf, that with all the power he had he could never get it into his hands. But at this time, tho' a company of the army lay there, yet the Lieutenant who commanded, having neither arms nor ammunition nor men in readineſs, complied with the inclinations of the inhabitants towards the rebels, and without ſtriking a blow delivered up the place. After this ſucceſs, they marched to Ardee, a little town further up in the county of Lowth, which was immediately ſurrendered; and which lay within ſeven miles of Drogheda. The Lord Moore had removed from his houſe to this place for ſafety; it being within the Pale, and in the province of Leinſter: and here he had the command of a troop of horſe and two companies of foot, with Sr. John Netterville, eldeſt ſon to the Viſcount of that name, under him. But inſtead of being of uſe to him, he fomented the ill affection of the inhabitants, raiſed fears and rumors, ſought a quarrel with Lord Moore by giving him ill language, and gave great cauſe of ſuſpicion that he had a deſign to cut him off, and to ſeize upon his troop for the rebels. The inhabitants were however extremely terrified with their danger; and, the majority of them being Papiſts, were ready to take advantage of the preſent ſeeming neceſſity to ſurrender. The Lord Moore gave immediate intelligence to the ſtate at Dublin, of the imminent danger of the town, without an immediate reinforcement of horſe and foot. For if the rebels ſhould make any ſudden approaches and attempt to ſurpriſe it, he found ſuch ſlender preparations within it for any defence, ſuch apparent diſaffection in the inhabitants, and all things in ſuch confuſion, that he ſhould not be able, by all the endeavours he could uſe with his preſent ſtrength, to give a good account of that place. Hearing nothing from the Council he went himſelf to Dublin, offering to make up his own troop an hundred, and to raiſe an hundred foot at his own expence, but his offer was not accepted; and all that he could obtain was arms and ammunition for a company of the inhabitants. With this reinforcement, Sr. Faithful Fortescue, the Governour, thought the place untenable: and therefore on the news of the taking of Dundalk, he went alſo to the Lords Juſtices and Council: and being able to get no ſuch ſupplies as he thought neceſſary for a place of that importance, he reſigned his government, and wrote to ſome of his friends there, that he was very ready to ſacrifice his life in defence of the place, but did not care to ſacrifice his reputation, or to ſtarve in it. Upon this, the Council ordered a regiment of foot to be immediately raiſed at Dublin under the command of Sr. Hen. Titchborne; "which, as there were three thouſand pounds in the hands of the Vice-treaſurer [in other places the ſame author ſays, and the Council write, "they had no money"] was in a few days compleated, and ſent away with him for the defence of Drogheda."

About this time Sr. Phelim, having notified the pretended commiſſion from the King, and being joined by Roger Moore, whom the reader remembers to have eſcaped from Dublin as ſoon as the conſpiracy was diſcovered, publiſhed a manifeſto to apologiſe for this rebellion: but it differs not more widely from the truth, than from the real motives of his taking arms, and his public declaration that he made at firſt. There is no name nor authority at all to the paper; and it might therefore be owned or diſclaimed juſt as they pleaſed, and as they found it was either of ſervice or prejudice to their cauſe. It was in the name of all the Roman Catholicks of that Kingdom, "who profeſs a pure and immutable allegeance to the King, becauſe he had granted them ſome liberty of religion, but who had ſuffered hard oppreſſions from their governors to the ruin of their lives, eſtates, and honours. They complain of the malignant envious humour of the Engliſh Parliament, againſt them and their religion, as well as to draw the power of the King out of his hands: and therefore they had taken up arms to regain his Majeſty's prerogative, and to ſecure the liberty of their conſciences and their country." This is the ſubſtance of the manifeſto: and their view in diſperſing it was to put a gloſs upon their cauſe, and by repreſenting the great danger of an extirpation of their religion, to engage all the Papiſts in Ireland to join with them, and to procure aids from foreign Princes of the ſame communion. To this purpoſe they diſpatched a friar to Cardinal Richlieu; who detaining him five weeks to ſee how their attempt ſucceeded, they ſent another friar to him with an account of all their proceedings: upon this information, the Cardinal aſſured them that arms for two thouſand two hundred men ſhould be ſent to Wexford; and if they could not be landed there ſhould be carried to Carlingford. An account of this

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was ſent by Mr. Wishart, a Scotchman who had been a priſoner among the rebels, to Mr. Pym: but that zealous patriot, who was ready upon all occaſions to make uſe of pretended plots, and invented diſcoveries of deſigns againſt the commonwealth, thought fit to keep this intelligence in his pocket; which, if it does not ſhew, that he and his party had meaſures to keep with that Cardinal for the furtherance of their project—as it is highly probable—yet it ſhews, that the Patriotiſm of Mr. Pym, was, like that of many in our own time, a cloak to cover his animoſity or ambition.—We muſt now turn to what was doing in other parts of the country, under other leaders of the rebels.

The reduction of the county of Cavan under O Reily, and his humanity to the Engliſh, have been already mentioned. About this time, they ſent a remonſtrance of their grievances to the Lords Juſtices and Council; which, Biſhop Burnet tells us in the life of Bedel, was drawn up by that pious prelate out of matter preſented to him by the rebels: but Mr. Talbot, a Gentleman of that county, writes to the Lords Juſtices, that he underſtood from Mr. O Reily, that this remonſtrance was framed in the Pale, and brought to the Iriſh in Cavan by Colonel Plunket of the county of Dublin. But let this be as it might, the remonſtrance was to this effect: "That they had for a long time groaned under many grievous preſſures from the rigorous government of ſuch as had been placed over them; but that they found themſelves of late threatened with far greater and more grievous vexations, either with captivity of their conſciences, their loſing their lawful liberties, or utter expulſion from their native ſeats, without any juſt grounds given on their parts to alter his Majeſty's goodneſs that had been ſo long continued to them: that they had great cauſe of fears of all this from the proceedings of their neighbour nations; and ſaw it already attempted by certain petitioners for the like courſe to be taken in that kingdom: they had therefore, for the preſervation of his Majeſty's honour and their own liberties, thought fit to take into their own hands for his uſe and ſervice, ſuch forts and other places of ſtrength as might otherwiſe prove diſadvantagious, and tend to the utter ruin of the kingdom; that they had not the leaſt thought of diſloyalty to the King, or of doing any hurt to his ſubjects in their poſſeſſions, goods or liberty: that they deſired the Lords Juſtices to repreſent their fears and grievances to his

Majeſty, that the liberty of their conſciences might be ſecured, and they might be eaſed of their other burdens in civil government, in ſuch a courſe as might be ſettled by their Parliament: As to the miſchiefs which had happened through the diſorder of the common people, they the Noblemen and Gentlemen of that and the ſeveral other counties, were willing to endeavour that reſtitution and ſatisfaction might be made, as they had in part already done. They deſire an anſwer as ſoon as poſſible, to avoid the barbarity and incivility of the common people, who had committed many outrages, without their order, privity, or conſent." The reader muſt own that this is very civil language: but he muſt ſee from what hath been related in the firſt book, that they had no grounds for theſe pretended grievances and fears ſufficient to excite them to this inſurrection; and that nothing could be more abſurd than to ſeize the King's forts and caſtles, in order to preſerve his honour, and the kingdom from ruin. The Council however gave them a fair anſwer; aſſuring them of their readineſs to redreſs their grievances, if they would make reſtitution of what they had taken, and forbear all further acts of violence, and that their remonſtrance ſhould be ſent over to the King; which was done accordingly.

The Sheriff of the county of Longford, a native and a Roman Catholick, ſoon followed the example of that of Cavan; and raiſing the poſſe of the country ſeized all the caſtles and houſes of the Engliſh. This was chiefly inhabited by the clan of the O Farralls; who in general were great ſufferers by the plantations, though they had deſerved well of the Crown in Tyrone's rebellion. They had complained in vain of this undeſerved uſage many years before; and having now, as they thought, an opportunity of redreſs offered them, they reſolved to follow the example of their neighbours. When they had poſſeſſed themſelves of the houſes, caſtles, and plantations of the Engliſh, they ſent a remonſtrance of their grievances to the Lord Dillon of Coſtello, one of the Council; in order to be preſented to the Lords Juſtices, and tranſmitted to the King. The remonſtrance was ſigned by ſix and twenty, all of the name of Farrall; and accompanied with an oath of allegeance to his Majeſty, which all of them had taken, and would ſeal, they ſaid, with their blood. They complain of the ſeverity towards Papiſts in ſome neighbouring counties, of the diſcouragements

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which they all lie under, and the refuſal of the graces of the crown for their lands and liberties, which had brought them to great poverty. They entreated therefore the Lord Dillon, that there might be an act of general pardon without reſtitution, a liberty of their religion, a repeal of all ſtatutes made againſt it, and a charter of free ſubjects for all the native Iriſh. The reader need not be told, that theſe overtures for an accommodation came to nothing.

The Ulſter rebels however had nothing to aſk in particular: their intention was to aboliſh the Britiſh plantations, to re-inſtate themſelves in the poſſeſſions of their anceſtors, and to return to their old Iriſh cuſtoms, tenures, and ways of life. By the barbarous murders which they had committed, they had made a ſubmiſſion impracticable, and would therefore enter into no treaty; which they knew muſt end in an inquiſition into thoſe murders, and in delivering up the guilty to public juſtice. When the news of their inſurrection came to Carrickfergus, Colonel Chichester, who was there, immediately took the proper ſteps for raiſing the country, and put all the arms that could be ſpared from the ſtores into their hands. The ſame courſe was taken in the other towns of the county of Down, which had not been ſurpriſed; forming the people into companies, and putting the moſt conſiderable Gentlemen of the country over them as their officers. Carrickfergus was the place of greateſt ſtrength in thoſe parts; to which the common people, being terrified with the inſurrection, thronged in great numbers with all their ſubſtance. The reports of deſolation ſtill encreaſing, many of them put to ſea with what wealth they had: which, though it anſwered the purpoſe of their own ſafety, yet ſerved to impoveriſh the country very much, and made accommodations for the ſoldiers afterwards greatly wanted. Colonel Chichester being joined by Colonel Hill, and having ſent out ſcouts for intelligence, they wrote to Lord Montgomery of Ardes, who promiſed to meet them at Liſburn with a thouſand men. In their march thither with a body of four hundred and fifty, they were informed of the miſcarriage on the deſign at Dublin; which, from the declaration of the rebels, they imagined to have been taken. When they were all met at Liſburn, they made up an army of above twelve hundred men, with ſeveral good old officers of great experience; but for want of a regular authority to command them they could not be kept together. The ſame courſe which had been taken by Colonel Chichester at Carrickfergus, was taken alſo by Colonel Mathews at Dromore: who getting together a body of two hundred men, attacked five hundred of the rebels; and having killed three hundred of them without the loſs of a man, the next day he purſued the reſt who had hid themſelves about in the buſhes, and ſtarting them like hares out of their formes, killed a hundred and fifty more. Theſe ſucceſſes ſhew plainly, that if the Engliſh had got together in bodies in other places and faced the enemy in the field, inſtead of ſhutting themſelves up in towns and caſtles, their ſafety would have been much better provided for, and the inſurrection probably ſoon ſuppreſſed.

Colonel Chichester, being informed of theſe commotions about Dromore, drew out two hundred foot, and his own and Lord Conway's troops of horſe from Liſburn to aſſiſt Colonel Mathews, who had freſh bodies of the rebels to encounter. In his march he ſaw ſeveral ſmall parties of the rebels; but in places too remote, or too dangerous to be attacked without dividing his forces; or without being diverted from his deſign of relieving Dromore, which they had poſſeſſed. But at the news of his approach, the rebels ſet the town on fire, and retreated as faſt as they could to Newry. The next day, a meſſenger arrived with a commiſſion from the Lords Juſtices and Council to Colonel Chichester, and Sr. Ar. Tyringham, to command in that country; and to order and diſpoſe of places according to their diſcretion. Armed with this authority, they took all the methods in their power for the defence of the country, in which they were greatly encouraged by the return of the expreſs, which the Lord Chichester, as it hath been mentioned, had ſent to Edinburgh to the King; and with the arms and commiſſions which his Majeſty ſent.

Had all the other Lords and Gentlemen, in the intereſt of the Government, been as active and as valorous as theſe in the northern parts of Ulſter, the ſucceſs of the rebels would have been inconſiderable, and of ſhort duration. They ſent for ſeveral of the eminent Iriſh, who had yet remained quiet in their houſes, and ſecured them in the caſtle of Carrickfergus. They relieved the garriſon of Augher, which was ſtormed under the command of Sr. Phelim O Neil in perſon, and repulſed the rebels with the ſlaughter of two hundred men. Diſpirited with this defeat, he lay the greateſt part of the month of November in his camp at Newry; from whence he ſent a body of two or three thouſand men to take Liſburn—then called Liſnegarvy—and of which, from the intelligence he had from ſome within it, he did not doubt. But notwithſtanding the ſuddenneſs of the attack, of which they had no notice, and though the inhabitants fired the town about their ears, yet the officers of the garriſon behaved ſo gallantly, and were ſo well ſeconded by their men, that they repulſed the rebels with ſome ſlaughter, and without the loſs of a man on their own ſide. In a few days after, they made another attack with four thouſand; but Sr. Ar. Tyrringham having in the mean time re-inforced the garriſon with near a thouſand men, the rebels were a ſecond time repulſed with great loſs. The ſame ill ſucceſs attended Sr. Phelim with three thouſand men in an attack of Caſtle-derrick, in his own county of Tyrone; and in his march to burn Rapho in the county of Donnegal. In ſhort his forces were routed in almoſt all the Northern parts; and finding his affairs in this ill ſituation, and that he was daily loſing ground, he marched Southward in order to form the ſiege of Drogheda.

But before we leave the province of Ulſter, it is neceſſary to take notice of an accuſation, which the Iriſh writers bring againſt the Engliſh and Scots in Carrickfergus; "who, they ſay, committed the firſt maſſacre in Ireland, by murdering in one night, about the beginning of November, all the inhabitants of the territory of the iſland of Magee, to the number of above three thouſand, men, women, and children, all innocent perſons, in a time when none of the Catholicks of that country were in arms or rebellion." This accuſation, I preſume, will not a little ſtartle the reader; who hath ſeen that ſeveral murders were committed in the three firſt days of the inſurrection; above an hundred particularly by Rory Macguire in one place: and though the later popiſh writers who vindicate the accuſation, excuſe this contradiction by limiting the ſenſe of the word MURDER, or rather by extending that of MASSACRE to a much greater number than the word Murder was ever thought to ſignify, yet this evaſion is too pitiful. Let it however avail for what it may: it will leſs excuſe the falſhood of this accuſation to ſay, as they have ſaid in excuſe for it, that it was the firſt

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maſſacre committed in ULSTER; becauſe the author of the accuſation has affirmed, "that it was the firſt maſſacre committed on either ſide in IRELAND." If we ſuppoſe the author not to have had a preciſe idea of the word maſſacre, which is an indiſcriminate ſlaughter, in order to ſave his credit we muſt alſo ſuppoſe him not to know the meaning of the word COUNTRY; becauſe he ſays, that this maſſacre was at a time when none of the Catholicks "of that country" were in arms or rebellion. Will that expreſſion convey an idea to the reader of no other part of the county of Antrim, but the narrow iſland of Magee itſelf, which is a peninſula adjoining to the town of Carrickfergus; or will it not naturally lead him to ſuppoſe that it means the adjacent country? To be ſure he will underſtand it in the latter ſenſe, and then it is abſolutely falſe: for not only in the county of Antrim in which this iſland ſtood, but in the county of Down which runs up to it, the rebels had been in arms before the beginning of November, even from the very firſt day of the inſurrection. Suppoſing the fact therefore of a maſſacre there to be true, yet the circumſtances of its being the firſt, and before any of the Catholicks of that country had been in arms, are manifeſtly falſified.

But as the fact of ſo great a maſſacre is ſtrenuouſly inſiſted upon, it may be worth while to examine its credibility. The iſland, or rather the peninſula of Magee, which is artfully enough called a territory, that the reader may be led to ſuppoſe it a large diſtrict, capable of ſupporting a numerous race of inhabitants, is a long narrow tongue of land, three miles in length, and at a medium a mile in breadth, at that time not cultivated, and without a ſingle town. If any one can believe that ſuch a territory was ſo thoroughly then thronged as to contain above three thouſand inhabitants, when the whole kingdom of Ireland was extremely thin of people, he may believe it for himſelf, but he ſhould not deſire to impoſe it upon other people. If there is any truth in the fact of a maſſacre there, which is very probable, it may be confidently affirmed that it was not the firſt in Ireland, nor in Ulſter, nor before any Catholicks of that country had been in arms: and it may be ſuppoſed, in order to reconcile it with probability, that the number reported by the author was three hundred, but being written in figures was eaſily miſtaken in the copy for three thouſand. I have been the more particular in expoſing this falſhood, becauſe it is produced by the late writers above-mentioned; as well as by Abbé Geoghgan, in his French Hiſtory of Ireland, about three years ago.

Whilſt theſe things paſſed in Ulſter, the Lords Juſtices and Council were taking all the meaſures poſſible for defence againſt the rebels; but calculated rather for their own ſafety, than for that of the kingdom. Enough had been done already, one would think, for the ſecurity of the caſtle and city of Dublin: but as though the Council thought nothing was enough for their own ſafety, and as though they cared little what became of the reſt of the people, in ſhort, as though they more inclined now to continue than ſuppreſs the rebellion, they ſent for all the horſe of the army except five troops, and all the foot to Dublin. Not ſatisfied with this, they gave a commiſſion to Sr. Cha. Coote to levy a thouſand men more there; which he accompliſhed in a few days, out of thoſe who had eſcaped, and ſurvived their hardſhips in the North. Had this army, when it was thus collected, been ſent under proper officers into Ulſter—and there had been Deputies who had ſuppreſſed as formidable a rebellion with as ſmall a number of forces—the rebels that were in arms would have been defeated; and the report only of ſuch an army marching againſt them would have deterred others from riſing. If they had not heads or hearts amongſt them capable of forming ſuch a reſolution—and one of theſe muſt be ſuppoſed—yet ſurely when the Earl of Ormonde, who by this time was come to them with his troop of horſe, propoſed to march immediately with the horſe and foot that could be ſpared, and attack the rebels before they had any ſupply of arms, they were inexcuſable in rejecting his propoſal. There muſt have been ſome other reaſon for this refuſal, than fears for their own ſafety, and the caſtle of Dublin: for beſides fifteen hundred old well diſciplined foot, they had near five thouſand new raiſed men, and three hundred horſe. What their real motives were for this aſtoniſhing refuſal one cannot ſay: but the want of arms for all the men, which was the only reaſon they gave themſelves, was ſo notoriouſly falſe—there being arms and tents and all other neceſſaries in the ſtores for above ten thouſand men—that it could be uſed only to cover motives which they were aſhamed of owning. It appears from ſeveral letters of Sr. Wil. St. Leger, a brave old officer and Preſident of Munſter, to the Earl of Ormonde, that they were ſo much afraid of their orchards and gardens about Dublin that they could think of nothing elſe. But whether it was owing to this cowardice, or to any directions they had from the faction in the Engliſh Parliament, whoſe creatures many of the Council were, or to their own hopes of lucre from the forfeited eſtates by the ſpreading of the rebellion, that they did not care to cruſh it in the bud, which ſome parts of their conduct gave too much room to ſuſpect, it is impoſſible for us to determine. But moſt certain it is, that they did not take one vigorous ſtep to improve any opportunity that was offered of quelling this rebellion; and that they did all they could to prevent the Earl of Ormonde from doing the ſame.

The Lords Juſtices and Council were not only extremely wanting in vigour and diſpatch, but they neglected the rules of policy which all wiſe ſtates obſerve in conjunctures of this nature. It is true that at this time they publiſhed a proclamation with a promiſe of pardon; but then they took care to confine it ſo much to places, and to limit it to ſuch conditions, and dates, as made it of little uſe. The reader expects no doubt that it was principally to operate in the province of Ulſter, where alone almoſt at that time there had been any inſurrection; and that it ſhould have been a general pardon to all Gentlemen not concerned in any maſſacre, murder, or deliberate act of cruelty, in order to produce as well a diſtraction of counſels among the rebels, as a thought in every man of providing for his own ſafety, and, with a defection of ſome of the leaders, the deſertion of their followers. This indeed would have been wiſdom; and in the hiſtory of all ages it hath been found by experience to have had good ſucceſs. But in this caſe there was nothing like it. The proclamation of pardon was to no other rebels than thoſe in the four counties of Meath, Weſtmeath, Lowth, and Longford; in the two firſt of which no body of rebels had then appeared, only ſome few plunderers; and from this all freeholders, and all that had ſhed blood, or were in priſon for any ſpoil, were expreſly excepted: the time of ſubmiſſion was within ten days after the date of the proclamation; and the goods that had been wrongfully taken away, and conſequently diſperſed into various hands, were alſo then to be reſtored. Let the reader determine whether this proclamation could be intended to ſtrike at the root of the rebellion, or anſwer any valuable purpoſe. The fears of the Council however encreaſing with the outrages of the rebels, under a pretence of ſhewing confidence in the Lords and Gentlemen of the Pale, but in reality to get their aſſiſtance, in the beginning of November, they gave out ſeveral commiſſions of martial law to them, "empowering them to purſue and put to death in battle or otherwiſe, according to their driſcretion, all the traitors and their adherents; and to take or ſpoil all their caſtles, houſes, goods, and territories; or, otherwiſe according to their diſcretion, to receive any of them to mercy, and to forbear the devaſtation before mentioned." There was another commiſſion given to the chief perſons of quality in the Pale and the parts adjacent; which, beſides the power of martial law, gave them authority to raiſe the forces of the county, and to have the command of them in oppoſing the incurſions of the rebels. But as theſe governors, with all their power, could do little without arms, to Lord Gormanston there were delivered arms for five hundred men in the county of Meath, for three hundred in the county of Kildare, for three hundred in the county of Lowth, three hundred for the county of Weſt-meath, and three hundred in the county of Dublin, with match and bullet proportionable to them all.

On the fifth of November, the adminiſtration ſent a ſecond diſpatch to the King in Scotland, and letters to the Privy-council, the Lord Keeper, the Speaker of the houſe of Commons of England, and to their Lord Lieutenant; in all which they gave an account of their imminent danger, and the neceſſity of ſending them relief immediately, or the kingdom would be loſt. To the Lords of the Council they gave a particular detail of the progreſs of the rebellion; "that many had been already ſlain, and ſome hewed to pieces in the province of Ulſter; that the counties of Longford and Leitrim had joined in the inſurrection, and thoſe of Meath and Lowth had fallen upon the Engliſh near about them. They held it their duty therefore to preſs for the ſpeedily ſending over ten thouſand foot and a thouſand horſe, together with ſome able commanders, and an hundred thouſand pounds in money; without all which, they muſt repeat it again and again, the kingdom would be utterly loſt, the Proteſtants and Engliſh all deſtroyed, and a new conqueſt muſt be made of Ireland." It is very

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certain that the poiſon of this rebellion, which had hitherto been confined to the Northern counties and their confines, began at this time to be diffuſed into other parts of the kingdom; and when the reader conſiders the cowardly, or the negligent conduct of the adminiſtration—to give it the ſofteſt epithets—he will not wonder that it ſhould do ſo. If they complained, and complained with reaſon, of the little regard ſhewn to their diſtreſſes by the Engliſh Parliament, the loyal people of Ireland had full as much reaſon to complain of them. They made a great buſtle with their proclamations and commiſſions; but they went no further. They ſhut themſelves up at Dublin ſurrounded with a good army and plenty of ammunition; but the diſtreſſes of the country, which were ſounded in their ears every hour, ſerved to little other purpoſe than to add to their fears, and to make a further proviſion for their own ſafety. Thus on the twelfth day of November, when the Iriſh in the county of Wicklow roſe up moſt furiouſly, ſpoiling, robbing, and murdering all the Engliſh inhabitants, burning their houſes, and driving away their cattle, the council, tho' convinced of the importance of driving the rebels thence which was in their neighbourhood, yet terrified to death at the thoughts of diminiſhing the guard of their own perſons, ſate ſilently looking on, and gave not the leaſt aſſiſtance whatſoever to their miſerable fellow ſubjects. The rebels being thus unmoleſted, even under the noſe of government, and left to exerciſe their cruelties at their pleaſure, it is no wonder that the Iriſh of Wexford and Carlow, two adjoining counties in the ſame province of Leinſter at a further diſtance from Dublin, ſhould follow the example of their neighbours. The county of Kildare was even nearer than that of Wicklow; and gave great room to ſuſpect that the arms and ammunition, which had been given them for the defence of the Engliſh, would be turned againſt them. But neither the diſtreſſes of the people who were under their care, nor the example of the defeats which were given the rebels by ſmall bodies of the army in the northern counties; in ſhort neither the honour of the ſtate, nor their own reputation, could prevail on them to diminiſh their own ſtrength but for a day. The objects of wretchedneſs which arrived every hour at Dublin, covered with rags or almoſt naked, widows lamenting the murder of their huſbands, mothers of their children deſtroyed before their faces, infants ready to periſh in their mother's boſoms, ſome ſtupified with grief, others diſtracted with their loſſes, and all having no place where to lay their heads, nor food to ſupply their hunger, theſe ſhocking ſpectacles, inſtead of animating them with a proper ſpirit to ſcourge and ſuppreſs the villanies of the rebels, added only to their amazement and their terror; unleſs we will ſuppoſe a much worſe diſpoſition: And if the members of the government, who had all the power and ſo much ſtrength in their hands, were thus benumbed with fear, we may eaſily gueſs at the diſtraction of the inhabitants, who figured in their imagination all theſe calamities and cruelties at their gates. Every man began to conſider himſelf and his own private preſervation, as the example had been ſet them, before that of the publick. Thoſe who lived in the ſuburbs removed their families into the city; the Council and people of quality ſhut themſelves up in the caſtle; where even many began to ſuſpect their ſafety, and embarked with all poſſible ſpeed on board the ſhips in the harbour; and to heighten their calamities, it was the moſt diſmal tempeſtuous ſeaſon, that had ever been known for ſo great a length of time in the memory of man. But the Lords Juſtices were come to a determined reſolution, not more ſtupid than it was fatal, to do nothing more with the army than ſecure Drogheda, and the Metropolis, till they received ſupplies from England; of which, on the tenth of November, they had an aſſurance in the declaration of the Engliſh Parliament, already recited, which then arrived. Elated with the expectation of powerful ſuccours out of England, they thought they had no occaſion of any further aſſiſtance within the kingdom; and therefore very imprudently ſent for the five hundred arms that had been given to Lord Gormanston, thereby renouncing any confidence in him; as alſo for the three hundred that had been ſent to Louth, tho' that county was the moſt expoſed of any. The other arms which had been delivered out were alſo ſent for; but they were diſperſed into ſo many hands that it was impoſſible to recover above an hundred and fifty. Nothing had happened to give occaſion for any further ſuſpicion of the Lords and Gentlemen of the Pale, than when the arms were entruſted with them; and therefore the Council ought either not to have put theſe arms into their hands, or they ought to have let them remain there. But they were viſibly under ſuch impreſſions of fear—to ſay the beſt in their favour—that their counſels were not to be accounted for on the principles of reaſon.

On the day after they had received the declaration of the Engliſh Parliament, the Lords Juſtices and Council publiſhed a Proclamation, "requiring every perſon whatſoever, not having neceſſary cauſe of reſidence in the city of Dublin and the ſuburbs thereof, and the places within two miles about the ſame, to be approved of by the Council of war, to repair to their reſpective homes within twenty four hours after the publication of the proclamation, upon pain of death." This was a rigorous treatment of many Gentlemen, of the Pale particularly, who had retired to Dublin as a place of ſecurity for their perſons, whilſt their goods and cattle were plundered by the robbers; who took advantage of theſe troubles to ſpoil and plunder tho' they did not join the rebels. This meaſure was not only therefore very inconvenient to thoſe Gentlemen, but it proved in the end to many of them very fatal. For they were not only obliged to return to their houſes without arms, expoſed in a ſhort time after to the violence of the rebels, whom they were unable to reſiſt, but alſo to pay them contributions for leave to live in quiet, and to have a conſtant intercourſe with them; which in the eye of the law is treaſon, and which induced ſeveral to join with them. This was particularly the caſe of Sr. Rob. Talbot; who, after engaging againſt the rebels in defence of the Engliſh, for which his two beſt houſes were burnt down, and he had retreated with his family to Dublin, where he had offered to raiſe men if the Council would furniſh him with arms, had not leave to remain at Dublin; but was forced by this proclamation upon pain of death to depart he knew not whither, and therefore in the end to enter into the confederacy againſt his will. It will need all the candour of the reader to make any excuſe for the violence and ingratitude of the adminiſtration towards this Gentleman; eſpecially when it is added, that at the firſt breaking out of the inſurrection, he made an offer to Parsons to ſecure the heads of the clans in the county of Wicklow if he would authoriſe him to do ſo; aſſuring him that the clans would not ſtir whilſt their Chiefs were in cuſtody as hoſtages for their fidelity; and that it was the moſt effectual way to prevent an inſurrection in that province. The wholſomeneſs of that advice muſt be evident to every man of common ſenſe; and why the Miniſter would not take it, unleſs he was in reality frightened out of his wits—which is the beſt that can be ſaid—it is not difficult by this time for us to gueſs.

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The reader may remember that the Parliament had in Auguſt laſt adjourned to November, with the conſent of the Lords Juſtices, in order to continue the ſeſſion, till the King's Graces—as they are called—which their committee were bringing over, had paſſed into acts. He may alſo remember, that in a day or two after the conſpiracy was diſcovered, the adminiſtration had prorogued the Parliament to February; "ſuppoſing that it would draw ſuch a concourſe of people to Dublin, as would give opportunity under that pretence of aſſembling and taking new counſels." Some few of them however were of courſe to meet in Parliament on the day of the adjournment, in order to declare the prorogation. But Mr. Bourke, who was one of the committee ſent into England, already mentioned, complained of the prorogation to the Lord Dillon of Kilkenny about a week before: inſiſting on the injury which it did to the nation in general, and to the members in particular, who were thereby precluded from expreſſing their loyalty and obedience to the King, and from ſhewing their deſires to ſuppreſs this dangerous rebellion. The Lord Dillon informing the Council of this uneaſineſs, and that Mr. Bourke had gone ſo far as to ſay, that if the Miniſtry perſiſted in the prorogation, the members would have reaſon to reſent it, and would complain to the King of this injuſtice, he was ſent for to the board; where in a modeſt manner he delivered himſelf to the ſame effect. Upon this, the Council entered into a debate, how far it might be thought reaſonable to condeſcend to the deſires of the committee. The Earl of Ormonde, the Lord Viſcount Dillon, and ſome others, were of opinion, that the prorogation ought not to take place, but that the Parliament ſhould ſit according to the adjournment made in Auguſt; and this opinion was well ſupported. For beſides the ſupplies of money that the Commons might give—which would not only procure credit as ſoon as they were voted, but would alſo be collected much ſooner than they could hope for in any other way—they urged the very ill condition of the whole kingdom on account of the rebellion in Ulſter, which had already reached ſome of the counties of Leinſter, and was ſpreading into Conaught; that all the nation was in great expectation of having the King's Graces, that the committee had brought over, confirmed in this ſeſſion of Parliament, for which the adjournment was aſſented to; and therefore that a diſappointment in this very important article, would probably exaſperate them to ſuch a degree, that the inſurrection would become general and draw out the war into a great length: whereas it was now ſo eaſy to ſuppreſs them, that the Earl of Ormonde offered, if they would ſupply him with arms for ſuch volunteers as would follow him, and give him power to take up proviſions in the country thro' which he marched, he would undertake to put an end to the rebellion within a month. But the Lords Juſtices, and their party in the Council, were not to be won with theſe reaſons; and inſiſted on the prorogation. They ſaid "it would highly trench on the wiſdom and gravity of the board, to alter a reſolution ſo ſolemnly taken up, and made known to the whole kingdom by a proclamation; that it would be of dangerous conſequence to bring ſo great a number of people into the city at ſuch a time; that many of the Proteſtant members, and others well affected of both houſes, were ſo diſperſed, or ſhut up, that they could not come to the meeting of the Parliament; which would give the Iriſh ſuch a Majority as would enable them to carry every thing in their own way, and joining with the ill affected in the city might deſtroy the State and the reſt of the Engliſh in thoſe parts." Theſe reaſons, which were too ſhallow to be the true ones, in a city from which all ſtrangers had been baniſhed by proclamation, which was guarded by a garriſon of above four thouſand men, and in a Parliament from which moſt of the native Iriſh were abſent, did not ſatisfy the other Councillors; but on a vote it was carried to abide by the prorogation. It was thought fit however to do ſomething to make this meaſure leſs diſagreeable to thoſe who had complained of it: and after a long debate on all particular circumſtances, it was agreed that the Earl of Ormonde, Sr. John Temple, and Sr. Piers Crosby, ſhould have a meeting with ſome of the moſt leading members in the Houſe of Commons, to inform them that the Council approved of their inclination to do ſomething in the Parliament that might tend to the ſuppreſſion of the rebellion: and tho' they could not conſent to diſanull their prorogation, yet they would ſo far comply with them as to limit it to a ſhorter time; and would conſent to their preſent ſitting for one day, if they would immediately draw up a proteſtation againſt the rebels, with whom they might appoint a committee to treat about laying down their arms: and as to their grievances, the Council were ready

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to receive them, and would tranſmit them directly to his Majeſty for redreſs. The members of the Houſe of Commons were extremely troubled when they found that the prorogation was not to be altered; but ſeeing no remedy, they were obliged to take up with what was offered: hoping when the two houſes were met in a body, they might prevail with the adminiſtration by a joint addreſs, and obtain leave for ſitting longer, or for a ſhorter prorogation. Confiding in theſe hopes, and in the probability of doing ſomething for the ſatisfaction of the people and the ſafety of the kingdom, they ſeemed tolerably well contented, and undertook to make the proteſtation in as ample a manner as was deſired.

On the day to which they were adjourned, the Lords and Commons met in Parliament at the uſual place in the caſtle. The garriſon was put under arms, and the Juſtices appointed a guard of muſketteers; not to infringe the freedom of the debates, but to ſecure the perſons of thoſe who met there, as well as the ſafety of the caſtle. Both the Houſes were the thinner, on account of the Proclamation which had been iſſued for the prorogation: this intention of ſitting not having reached the members of Conaught and Munſter; and the rebellion having intercepted the Lords and Gentlemen in the province of Ulſter. The Houſe of Commons went immediately upon the ſtate of the kingdom, and to frame a proteſtation againſt the rebels. Many of the members were very averſe to give them that appellation; many of their own houſes and eſtates being in their power, and being unwilling to do any thing that might widen a breach which they all wanted to heal. The Houſe of Commons therefore ſent up "a meager cold proteſtation"——ſays Sr. John Temple——to which the Proteſtant Lords objected: there being great reaſon to fear, that if they were not declared rebels, ſuch an omiſſion might be interpreted a ſeeming approbation of the inſurrection. Rejecting therefore ſome virulent expreſſions, which might enflame and could not poſſibly do any good, an accommodation was made, by drawing up the proteſtation in ſuch terms, as the law adopts in indictments of treaſon, to which both Houſes unanimouſly conſented; and it was as follows:

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The Proteſtation and Declaration of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons in Parliament aſſembled.

Whereas the happy and peaceable eſtate of this realm, hath been of late, and is ſtill, interrupted by ſundry perſons ill affected to the peace and tranquillity thereof, who contrary to their duty and loyalty to his Majeſty, and againſt the laws of God, and the fundamental laws of the realm, have traiterouſly and rebelliouſly raiſed arms, have ſeized ſome of his Majeſty's forts and caſtles, and diſpoſſeſſed ſeveral of his Majeſty's faithful ſubjects of their houſes, lands and goods, and have ſlain many of them, and committed other cruel and inhuman outrages and acts of hoſtility within this realm: The ſaid Lords and Commons in Parliament aſſembled, being juſtly moved with a right ſenſe of the ſaid diſloyal rebellious proceedings and actions of the perſons aforeſaid, do hereby proteſt and declare, that they the ſaid Lords and Commons from their hearts do deteſt and abhor the ſaid abominable actions; and that they ſhall and will to their uttermoſt power maintain the rights of his Majeſty's Crown and Government of this realm, and peace and ſafety thereof, as well againſt the perſons aforeſaid, their abettors and adherents, as alſo againſt all foreign Princes, potentates, and other perſons and attempts whatſoever: and in caſe the perſons aforeſaid do not repent of their aforeſaid actions, and lay down their arms, and become humble ſuitors to his Majeſty for grace and mercy, in ſuch convenient time, and in ſuch manner and form as by his Majeſty or the chief governor or governors and Council of this realm ſhall be ſet down, the ſaid Lords and Commons do further proteſt and declare, that they will take up arms and will with their lives and fortunes ſuppreſs them and their attempts, in ſuch a way as by the authority of the Parliament of this kingdom, with the approbation of his moſt excellent Majeſty, or his Majeſty's chief governor or governors of this kingdom, ſhall be thought moſt effectual.

The two houſes alſo joined in an ordinance, empowering nine Lords and above twelve Commoners, after receiving directions and authority from the Council, to confer with the rebels in Ulſter and other parts, about the cauſe of their taking up arms, and ſuch other matters as they ſhould be ſo directed and authoriſed to confer about; to report all to his Majeſty, the

Council, or the Parliament, and to proceed according to their directions. As theſe neceſſary proceedings could not be diſpatched in one day, they continued ſitting the next, to the great uneaſineſs of the Juſtices; with whoſe deſigns ſays Lord Castlehavin it ſeems they did not ſquare; they having often been heard to declare, "that the more were in rebellion the more lands would be forfeited to them." The two Houſes however underſtanding that they intended to prorogue them on that evening, "they ſent ſome members from each Houſe to the Lords Juſtices, to deſire the continuance of the Parliament, at leaſt till the rebels then few in number were reduced. But they met with an abſolute denial, to the great ſurpriſe of both Houſes, and the general diſlike of all knowing and honeſt men." The Parliament, offended juſtly as they were at this conduct, did not forget what they owed their country: and though they were not allowed to take any meaſures themſelves to ſuppreſs the rebels, yet they paſſed an ordinance to empower the adminiſtration to raiſe the poſſe of any counties they ſaw fit; to make levies and continue ſuch a number of armed men during the preſent troubles, under ſuch commanders as the counties ſhould agree to; and to levy and collect money for the ſupport of the ſaid forces, in ſuch manner and form as the ſaid counties ſhould think fit. They likewiſe drew up a repreſentation of their ſentiments to the King, on the moſt effectual methods to quell the rebellion, and reſtore the peace of the nation. To this public diſpatch, a committee of the Lords added a private paper of inſtructions, and ſent them by Lord Dillon of Coſtello, a Proteſtant and a Privy-councillor; the event of which will be mentioned in its proper place. It ſhall be ſaid only here, that his Lordſhip had been one of the committee that was ſent into England in the ſummer; that he was a man of good parts, very active, generally eſteemed, well affected to the Crown, but no friend to the meaſures which the Miniſtry in Ireland were then purſuing.

There was ſomething ſo very weak, or wicked, in not permitting the Parliament to ſit at this critical juncture, that the reader will excuſe a reflection or two upon it before I go any further; in order to ſhew that the greateſt part of the miſeries which Ireland underwent in this rebellion, were in a good meaſure occaſioned by the obſtinacy, or the evil intentions of thoſe who were then at the helm. In all the periods of our hiſtory ſince

Parliaments had an exiſtence, they were ever looked upon as the natural and the beſt reſource in national diſtreſſes; and on leſs urgent occaſions, and rebellions more dangerous than this was then, they had often been called particularly in Ireland. Indeed Sr. John Davys ſays, and the hiſtory of that country ſhews it, that ſuch rebellions had been the general cauſe of holding Parliaments, eſpecially at the reformation, and under Queen Elizabeth: when religion was the conſtant pretence of inſurrections, and the two Houſes were compoſed moſtly of Roman Catholic Members. But now the wiſdom of this meaſure was ſlighted, when the adminiſtration had every favourable circumſtance on their ſide; and nothing but their own fears and jealouſies, or ſomething worſe, to ſet againſt it. The Members which compoſed the Parliament were men of great eſtates and credit in their ſeveral counties; and though they could have nothing to get, yet they had much to loſe, and more to fear by the rebellion: and who therefore ſo proper to adviſe the meaſures for ſuppreſſing it? But ſuppoſing the reſolution and the means they ſhould adviſe were of no uſe, yet ſurely the ſupplies of money which they might have given, and which they offered to give if they might be allowed to ſit, were of great importance at ſuch a juncture, when there was none in the treaſury, and when they could not have it ſo ſpeedily in any other method. There were ſcarce five Members at that time engaged in the rebellion, and thoſe only of the native Iriſh: there was no reaſonable ground to ſuſpect the reſt would join with them, or, in order to remove any ſuſpicion, that they would not exert themſelves with zeal; which whether it was real or pretended would equally ſerve the ſtate. Every body knows the power which the diſcovery of a conſpiracy gives a government; and there was no doubt but the adminiſtration might have carried every thing that was eſſential to the ſervice of the Crown, when no one durſt openly have oppoſed any motion made for ſuch an end. In ſhort there never could be ſtronger or more preſſing reaſons for the ſitting of a Parliament than there were at this time in Ireland. For beſides the rebellion actually then on foot, the Graces lately granted by the King, in which the whole nation was concerned, and which arrived after the adjournment, were to be confirmed in this ſeſſion, and were expected with great impatience. To diſappoint them therefore in ſuch an eager expectation of ſuch very important and national benefits, could only ſerve to irritate thoſe who were well affected, and to make the others deſperate. The Miniſters, if they knew any thing of the ſtate of the nation, muſt know this: and yet to aggravate the uneaſineſs which the prorogation gave to the Parliament and the People, they diſmiſſed the two Houſes, without ſaying a word of the Graces from the King, or giving them any aſſurance, or even a faint glimmering hope, that they ſhould be paſſed in another ſeſſion.

The breaking up of the Parliament in ſuch a manner, and the ſtrang aversion ſhewn by the Lords Juſtices to its ſitting though but for a day, threw a great part of the nation into deſpair. It encouraged the rebels, and vaſtly encreaſed their numbers in many parts of the kingdom. The Miniſters had made themſelves very unacceptable to the greateſt part of people of conſequence, by ſeveral meaſures ſince the breaking out of this rebellion. But the greateſt diſcontent of all, as Lord CASTLEHAVEN ſays, was occaſioned by this prorogation: " The Parliament being the only way the nation had to expreſs their loyalty and to prevent their being miſrepreſented to their Sovereign; which had it been permitted to ſit for any reaſonable time, would in all likelihood, without any great charge or trouble, have brought the rebels to juſtice: for the war that afterward enſued, was headed and carried on principally by members that then ſat in Parliament: And to ſay that theſe Members were all along concerned in the rebellion, or engaged with the firſt contrivers of it, is to make them not only the greateſt knaves, but the verieſt fools upon earth: ſince otherwiſe they could not have been ſo earneſt for the continuance of the Parliament, whilſt ſitting in the caſtle and under the Lords Juſtices guards, who upon the leaſt intelligence, which could not long be wanting, had no more to do than to ſhut the gates and make them all priſoners, without any poſſibility of eſcape, or hopes of redemption."

But we muſt now turn to ſee what was doing in the country by the rebels. It has already been obſerved, that all the other provinces, beſides Ulſter, had generally continued quiet till about the middle of November; when the counties of Wicklow, Wexford, and ſome others in the provinces of Leinſter, joined in the inſurrection. The peace of the other parts were however tolerably well preſerved till the end of November; the Iriſh Gentlemen in Conaght and Munſter continuing firm; and no man of quality and eſtate deſcended from the Engliſh race appearing to join and countenance the rebels. In the Province of Conaght, the ſtrength of the Engliſh Proteſtants was very inconſiderable. The Lord Ranelagh was Preſident and Governor of the whole province, except the county of Galway; but he had only his own troop of horſe and three companies of foot to defend it. The adminiſtration therefore committed the care of the county of Mayo to the Lords Dillon and Mayo, who kept it in order for ſome months without any aſſiſtance from the government: and though ſome plunderers had joined the Ulſter rebels in the county of Leitrim, and made ſome excurſions into Sligo and Roſcommon, ſpoiling Iriſh as well as Engliſh, yet all the Noblemen and Gentry aſſiſting the Lord Preſident, the devaſtations were ſoon put a ſtop to, and the province preſerved in obedience to the State. To this no body contributed more than the Earl of Clanricarde; a Roman Catholic, and a Peer of England as well as Ireland, and who by a particular commiſſion was governor of the county and town of Galway. A great deal may be ſaid of his parts, accompliſhments, birth, alliances, and eſtate; but too much can ſcarcely be ſaid of his good heart and temper. By an hereditary inclination, as well as his own principles, he was ſtrongly attached to the Crown: and having received particular obligations from the King, he remembered them with a gratitude which is not common in any age, and then was very extraordinary. He was but juſt ſettled in Ireland when the rebellion began: but being the firſt man of quality in his county, with a vaſt eſtate, and the moſt conſiderable Gentlemen in it being ſome way or other related to him, his preſence, joined with his inceſſant zeal and application, were of great advantage to that province. But nothing was of more effect than the care which he took, after the prorogation of the Parliament, to quiet the minds of the people there, by an aſſurance of their obtaining the Graces of the King which had been ordered for them, with a probability of ſomething further if they preſerved their allegeance. To render this aſſurance ſtill more effectual and authentic, he made application to his Majeſty on this head; who, in a letter of the tenth of December, commands him to aſſure all his ſubjects of that province who have remained faithful to him and his Crown, that they ſhall

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receive the fruits and effects of whatſoever he hath promiſed and formerly directed for the ſettlement of their eſtates. The care and activity of Lord Clanricarde in preventing any inſurrection in his county, though a very large one, and though not ſupported with arms and ammunition from the government, were ſo conſpicuous and effectual, that he received the public thanks of the two Houſes of Parliament in England, at the end of November.

In the province of Munſter, of which Sr. William St. Leger was Lord Preſident, the Engliſh were very numerous, and very ready to aſſemble in a body in order to preſerve the peace and ſafety of the country; but they were utterly deſtitute of arms: and all the ſollicitations made by Sr. William, which were ſtrong and numerous, could not perſuade the Lords Juſtices and Council to ſpare him any. He was a brave old ſoldier, of great experience and activity; and did every thing that it was poſſible for a man to do with one troop of horſe, which was all his guard for the whole province; a guard ſcarce ſufficient to repreſs the inſolence of robbers in a time of profound peace, much leſs in a time of ſuch general ſpoil and diſturbance. But with the aſſiſtance of the Noblemen and the Gentry of the province it continued quiet for above ſix weeks. Indeed no one man of Quality, or Gentleman of Engliſh blood, either Papiſt or Proteſtant, had as yet joined the rebels; and even many of the old Iriſh had expreſſed the utmoſt abhorrence of the cruelties which they had committed: Nay many of the leading Roman Catholicks, who made a great figure afterwards in the general aſſembly of the confederates, expreſſed a great deteſtation of the rebellion, in their private letters to Lord Clanricarde; and importuned him very ſtrongly to exert all his care and zeal in the ſuppreſſion of it. So that had the Lords Juſtices and Council acquitted themſelves like men of probity and underſtanding, here was time enough given them to ſuppreſs an inſurrection, which for ſix weeks was confined almoſt to the province of Ulſter, without any Chief that was ſo conſiderable as Sr. Phelim O Neil. But it was the great misfortune of that unhappy country, to be governed then by a man that had not one qualification for ſuch a poſt at ſuch a time; and to thoſe defects was added great obliquity of heart both toward the King, and toward the Iriſh. The accuſation may be ſevere, but it is juſt.

In a few days after the Parliament had been prorogued, the Council ſent letters to the Lord Lieutenant, giving a full account of the ſtate of the rebellion, preſſing earneſtly for the ſupplies of men, money, and arms, which their former letters had requeſted; and deſiring his Lordſhip to repair thither as ſoon as poſſible to manage the war. But beſides this public letter ſigned by the whole board, another was drawn up the next day ſigned only by the Juſtices and their particular friends; on which, the other Councillors, who had ſigned the former the night before, were not conſulted. With theſe letters, Fitzgerald, a truſty agent, was ſent to negotiate with the Earl of Leicester, and the leaders of their party in the Houſe of Commons. In the private letter to his Lordſhip, about which they tell him, they expect and hope for his ſecrecy, after inſinuating that they could not open themſelves with freedom at the Council board, they inform him of the inſtructions which they heard had been given to Lord Dillon by a committee of the Lords, already mentioned; in which they offer of themſelves without aid from England to ſuppreſs the rebellion. They beſeech his Lordſhip therefore that no ſuch overture might be accepted; and among other reaſons, "becauſe the charge of ſupplies from England would be abundantly compenſated, not only by a firmer peace than had ever yet been ſettled, but in raiſing a far more conſiderable revenue to the Crown than formerly, out of the eſtates of thoſe who were actors in this rebellion." What the private inſtructions were that Lord Dillon was entruſted with are not particularly known; becauſe from this information, when he and Lord Taafe who accompanied him were got to Ware, their perſons and papers were ſeized by order of the Engliſh Houſe of Commons; who had no authority over them, but who detained them in cuſtody ſeveral months, till they made their eſcape to the King who was at York: but it was then too late to offer a remedy, and the rebellion was become in a manner general. Fitsgerald reſided conſtantly in London after this, attending the committee of Parliament for Iriſh affairs; receiving from them, and communicating to the adminiſtration at Dublin, ſuch ſecret advices and directions as were not fit to be imparted in a public diſpatch to the whole

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Council. The Members of the Council whom they ſhut out of their ſecrets—ſuch as the Lord Chancellor, the Earl of ORMONDE, the Archbiſhop of DUBLIN, the Biſhops of MEATH and RAPHOE, the Earl of ROSCOMMON, and the Lord Chief-Juſtice LOWTHER—had made a vigorous effort to ſave their country by the continuance of the Parliament; and tho' they were outvoted at the board, yet they had preſſed their reaſoning with ſo much force and freedom, that the Juſtices were determined to tranſact their affairs of privacy without their participation.

The reader muſt remember, that in the two days which the Parliament was allowed to ſit, a committee was authoriſed under the great ſeal to treat with the rebels about laying down their arms. The rebels had been very much diſheartened by their late ill ſucceſs in the North, and by not having been able to draw in a ſingle Nobleman, or Gentleman of any eſtate, ſince the inſurrection had commenced. But when they ſaw the falſe ſtep which the Miniſters had taken in proroguing the Parliament for two months, they took courage again. Ro. MOORE had ſenſe enough to diſcern the advantages which this ſtep had given his party; and he took care to acquaint them with it. When the committee therefore applied to him, and Colonel MACMAHON, who lay about Dundalk with above two thouſand men, they were ſo elated with the proſpect which this miniſterial meaſure had held out to them, that they received the Members very coldly, tore the commiſſion and the letter ſent them in an inſolent manner, and with great ſcorn refuſed all overtures of accommodation. Some of the leading Popiſh Prieſts, who abhorred the cruelties which had been committed, and who protected and ſaved many of the Proteſtants, were likewiſe employed by the Lords Juſtices to bring about an accommodation: and though they readily engaged in the attempt, and uſed their utmoſt endeavours to have accompliſhed it, yet they could not prevail; SR. P. O NEIL refuſing to enter on any treaty, unleſs Lord MACGUIRE, and MACMAHON were ſet at liberty; and the rebels not doubting, that in the general diſcontent occaſioned by the prorogation, they ſhould carry their point all over the kingdom. Beſides, MOORE, when he found the ill ſucceſs of their firſt pretenſions, had ſenſe enough to drop the deſign of extirpation; and in order to get the Engliſh Catholicks on their ſide, without whom he ſaw they ſhould miſcarry, he took care that the declarations againſt the Engliſh ſhould be ſuppreſſed, and put the whole ſtrength and merits of their cauſe on the foot of religion. For this purpoſe he framed an oath of aſſociation, to be taken by all his followers, and diſperſed over the kingdom; in which the motives to this inſurrection were no other than the preſervation of their religion, the defence of his Majeſty's rights and prerogatives, and the liberties of the ſubject. This had a wonderful effect in conciliating the minds of the Engliſh Catholicks; and there was but too much authority given to this pretence, by the conduct of the Engliſh Parliament, by the recent provocations given at home, and the much greater hardſhips that were ſtill expected. For to ſay nothing of what was done by that Parliament, relating to affairs here which had an affinity to thoſe of Ireland, the Houſe of Commons paſſed a vote, "that no toleration of the Romiſh religion ſhould be allowed in Ireland; and that the Houſe of Lords ſhould be deſired to join with them in addreſſing the King, to make a public declaration to that effect." This might ſerve their own ends perhaps, but was ſurely very unſeaſonable with regard to Ireland; where nothing could ſo much promote the cauſe of the rebellion, as to have it thought a mere war of religion. This violence of the Parliament gave too much credit to the reports that were continually flying about, of a deſign of extirpating the Roman Catholicks: and as this was an age of fears and jealouſies, every angry word which aroſe from heat and zeal in the midſt of a debate, or every threat of ſeverity which a wicked policy ſuggeſted, were eaſily ſwallowed, and in imagination realiſed.

It appears from the declaration of the Engliſh Parliament, already recited, on the firſt news of the conſpiracy, and which was about this time received and publiſhed in Ireland by the adminiſtration, that they recommended the King's pardon to be granted, to all ſuch as within a convenient time ſhould return to their due obedience. But though the Juſtices and Council publiſhed the declaration, by which all the people of Ireland ſaw the ſenſe of the Engliſh Parliament, yet no regard was paid to this advice. A general pardon offered under ſuch an authority for it, would no doubt have had a very conſiderable influence; as well as a reward, which was alſo adviſed, for thoſe who ſhould bring in the heads of the ringleaders:

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and when they ſaw that neither of theſe meaſures were purſued, the people could not help ſuſpecting, that the adminiſtration in Ireland had ſome other deſign, than a ſpeedy end of this rebellion. After all that has been related of the miniſterial meaſures, the reader will not be ſurpriſed to find the rebels now increaſing in ſtrength and number. They increaſed indeed at this time ſo much, that they attacked and took a houſe of the Lord Moore's, guarded by a party of ſoldiers, within three miles of Drogheda, of which town they threatened a ſiege; and ſo terrified the Council by ſuch a near approach to Dublin, that they granted commiſſions to raiſe four regiments of a thouſand men each, and four independent companies of foot. In the mean time they ſent a regiment of foot and two troops of horſe under Sr. Cha. Coote, to ſecure the country about Navan, in the county of Meath; and ordered ſix hundred foot and ſixty horſe to re-inforce the garriſon of Drogheda, and as a convoy to ſome ammunition and proviſion that was going thither. The men were raw and undiſciplined; and though Lord Ormonde, who had now received a commiſſion in form of Lieutenant General from the Lord Lieutenant, on viewing this convoy before they marched, did not think it ſufficient, yet the Juſtices would not alter their order, nor any further diminiſh their own ſtrength at Dublin.

Sr. Pat. Weems the commander of this body, received intelligence in his march from Lord Gormanstown, that two thouſand foot and five hundred horſe of the rebels were at St. Julians-town bridge, which ſome ſay he had ſent for to intercept them: but the ſcouts bringing intelligence that there was no enemy there, the march was continued in great ſecurity. They had ſcarce however got a quarter of a mile beyond the bridge, before the rebels were diſcovered marching towards them in good order, in five bodies of foot, ſupported with horſe on each wing. Sr Patrick put his men in tolerable order of battle; and drawing up his troop of horſe in the front, and being promiſed to be faithfully ſeconded, he ordered the trumpet to ſound, and advanced to begin the charge: but all his foot, without firing a ſhot, threw down their arms, and run away as faſt as their heels could carry them. Indeed their flight was ſo ſwift, that very few were killed: and their commander had nothing to do, but to wheel off with his horſe, and make good his retreat with them to Drogheda; which with great difficulty he accompliſhed without the loſs of a man. But tho' this defeat was inconſiderable with regard to the men, yet it put more arms into the hands of the rebels, than they had before among all their forces, with a conſiderable quantity of ammunition; of which they ſtood in great need. They did not however think themſelves yet ſtrong enough to attempt the ſiege of Drogheda: and tho' SR. H. TITCHBOURN marched out with an intention to give them battle, yet the miſt, which had concealed them in their approach to the King's forces, ſerved them equally well in their retreat. This ſucceſs, and the ſtile of the Catholic army which they had aſſumed, fighting only for their religion which was intended to be extirpated, added ſeveral thouſands to their number; and ſome whole companies of foot, which had been raiſed and armed for the defence of the State, revolted to them.

SR. CHA. COOTE having ſecured the parts about Navan, was ordered to the relief of the caſtle of Wicklow, then ſtraitly beſieged, and in great danger of being taken. But the rebels upon his approach retired into the mountains; and the town being left at his mercy, to which he appears to be a ſtranger, he put to death ſeveral perſons without diſtinction of age or ſex, in revenge of the ſeveral ſpoils committed upon the Engliſh in thoſe parts. The news of the rout at St. Julians-town bridge, cauſed ſuch a general conſternation and ſo many diſorders at Dublin, the one ſide being ſo elated and the other ſo diſmayed, that if the rebels had followed their blow at that juncture whilſt the impreſſion was hot, they might probably have made themſelves maſters of the city. In this exigence, the Council ſent immediately to SR. CHA. COOTE to march back in all haſte with his troops; but in obeying this order, he was attacked by a thouſand Iriſh under one of the TOOLES, whom he defeated. For theſe ſervices, and for their greater ſafety, the Miniſtry made him Governour of the city of Dublin; which he applied himſelf with great care to ſecure. He was a man of courage and experience, but of a moroſe and ſurly temper: and being provoked by the great damage which his eſtate had ſuffered by the rebels, he committed many acts of cruelty without diſtinction, equal in that reſpect to any of theirs; which gave a general diſlike of him to the wiſe and good of his own party, and which furniſhed the Iriſh with a pretence of retaliation.

The rebellion till now had been carried on by the mere Iriſh, without one Nobleman appearing in it, or even without a Gentleman of Engliſh blood; and was chiefly confined to the province of Ulſter, ſome few counties in Leinſter, and one alone in Conaght. But the beginning of December opened another ſcene, and gave birth to a general inſurrection; in which a great part of the Nobility, and almoſt all the Engliſh Roman Catholic Gentry throughout the kingdom, were firſt or laſt involved. The ſteps by which this great defection was brought about, and the manner in which the Lords and others of the Pale who led the way, were brought into it, will be the proper ſubject of another book. I cannot cloſe this however without obſerving, that if the Proteſtants in Ireland have the ſtrongeſt reaſon for accuſing the Papiſts there, of forming a moſt horrid and unreaſonable conſpiracy againſt the eſtates and perſons of their anceſtors, which occaſioned cruelties and deſolation too ſhocking for a deſcription, the Roman Catholicks may recriminate on the weak and ill intentioned meaſures of the Adminiſtration, which fomented and continued it. The firſt indeed are moſt criminal, as having began the war: but the crimes on both ſides, owing to the wickedneſs of particular men, being too great for extenuation, inſtead of charging each other at this day with principles and practices which the wiſe and good of both ſides did abhor, they ſhould lament the follies and vices of their forefathers, and be taught by their example to abſtain from all approaches towards the ſame ſort of guilt. In ſhort they ſhould learn, from the miſeries of diſcord that have been now related, that as charity is the ſublimeſt of all Chriſtian virtues, ſo nothing conduces more to the peace and proſperity, the ſtrength and harmony of a nation.

THE HISTORY OF THE REBELLION and CIVIL-WAR IN IRELAND.

BOOK III.

CHARLES I.
A. 1641.

TEMPLE.
BORLASE.
CARTE.
CASTLEHA.
CLANRICA.
CLAREND.

IN order to preſerve the thread of the hiſtory, and to take things in their proper order, it is neceſſary to caſt our eyes again upon England, to ſee what was doing there in relation to this rebellion; before we attend the further progreſs and the great increaſe of it in Ireland. The reader muſt remember that we left the King in Scotland, and, on the firſt news of the Iriſh conſpiracy, fatally giving the management of it to his Engliſh Parliament. The Engliſh Parliament, or at leaſt the leaders in it, who intended to poſſeſs themſelves of the whole regal power here, rejoiced exceedingly at the authority which his Majeſty himſelf had given them in his other kingdom of Ireland: and to that error of the King's, into which he was led by his juſt deſire of ſuppreſſing the inſurrection in Ireland, a large part of the miſery of the civil war in this country was in a great meaſure owing. The reader remembers the zealous votes which paſſed in the two Houſes, about ſupplies of all kinds being immediately ſent to Ireland, as ſoon as they had received intelligence of the conſpiracy, and the King's requeſt to take it under their care. Thoſe reſolutions looked well to his Majeſty, to the people of Ireland, to foreign States, and to the publick here; and little more was intended by them. When the ſecond diſpatches from the State of Ireland were communicated to the Houſe of Lords by the Lord Keeper and the Lord Lieutenant, it was agreed to have a conference upon them with the Houſe of Commons. The ſubſtance of theſe letters has been already given the reader in the preceding book, and therefore need not be now repeated. The reſult of the conference of the two Houſes upon them, "was to communicate them to the city of London, in order to induce them to lend money for the preſent ſupply of the buſineſs of Ireland; to ſend ten thouſand men thither inſtead of ſix which had been before reſolved on, and two thouſand horſe; and to accept the offer of the Scots, for ſending ten thouſand men into Ireland, under ſuch conditions as ſhall be agreed upon by the Parliament. In two days after, the Houſe of Commons came to the following reſolutions, which being communicated to the Lords were aſſented to by them: That ſo many officers ſhall be ſent into the province of Munſter as ſhall command a thouſand foot and a troop of horſe, a liſt of which ſhall be made by the Lord Lieutenant: That the thirteen hundred arms that were in Carliſle ſhould be ſent away immediately to the North of Ireland, and arms for a troop of horſe: That the forty old foot companies there ſhould be recruited to an hundred men each: That Sr. John Clotworthy ſhould be recommended to ſome honourable entertainment in Ireland, and the like recommendation for the Lord Dungarvan: That order ſhould be preſently taken for ſecuring the Port-towns and forts on the South-weſt of Ireland towards Spain: That the officers may be ſpeedily ſent for Dublin; and that Sr. Sim. Harcourt ſhould have a ſalary of twenty ſhillings a day above the reſt for his command of that place; and go away immediately: That two hundred thouſand pounds ſhould be raiſed for the ſuppreſſing the rebels in Ireland, for the ſecurity of this kingdom, and the payment of debts." Tho' the Parliament ſeemed in

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haſte to make theſe reſolutions, which was on the thirteenth of November, yet the reader will find they were extremely backward in carrying them into execution; for Sr. S. Harcourt did not arrive at Dublin with any men till the laſt day of December. To theſe reſolutions the Lords added an order, that as the Lord Lieutenant had not been inveſted formally in his place by receiving the ſword in Ireland, he ſhould have power to command the Lords Juſtices to ſeize upon any ſuſpected perſons, till they could clear themſelves to the ſatisfaction of thoſe Miniſters. The committee which carried the letters from Ireland into the city, reported that the Mayor and Aldermen unanimouſly voted the lending money; which they would preſently pay, or ſubſcribe to do it in a ſhort time.

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In a few days after, the Houſe of Commons having preſſed that Sr. S. Harcourt may have a commiſſion to levy ſoldiers for the ſervice of Ireland, the Lord Lieutenant, who, it hath been obſerved, had ſome ſcruple about his authority from an ordinance of Parliament without a warrant from the King, preſented a copy of ſuch a commiſſion to the Houſe of Lords, of which they approved: and for his further ſatisfaction, "the Houſe undertook to be ſuitors to his Majeſty, to confirm the authority, given the Earl by the Parliament, under the great ſeal; and will always avow his proceedings upon their orders in the mean time." Other letters arriving from the adminiſtration in Ireland, dated the thirteenth of November, were then communicated: deſiring that ſome ſhips might be appointed to guard their coaſts, and that ten thouſand foot, a thouſand horſe with arms and munition, an hundred thouſand pound, and a ſupply of proviſions and oats for horſes, might be immediately ſent them. About this time, the King returned from Scotland to Whitehall; but before he reached the town, he was attended by all the principal Nobility and Gentry, and the Lord Mayor and Aldermen, who conducted him in a moſt grand and pompous cavalcadé into the city; which the reader will find in ſome of the hiſtorians of thoſe times, but of which we at this day have no ſuch inſtances, nor any conception. His Majeſty, the Queen, and the royal family, having dined with the Mayor and Aldermen at Guildhall, where a magnificent entertainment was provided for the whole Court, they were conducted in the ſame ſplendid order to Whitehall, in which they had entered

tered the city. But how little ſuch popular teſtimonies of affection are to be depended on, the ſequel will ſoon ſhew. With no more ſincerity than in this compliment, was an order made in a day or two after by the Houſe of Commons, "that a declaration ſhould be drawn for clearing his Majeſty's honour from falſe reports caſt upon him by the rebels in Ireland; and a proviſion to be made that there be no concluſion of that war to the prejudice of this kingdom." Whoſoever had heard of this report from Ireland, had likewiſe heard of its contradiction there: and whilſt they appeared to be vindicating the King's honour in not encouraging that rebellion, there was a malevolent inſinuation that he might probably put an end to it, in a way that would be prejudicial to his Engliſh ſubjects.

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The King, in his firſt ſpeech after he returned from Scotland, recommended to the Parliament the affair of Ireland; in which he ſays, tho' he does not doubt their care, yet he thinks the preparations for it go but ſlowly on. He then acquaints them that two Lords are arrived from Scotland properly authorized, in conſequence of the petition ſent to him by the Paliament; and deſires the two houſes would appoint a ſelect committee to end the buſineſs with thoſe Noblemen. The reader remembers that this petition hath been already recited, and that the buſineſs meant was the forces that were to be ſent into Ireland from the Scots. In conſequence of this ſpeech, the Parliament appointed three Lords and four Commoners to treat with the Commiſſioners from Scotland; but not to come to a final concluſion, till they had informed the King and the two Houſes of their proceedings. On the eighth of December, the King again preſſed the Parliament, in a meſſage by the Lord Keeper, to prepare inſtructions for treating with the Scotch Commiſſioners about Ireland; which they complied with accordingly. But the Commons were willing at firſt to treat only for five thouſand men, till the King expreſſed a great deſire that the number treated for might be ten thouſand. Shortly after, in a conference between the two Houſes, a certificate from the Council of Ireland was produced; importing that as the city of Dublin was not able to entertain all the diſtreſſed people that retreated thither ſtripped of every thing by the rebels, the Council had ordered the women and children to be tranſported into England; and recommended them to the charity and commiſeration.

ration of well diſpoſed Chriſtians. The two Houſes accordingly entered on a contribution for the relief of theſe miſerable diſtreſſed people. A bill for the preſſing of ſoldiers for the more ſpeedy ſupply of Ireland being brought into Parliament, which was a plain infringement of the King's prerogative, his Majeſty went to the Houſe on the fourteenth of December, and ſending for the Commons acquainted them, that the laſt thing he had recommended to them was the buſineſs of Ireland, of which he was in hopes he ſhould not have had a neceſſity of putting them again in mind. But ſeeing their ſlow proceedings, notwithſtanding the daily accounts which came of the lamentable ſtate of his Proteſtant ſubjects there, he could not but earneſtly recommend the diſpatch of that affair; as what he had at that time chiefly at heart, and was moſt worth his care. He then offers every thing that his power and pains could contribute towards that good and neceſſary work: and taking notice of the bill then depending, he declares his readineſs to paſs it, if it does not diminiſh his prerogative; or to avoid all further debate at that time, to paſs it with a "ſalvo jure" to the King and People. As a concluſion, he conjures them by all that is dear to him and them, that laying aſide all diſputes they would go on chearfully and ſpeedily in the reducing of Ireland.

It is plain that in this ſpeech the King had no intention to violate the privileges of Parliament, but to remove the obſtacles which occurred to the relief of Ireland by this bill: but as his Majeſty is not ſuppoſed to know of any thing that paſſes in thoſe Houſes, more than what they themſelves communicate, it was very ill advice that had been given him, eſpecially in the ſituation he was then in with the Commons, to take this notice of their debates, and to make ſuch a propoſal; and it was accordingly reſented as a breach of privilege by both Houſes. This not only contributed to foment the public diſſatisfaction—with which view no doubt his falſe hearted Councillor ST. JOHN gave him this advice—but as the Parliament refuſed to ſtir a ſtep in the buſineſs of Ireland till this injury was repaired, that kingdom muſt be entirely loſt, and the diſgrace muſt lie at his Majeſty's door, or he muſt paſs it as they had prepared it. The Commons, when this was done, ſent a Member to deſire the Lord Lieutenant to iſſue out commiſſions for raiſing two regiments in Ulſter, and to haſten all other

commiſſions

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commiſſions for raiſing men for Ireland; having ordered an impreſt for three thouſand pounds for raiſing conducting and tranſporting three thouſand men; and having directed the Maſter of the ordnance to deliver to his Lordſhip ſuch quantities of powder, as ſhould be thought neceſſary for the preſent expedition into Munſter. The Houſe of Commons then came to ſeveral reſolutions about the ſums to be paid to the officers and ſoldiers that were to be ſent to Ireland; which need not be related here.

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The Houſe of Lords, having received a propoſal from the Commons, at a conference, for ſending into Ireland ten thouſand Scots, they deſired to know what certainty the Commons would give them, if the Lords agreed to that propoſal, that ten thouſand Engliſh ſhould ſpeedily follow. To this, in another conference, the Commons anſwered, "that they were not uſed to be capitulated withal, and deſire it may be ſo no more; that they had given a ſufficient certainty already, having voted the ſending ten thouſand Engliſh into Ireland, and tranſmitted the ſame to their Lordſhips, and think therefore they need not vote it again; but deſire the Lords would vote the ſending the ten thouſand Scots without any regard to the other, the ſafety of Ireland depending upon it, and as they conceive the ten thouſand Engliſh cannot go unleſs the bill for preſſing paſſes."—The reader here ſees the clauſe that unriddles all the reſt. The tragical neceſſity of Ireland was a very popular theme, and upon that they were determined to put the iſſue of the preſſing bill, in order to clip ſtill further the royal power and prerogative; towards the melting down of which into the maſs of the Parliament they had made great attempts already. For to ſhew that there was no occaſion of preſſing, the King had engaged to raiſe ten thouſand men for this ſervice, if the Houſe of Commons would undertake to pay 'em. But to this they would not agree; chooſing rather to hazard the entire loſs of Ireland, notwithſtanding all their pretended zeal about it, than to ſend thither ten thouſand Engliſh at ſuch a juncture.——The Houſe of Lords however voted unanimouſly, that ten thouſand Engliſh and ten thouſand Scots ſhould be ſent into Ireland; and ordered their committee to acquaint the Scotch commiſſioners with thoſe votes. The Commons ſtill continued to preſs the Lords, by getting a petition to be ſent them from ſeveral of the Nobility and Gentry then reſiding in London, and another from the Merchants trading to Ireland, begging immediate relief for that unhappy country: and they themſelves tell the Lords, "that they can think of nothing but Ireland, nor ſpeak nothing but Ireland." The King and the Houſe of Lords however ſaw into their deſign through all this zeal; and that, let what would become of Ireland, the Commons would not part with ten thouſand men, in whom they had a much better intereſt than the King, and whoſe aſſiſtance they knew they ſhould ſoon want. Neither would they conſent to the King's raiſing a new body of troops of that number; knowing that his Majeſty would grant the commiſſions to ſuch officers only as would be at his devotion.

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In the midſt of theſe diſputes, ſome more letters from the Council of Ireland to the Lord Lieutenant were communicated to the Houſe of Lords; in which, beſides acquainting them with the further progreſs of the rebellion, in the manner which hath been related in the foregoing book, and preſſing for a ſpeedy ſuccour of every kind, "they ſend their Lordſhips an intelligence which they had received, of ſhips being laden with arms and ammunition at Dunkirk, to be tranſported to the rebels in Ireland. They acknowledge the receipt of the money ſent them in the latter end of November, which amounted only to ſixteen thouſand five hundred and ninety pounds, and which they complain of as far ſhort of the ſupply that was neceſſary for their ſervice; as thinking nothing leſs will do than two hundred thouſand pounds. Indeed that ſum had been voted, and the Parliament had actually borrowed fifty thouſand pounds of the city of London—already mentioned—for the ſpeedy ſupply of Ireland; and if no other deſigns had been on foot, which it was not then thought proper to own, there is no doubt but that the whole ſum would have been ſent. In this letter, they preſs the Lord Lieutenant to go over, as a thing abſolutely neceſſary to the ſafety of that ſtate: and the Earl of ORMONDE, about the ſame time, wrote his Lordſhip a private letter, in which he ſets forth the neceſſity of having the civil and the military power in a ſingle perſon at that juncture. But whatever might be the diſadvantage or diſtreſs of having no Lord Lieutenant upon the ſpot, it is certain that the Earl of LEICESTER, for ſome reaſon or other, never went to Ireland. But what that reaſon for his not going before, or at this time was, does not appear from any hiſtory of that period; although why he remained here afterward is accounted for. —But however to keep alive the expectations of the Iriſh Proteſtants, and to ſave appearances of zeal and commiſeration, the two Houſes agreed in ſome more vigorous reſolutions, of ſending arms and ammunition of all ſorts from Carliſle and the tower, to be ordered and diſpoſed of as the Lord Lieutenant ſhould think fit, and ſeven thouſand pounds for levy-money, tranſportation, and victualling, to be taken out of the ſubſidies. But the King's warrant for particular quantities and ſpecies of arms and ammunition, of which he might be informed and judge of the propriety, though it would anſwer the end of ſupplying Ireland, yet would not anſwer an end which they had much more at heart: and therefore the Houſe of Commons petitioned him, to grant a general warrant to the Maſter of the ordnance—who was a friend of their own—to deliver what arms and ammunition the Parliament ſhould require. But though the King granted a warrant for the particulars mentioned in the votes of the two Houſes, as it was requeſted, yet their deſigns by this time were ſo evident, that he refuſed the general warrant; and deſired they would take care to repleniſh the ſtores for the ſecurity of this kingdom, which had been iſſued for the ſupply of Ireland.

Notwithſtanding the ſeeming haſte of the Parliament to ſend a ſupply of ſoldiers into the North of Ireland, by a treaty with thoſe of Scotland, which was ſignified to the King by an expreſs meſſenger in the middle of November, yet it was not till the latter end of January, that they had finiſhed the treaty with the Scotch Commiſſioners—though often preſſed by them to do it—for that purpoſe. After all the votes they had paſſed in the two Houſes, and the delays that had been occaſioned by the Commons; after the numerous accounts they had received of the progreſs of the rebels in Ireland, and the extreme diſtreſſes to which the Proteſtants in that kingdom were reduced; in ſhort, after the many earneſt ſollicitations of the Council there for the moſt ſpeedy ſuccours, this treaty at laſt with the Scotch Commiſſioners was only for two thouſand five hundred men which they had then on foot. The articles of it related chiefly to the pay, advance-money, and tranſporting of them with convoy; to all which the two Houſes aſſented. But there was one propoſal in them, of which the King, when they were communicated to him, did not approve; and wiſhed the

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Parliament would re-conſider it as a matter of great importance, which might be prejudicial to the ſervice intended, as well as to the Crown of England. The third article provided, "that the Scots ſhould have the command and keeping of the town and caſtle of Carrickfergus, with power to them to remain ſtill within the ſame, or to enlarge their quarters and go abroad into the country, upon ſuch occaſions as their officers in their diſcretion ſhall think expedient for the good of that kingdom: and if it ſhall be thought fit that any regiment or troops in that province ſhall join with them, that they receive orders from the commanders of the Scotch forces."——It is no wonder that a King of England ſhould have an objection to this article, ſo detrimental to his Iriſh ſubjects in thoſe parts, and ſo full of indignity to his Engliſh army. The wonder is, that an Engliſh Parliament ſhould be ſo loſt to all ſenſe of ſpirit towards the Scots, to all ſenſe of decency towards the King, and to all ſenſe of honour towards their country and themſelves, as to paſs a vote, "that thoſe who adviſed his Majeſty to diſapprove of that article, was an enemy to the King and kingdom." But before the King was acquainted with this vote, the Scotch Commiſſioners, having heard of his diſapprobation, went to Windſor to him: and repreſenting how unkind it would be in his Majeſty, who was their native King, not to put as much truſt in them, as the two Houſes of Parliament, who were only their neighbours, had done, they cajoled him into conſent; and he ſent word the next day to the two Houſes, "that though he could have wiſhed the third article had been more for the advantage of the Crown of England, yet as they had thought fit to grant it, he would admit of their advice; eſpecially as he found his rejecting it would delay the ſupply ſo neceſſary to his kingdom of Ireland." It is eaſy to ſee, that this advice was calculated more to pleaſe their old friends the Scots, and to keep the Engliſh forces at home, which they were ſo ſoon to want, than to aſſiſt the people of Ireland: and indeed it would have been as well, if not better, for moſt of the Northern Iriſh, as will appear hereaſter, if theſe forces had never entered Ireland with the power veſted in them by that article. This being the laſt tranſaction relating to the affairs of that kingdom, before his Majeſty ſeparated from the Parliament, and went to York, we muſt now leave England for a while, and, bad as that was, return to a ſcene of much greater confuſion.

It was the report of numbers of the rebels to their Proteſtant and Engliſh priſoners, as appears from ſeveral examinations, that the Lords and Gentlemen of the Pale had originally contracted with the conſpirators to be parties in the inſurrection: and ſome of the Iriſh went ſo far as to ſay, that the great men of the Pale were the firſt contrivers of this plot. But ſo many of their ſayings, which are recorded in the Manuſcript collection of depoſitions in my cuſtody, are ſo ridiculous, or incredible, or contradictory to one another, as ſhew plainly that they ſpoke what their own, or the different paſſions and ſentiments of their leaders prompted; ſometimes, what came uppermoſt, or they thought would beſt ſerve or vindicate their cauſe; at other times, what the reproaches of their priſoners provoked them to; not ſeldom, what deſpair ſuggeſted; and for the moſt part, as they were tutored by their Prieſts. Upon the whole, there is no credit to be given to any thing that was ſaid by thoſe people, which had not other evidence to confirm it: And the reaſon why ſo many idle ſilly tales were regiſtered, of what this body heard another body ſay, as to ſwell the collection to two and thirty thick volumes in folio cloſely written, it is eaſier to conjecture, than it is to commend. At the ſame time therefore that we are to reject the belief, that the chief men of the Pale were the firſt projectors of this inſurrection, yet there ſeems evidence enough to incline us to think, that many of them were privy to it, if not conſenting. However I ſhall not conceal from the reader, that I differ in this point from all other hiſtorians: thoſe on the ſide of the Council being of the firſt opinion, and Carte and others ſuppoſing that they knew nothing of it. But be this as it might: After the Parliament had been prorogued, and the rebels had marched into the Pale, declaring it to be a war of religion, and to defend the rights and prerogative of the King; after they had met with the ſucceſs in defeating the convoy, already mentioned, which had greatly encreaſed their ſtrength, and there was no appearance of any ſuccours from England, the Lords and Gentlemen of the Pale made no ſcruple of giving countenance to the ſuſpicions that had been already formed of them at Dublin. The rebels having paſſed the Boyne, and encamped with a great army within three miles of Drogheda, the Juſtices and Council were more alarmed than ever: and being determined in this extremity, to take all the advice, and to gather all the ſtrength they could, and perhaps to try if they might depend on the loyalty of the Pale, they called a Council of all the Nobility within any convenient diſtance, to the number of twelve, in a circular letter of the third of December, requiring their attendance at Dublin on the eighth; to no other end, it is ſaid in the letter, than to confer with them about the ſtate and ſafety of the kingdom in thoſe times of danger.

Whether this letter was firſt received, or whether Lord GORMANSTON had firſt iſſued a warrant to the Sheriff of Meath for a general meeting of the county, of which he was Governor, for want of knowing the date of that warrant, it is impoſſible for us to ſay; neither is it at all material. For it is very evident, from the depoſition of a Gentleman of the Pale, who was at all their conſultations and was afterwards taken priſoner, that the reſolution of calling the county together had been taken about the day on which the letter was written. The defeat of the convoy was on the twenty ninth of November; and MR. DOWDALL depoſed, that ſome four NALSON. or five days after that defeat, the warrant iſſued from Lord GORMANSTON: ſo that the agreement for the meeting muſt have been made, before the letter from the Council could be received, and probably a day or two before it was written. I have been the more particular in fixing the date of this reſolution, leſt the reader ſhould imbibe the ſame prejudice with CARTE, and ſuppoſe, as he does, that this ſummons from the Council had driven them into the meaſures which they took. In conſequence of the warrant from Lord GORMANSTON, ſeven Lords, and fourteen Gentlemen of the Pale, with at leaſt a thouſand others, met at the hill of Crofty; and after remaining there two or three hours, RO. MOORE, MR. O REILY and his brother, the Colonels BIRN and MACMAHON, and Captain FOX, appeared with a guard of Muſketeers. As ſoon as the parties had joined, the Lord GORMANSTON, being one of the foremoſt of the Pale, demanded for what reaſon they appeared thus in arms; to which MOORE anſwered, "for the liberty of their conſciences, the maintenance of his Majeſty's prerogative in which they underſtood he was abridged, and for making the ſubjects in that kingdom as free as thoſe in England."—The reader will obſerve that there was more of ſound than ſenſe or conſiſtency in the two latter reaſons: becauſe if they were not already as free as the ſubjects in England, the difference was owing only to the King's prerogative; and if

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his prerogative was abridged in England, that was ſurely no reaſon for their taking up arms againſt his loyal ſubjects in Ireland.—Theſe reaſons however were ſwallowed; and Lord Gormanston wanted only to know, whether theſe were indeed their real motives, or mere pretences, and whether they had not ſome other private ends of their own. The latter being denied with great aſſeverations of ſincerity, his Lordſhip then ſaid, that ſince thoſe were their ends they would likewiſe join with them: upon which it was publickly aſſented to, and declared, "that whoſoever ſhould deny to join with them, or refuſe to aſſiſt them in it, ſhould be accounted as an enemy, and to the utmoſt of their power they would labour his deſtruction." The agreement thus made, another warrant was iſſued to the Sheriff, to ſummon a general meeting at the hill of Taragh a week after, where the Lords and Gentlemen before-mentioned came accordingly; and two or three eminent lawyers, with a multitude of others, joined them. The buſineſs of this meeting was to ſettle and ſign the anſwer to the ſummons ſent from Dublin, which Lord Gormanston had brought ready drawn for that purpoſe; and it being preſented by his Lordſhip, and peruſed and approved by the lawyers, it was ſigned by himſelf, and the Lords Fingall, Slany, Dunsany, Netterville, Trimbleston, and Lowth. The letter contained only a very flimſy excuſe for their not appearing at the Council; as having before offered their advice, which had been neglected—which unleſs it was in Parliament was not true—and therefore they ſuppoſed their loyalty had been ſuſpected; that they were informed, Sr. Cha. Coote had ſaid ſomething at the Council board, tending towards a deſign of a general maſſacre of thoſe of their religion, which had determined them not to wait upon their Lordſhips, but to ſtand upon their beſt guard, till they heard how they ſhould be ſecured from the peril of their lives; but would continue faithful to his Majeſty's ſervice."

On the day appointed by the ſummons, the Lords Kildare, Fitzwilliam, and Howth, attended the Council; and no more of the twelve, to whom the letter was wrote, appearing, the adminiſtration thought fit to put off the conference. But being informed on the next day, that the Lord Netterville's ſecond ſon had cauſed a tumultuous meeting of ſeveral Gentlemen and others at Swords—ſix miles from Dublin—and

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had encamped there in arms, the Juſtices and Council iſſued a proclamation, "requiring them, whatever their intent might be—which it was conceived might be owing to ſome miſtake—to ſeparate immediately upon ſight thereof; and that Netterville, Blakeny, King, and ſix others of the principal perſons ſo aſſembled, ſhould appear at the Council the next morning, to ſhew the cauſe of their aſſembling there." Inſtead of complying with this order, they detained the meſſenger, who carried the proclamation to them, a day and a night in cuſtody, threatening to hang him; and then returned for anſwer to it, that they were ſo terrified by the riſing out of ſome horſe and foot at Dublin, who had killed four Catholicks, for no other reaſon than becauſe they bore that name, as they durſt not ſtay in their houſes; and therefore they reſolved to continue together till they had an aſſurance from the Council of their ſafety, and might run no hazard by their obedience. Upon receiving this anſwer, and finding that the men in arms ſtill continued at Swords, the miniſtry publiſhed a manifeſto, declaring that one of the four whom the ſoldiers had killed at Santry, was a Proteſtant, and that they had all been guilty of rebellious acts; and therefore that Netterville, and the others before-mentioned, ſhould immediately ſeparate, and appear in five days time to ſhew cauſe as before directed: to which end their Lordſhips gave them the word of the State, that they might all ſecurely and ſafely repair thither, without danger of any trouble or ſtay whatſoever. But far from obeying the proclamation to depart, ſome of their followers had ſeized a bark lying off Clontarſe—a village on the bay of Dublin within three miles of the city—and plundering it of all the commodities they found on board, had depoſited moſt of them in the houſe of King, one of the leaders before-mentioned of the rebels at Swords. The Council judging that an act of ſuch a dangerous tendency, which in its conſequence might lead to blocking up the harbour, required a ſpeedy remedy, they immediately ordered the Earl of Ormonde, "to ſend a party of ſoldiers to endeavour to cut off the rebels, as well for puniſhment, as terror to others, and to burn and ſpoil their houſes and goods: to prevent their further annoying the ſhipping that might be going out, or coming in, or lying within the harbour, the ſoldiers were alſo to bring up to the new crane at Dublin, ſuch of the boats and veſſels now lying at Clon-

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tarſe, as they could upon the ſudden; and to burn, ſpoil, ſink, and make unſerviceable the reſt. Unleſs the rebels houſes had had a mark upon them, and the veſſels ordered to be deſtroyed were known to belong to ill-affected perſons, this reſolution ſurely was too indiſcriminate and ſevere. Severe however as it was, SR. CHA. COOTE, who commanded the party by expreſs nomination of the Miniſters, took care to execute it to the full. He marched out with ſome ſoldiers privately to Clontarſe, which belonged principally to KING; and ſuffering his men to pillage the place, they burnt many of the houſes, and particularly part of his manſion-houſe, in which ſome of the goods were found that had been taken out of the bark.

The rebels at Swords, who were rather exaſperated, we may be ſure, at what had been done by the ſoldiers at Clontarſe, inſtead of ſeparating as they were commanded, returned an anſwer to the Council by their meſſenger, that within a day or two they ſhould hear of them; and they were as good as their word. For they ſent one party to Santry, and another to Finglaſs within two miles of Dublin, where they diſplayed their banners, and robbed and plundered the Proteſtants and Engliſh even to the ſuburbs of the city; till a thouſand men were ſent againſt them under SR. CHA. COOTE, who put them all to flight, and burnt—perhaps very unjuſtly—the parts of thoſe two towns in which the rebels had been quartered. It does not appear from any account, that more of the Iriſh, than the foot above-mentioned, were put to death in either of theſe expeditions; and yet GEOGHGAN aſſerts, "that eighty of them were maſſacred at Santry and Clontarſe in the beginning of November, and that the Iriſh in the North did not murder any till they heard of theſe cruelties:" whereas the affair at Santry and Clontarſe was not till near the middle of December, almoſt a month after the moſt ſhocking barbarities had been committed in Ulſter: but the Abbot ſeems to have profited of his own obſervation, "that it is eaſy to impoſe on a ſtranger who is unacquainted with the hiſtory;" or he would never have aſſerted, "that there were ſix times more Catholicks than Proteſtants maſſacred; that the Engliſh had began by order of their chiefs, and that the crime of the Iriſh was to have followed ſo barbarous an example."

In anſwer to the letter ſent by the Lords of the Pale, to excuſe their not obeying the ſummons to appear at Dublin, the Juſtices and Council publiſhed a proclamation, "declaring to them and all other his Majeſty's ſubjects of the Romiſh religion, that they never heard Sr. C. Coote or any other utter ſuch ſpeeches at the board or any where elſe, tending to a deſign of a general maſſacre of thoſe of their religion, or any maſſacre at all; and that they never had a thought of ſo odious and impious an act: nor ſhould any one who could be proved to have ſpoken any ſuch words eſcape being puniſhed very ſeverely. They required therefore the ſaid Lords of the Pale, to attend them at the board on the ſeventeenth day of December, that they might confer with them; giving to all and every one of them the aſſurance of the State, that they might then ſecurely and ſafely come unto them, without danger of any trouble or ſtay whatſoever." No other effect was produced by this proclamation than the former. For though in the reply that was made to it by the ſeven Lords, they acquit the Council of having heard Sr. C. Coote utter the words of which they before accuſed him, yet they declare their belief that he ſaid them: and that they beheld with terror his inhuman acts in the county of Wicklow, the late maſſacre at Santry, and the burning Mr. King's houſe and ſubſtance at Clontarſe. They were ready however, they ſaid, to attend upon ſuch of the Lords of the Council, as were beſt eſtated and intereſted in the commonwealth of the kingdom, in any place at a convenient diſtance from the command of Sr. Cha. Coote; in order to contribute their beſt endeavours and advice for his Majeſty's ſervice, and the peace of the kingdom. The futility of this reply muſt be obvious to every reader without being pointed out; and it will eaſily be imagined, that no Commiſſioners were deputed, nor any public notice taken of their excuſe. Having proceeded thus far with the Adminiſtration, the Lords of the Pale thought it time to make their cauſe good with the King, before he was prejudiced too much againſt them. To this purpoſe they drew up a petition, and an apology for taking arms, in the name of the Lords, Knights, Gentlemen, and other inhabitants of the Engliſh Pale. In the former, they begged leave to lay before his Majeſty the motives which conſtrained them to join with the forces of Ulſter; in whoſe declaration for this commotion, finding nothing contained but the continuance of their allegeance to his Majeſty, the maintaining and defending his royal prerogative, the free and public exerciſe of their religion, and the reformation of the grievances of the kingdom, they preſumed that his Majeſty would make no worſe conſtruction of what they had done, than their loyalties and affections deſerved; and no worſe than he had made of others of his ſubjects, who upon leſs or the ſame occaſions had done the like: and though they were ready upon his command to lay down their arms, yet they hoped he would be pleaſed to give them the like redreſs, as he had given to the others by a free Parliament, and to grant his aſſent to ſuch things as ſhould be therein judged expedient for him and them; and in the mean time to command hoſtilities on both ſides to ceaſe. This is the ſenſe of the petition, ſtripped of all the flattery to which that nation was formerly much addicted. In the apology which accompanies this petition, they ſet forth their requeſting arms of the Lords Juſtices at the beginning of the inſurrection, which from an unjuſt ſuſpicion had been refuſed them; though they had undertaken, if ſupplied with them in a competent manner, to have appeaſed the preſent troubles with little expence to his Majeſty. After this, they proceed to charge the Lords Juſtices, with every meaſure they could reckon up to their diſadvantage; ſome of them true, but the worſt, and the greateſt part, utterly falſe. They ſeem indeed to be aware of the injuſtice of their cauſe, by not reſting it on the iſſue of this apology; and by ſending at the ſame time a petition likewiſe to the Queen, to intercede for them with the King. Theſe inſtruments, with a further verbal repreſentation, were to be ſent by Sr. John Read; a Lieutenant Colonel in the diſbanded army, and an officer of good experience. He was alſo a Gentleman of the privy-chamber to his Majeſty; and he undertook the journey, on condition that his expences in it, and in his ſollicitations at Court, ſhould be defrayed; beſides a proviſion for his wife and family in his abſence, and in caſe any accident ſhould happen to him. But there being ſome difficulty in the raiſing this money, or waiting to ſee the iſſue of the ſiege of Drogheda, his journey was retarded; and by an extraordinary fate attending him, of which the reader will hear in its proper place, the papers were never ſent.

The Lords and Gentry of the Pale, having now declared themſelves publicly againſt the government, began to put all that territory in a war-like condition, to make themſelves ready to join their northern friends in the ſiege of Drogheda; and if they ſucceeded in that enterpriſe, to become maſters of the city and caſtle of Dublin. To this end were held many public meetings and conſultations; in one of which, Lord GORMANSTON was declared General in chief of all the forces to be raiſed within the Pale, Colonel BIRNE Lieutenant-general, and the Earl of FINGALL General of the horſe. A power was given to theſe Lords, to nominate Captains in the ſeveral baronies; and theſe were to raiſe ſoldiers according to the orders that had been agreed on. The General accordingly iſſued out his warrants, requiring thoſe that were appointed to raiſe the men and to furniſh them with proviſions, to ſend them out upon pain of death. Other warrants were ſent to ſuch as had been appointed overſeers of the corn belonging to the Proteſtants, that it might be threſhed out and applied to the maintenance of their army. The next work was to make a conſtant proviſion of all manner of neceſſaries, for the entertainment of their own, and the Ulſter forces that were ſet down at the ſiege of Drogheda. For this ſervice, they made an applotment of the proportions of corn and cattle, that were to be furniſhed out of every part, for the victualling of thoſe that were encamped about the town: and that they might engage the country people to furniſh the army more readily with theſe proportions, they not only publickly prohibited all corn from being carried to Dublin, but they blocked up all the ways leading to it, and made the markets very thin. But a proclamation from the Council, aſſuring thoſe that would bring their corn to market as uſual, that they ſhould have ready money for it, and threatning thoſe that would not, ſoon remedied that inconvenience: the country people chooſing to bring it, tho' with hazard, rather than to ſuffer it to be threſhed out by virtue of warrants from Lord GORMANSTON for the Iriſh army, or to have it burnt in the ſtacks by thoſe from Dublin.

In a letter to the Lord Lieutenant from the Miniſters, after the open defection of the Lords of the Pale, they tell him, "that tho' it may make the rebels more conſiderable in the eye of ſuch as are unacquainted with thoſe Lords, yet they who know them, their power, and their abilities, well

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know that the ſtrength it adds to the rebels, is in truth no more than the addition of thoſe ſeven men to their number." Whether the Council were weak and ignorant enough to think in this manner, and if this was not their real opinion, with what view they could impoſe it upon the Lord Lieutenant, it is hard to ſay: the event however ſhewed, that a more erroneous opinion was never entertained; as this defection of the Pale was followed by a general inſurrection over the kingdom. The parts which lay next to Dublin firſt declared. The Gentlemen of the county of Kildare armed themſelves and their tenants, and made themſelves maſters of all the towns round about them: moſt of thoſe of Weſtmeath did the ſame: on the Weſt ſide of Dublin, within ſix miles of it, were two thouſand of the rebels under the command of Ro. Moore: great numbers were come down from Wicklow, and had lodged themſelves in villages and caſtles within three or four miles of it on the South; and theſe, with the rebels at Swords before mentioned, had in a manner environed the city on all ſides by land. In this extremity, the Juſtices and Council had again recourſe by letter to the Lord Lieutenant; begging a ſpeedy ſuccour of men, and arms, and money from England, and that he would immediately repair to them himſelf. It is impoſſible for words to expreſs a ſtronger ſenſe of diſtreſs, or a more vehement deſire of preſent aid, than this letter contains. Notwithſtanding therefore they might have wiſhed, when their fright and their danger, as they thought, were over,—what ſome of them, it is ſaid, were often heard to wiſh,—" that the number were greater of ſuch as became criminal;" and although they held the Lords of the Pale ſo very cheap, as to imagine their revolt was only adding ſeven to the rebels number, yet in leſs than ten days after that revolt, their tone was altered: and Temple himſelf, who ſigned that letter, confeſſes, " that the city of Dublin began to be much more ſtraitened by the rebels' forces, much increaſed thro' their late conjunction with the Engliſh Pale." Nor was the whole of their increaſe to be found only in that neighbourhood. For to ſtrengthen their party as much as poſſible, by drawing in all the old Engliſh Roman Catholicks, the Lords of the Pale ſent manifeſtoes and declarations into Munſter, Conaght, and all the rich trading towns and ſea-ports in the kingdom, which were chiefly inhabited by Engliſh; and who were ready enough to unite with them for their common ſafety. In the laſt letter which I mentioned, the Council ſent the draft of a proclamation to be immediately publiſhed by the King, to be ſigned with his own hand, and ſealed with his privy ſignet; as being more authentic than if publiſhed in their own names by the King's authority: and they tell the Lord Lieutenant, that if his Majeſty appoves of this, it would be neceſſary that there ſhould be twenty copies, ſo ſigned and ſealed, that they may be diſperſed ſeveral ways. The reader will ſee the reaſon of mentioning this circumſtance, when we return again to England: we muſt now attend the inſurrection in other parts of the kingdom.

It hath already been taken notice of, that the whole province of Munſter, of which SR. WIL. ST. LEGER was Preſident, except ſome petty robberies, had continued quiet. The rebels of the county of Wexford had ſometimes waſted its borders, and made incurſions very often in the county of Kilkenny: but towards the end of November, they grew more conſiderable and outragious; purſuing the Engliſh whom they had plundered to the very gates of Waterford. The Preſident had only his own troop of horſe for the ſecurity of the whole province; but being joined by about a hundred of the Gentlemen of the country, he purſued thoſe rebels: and after a tedious march in terrible weather he came up with them, recovered the prey they had taken, ſlew about two hundred, and took above threeſcore priſoners, whom he brought to Waterford and cauſed to be executed by martial law. He was an honeſt brave man, but too rough and fiery in his temper: and if he ſtruck a terror into the rebels by his activity, and executing them without mercy when he came at them, his heat and peeviſhneſs with the Gentlemen of the country, had made him leſs beloved by them in his old age, than otherwiſe he muſt have been. In the middle of December, he was informed of another robbery that was committed on the cattle of his brother-in-law, which he revenged in a very cruel and indiſcriminate manner; killing near twenty people, four of them entirely innocent, and burning ſome of their houſes: and when one of his Captains under him, who had killed nine or ten inoffenſive people, and deſtroyed their houſes, and drove away their cattle, was complained of to him, the Preſident, inſtead of puniſhing, ſeemed rather to approve theſe outrages. Some of the principal Gentry of the country, being ſurpriſed and juſtly

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offended at theſe raſh and cruel proceedings, waited upon him with their complaints; obſerving how much the people were exaſperated by theſe ſeverities, and that if he would qualify them with authority and arms, they would undertake themſelves to keep things in order, and to ſecure the peace of the county, without any barbarity. But he treated their complaints with many paſſionate expreſſions; and rejected their offer, with a rudeneſs extremely culpable: and tho' this was reſented quietly enough by thoſe Gentlemen, yet it raiſed a general ferment and uneaſineſs in the country: many of the Engliſh, after the defection of the Pale, ſuffered very much for the cruelties which the Preſident and his men had exerciſed upon the Iriſh; and exerciſed indiſcriminately, as well upon the innocent, as the guilty. It was ſaid indeed in his excuſe, that it was done in retaliation of the maſſacres committed in Ulſter; which had tranſported him with rage againſt all the Iriſh. But it is too poor an excuſe for ſuch intemperate violence in a man of ſenſe; as it would rather keep up that inhuman ferocity, than extinguiſh it; and it was as criminal, as it was impolitic. It was the middle of December however, before any Nobleman, or Gentleman in the province of Munſter, appeared to favour the rebellion; nay many of them had ſhewn themſelves zealous to oppoſe it, and had offered their ſervices to that end. Lord Muskery particularly, who had married a ſiſter of the Earl of Ormonde, made an offer to raiſe a thouſand men at his own expence; and as the Government could not ſupply them with arms, to mortgage his eſtate to buy them; if when the ſervice was ended, he might keep the arms, or be reimburſed what they coſt him. But the Adminiſtration did not chooſe to give ſo much power into the hands of a Catholick; and their jealouſy, added to the report of their deſign to extirpate that religion—for which report they had imprudently given too much reaſon—brought him againſt his inclination into the rebellion. There are many honourable teſtimonies of the care and preſervation of the Engliſh by this Nobleman and his Lady; not only in ſaving their lives from their enemy, but in relieving them in great numbers from cold and hunger, after they had been ſtripped and driven from their habitations.

The Lord Mountgarret was joined in commiſſion with the Earl of Ormonde for the government of the county of Kilkenny; and upon the

Earl's going to Dublin to take the command of the army, the ſupreme authority of raiſing the forces in the county, and providing for its ſafety, was veſted in Lord Mountgarret. He was a man of years and experience, and had been very enterpriſing in his youth; but was now grown too old for action. However as the general voice of the country, and the reſolutions of the Engliſh Parliament, had alarmed him with an apprehenſion that the Catholicks and their religion were to be extirpated, he reſolved to take up arms in their defence. The Gentlemen of the county were for the moſt part ſome how or other related to him; and, being generally Roman Catholicks, they very readily embarked in the cauſe with him, and amidſt a numerous train of followers attended him to Kilkenny. In this place, he made a public declaration of the reaſons which induced him to take up arms; and by proclamation inhibited his followers from pillaging, or hurting any of the Engliſh in body or goods. It was impoſſible however for him, with all his authority, and ſolicitous as he was to do it, to prevent the rabble, who flocked to him in hopes of booty, from being guilty of plunder: but ſeeing one of the rank of a Gentleman tranſgreſſing his order, he was ſo provoked, that tho' he was his friend, he ſhot him dead with his piſtol. Kilkenny being thus ſecured, he detached ſeveral parties different ways to ſecure other towns in thoſe parts. His ſon had the gates of Waterford opened to him: and the towns of Clonmell, Carrick, and Dungarvan, were ſurpriſed by a brother of Lord Ormonde's; who kept his followers from plunder, as well as murder. Indeed all the Gentlemen in this part of the kingdom were exceedingly careful to prevent bloodſhed, and to prevent the Engliſh from being pillaged or ſtripped; tho' it was many times impoſſible. But in the ſpace of one week, every town and fort, except two, in the counties of Kilkenny, Waterford, and Tipperary, were in the hands of the rebels; ſo great an addition of ſtrength had the defection of the Pale given them.

The Lord Ranelagh, it hath been obſerved, was Preſident of Conaght: and all that province, except a few pillagers in the county of Sligo, owing in a great meaſure to the forward zeal and activity of Lord Clanricarde, tho' a Roman Catholick, had till this time continued quiet. It appears however by ſeveral of his Lordſhip's letters, that very ill meaſures had been purſued by the adminiſtration, "either thro' too much fear and diſtruſt of others, or thro' ſpleen, or zeal, or ſome private ends:" and in his letter of the fourth of December to the Lords Juſtices, he complains with great ſenſibility, "that there was nothing he had more deſired than to go out upon ſervice with his friends and followers; nor had any thing ſo much diſquieted him, as to be neglected, and kept in ſuch a condition as to be diſabled from doing ſervice." Many remonſtrances which he had made to them, and to England, for arms and ammunition, being in vain, and the infection of the Pale having ſpread in the remoter parts, about the middle of December, the whole province of Conaght in a manner revolted; the county of Galway, of which Lord Clanricarde was Governour, excepted. Upon this, men and orders were ſent into ſeveral parts, and divers malefactors brought in and executed by martial law: which did much good for a time, till the rebellion became general; when either fear or affection had involved all conditions of men, in the common calamity of being ruined, or called traitors.

Whilſt theſe tranſactions were carrying on in Conaght and Munſter, the Ulſter rebels were employed in the ſiege of Drogheda; before which they had now been ſet down a month, and upon the fate of which, that of the kingdom in a great meaſure ſeemed to depend. The town is ſeated upon the river Boyne, about two miles from the ſea, and twenty three from Dublin: and tho' it was ſurrounded then with a wall, it had ſcarce any other fortification. It was very late in the year to begin a ſiege, eſpecially by an army who had neither cannon, arms, ammunition, tents, nor inſtruments of war for ſuch a purpoſe. But they truſted in their numbers, and the hardineſs of their men, to block up all the avenues of the town, and to reduce it by famine; as they knew the garriſon to be in want of fuel, clothing, and proviſion. We ſhall leave them in their fruitleſs and unprofitable attempts of a ſurpriſal, to ſee what was doing at Dublin. We left the Lords Juſtices ſhut up there with their Council, and their army; under terrible apprehenſions for their ſafety, or of famine, and yet afraid to ſtir. For beſides the attempt that had been made to ſtarve their market, the rebels had threatened to cut off the water-courſe which ſupplied the city and caſtle with water, to burn their ſuburbs, and to beſiege them; and had they ſucceeded at Drogheda, there is no doubt but they would have carried ſuch a deſign into execution. Whatever had been the caſe before, their danger was now apparent, and their fears were real. Perpetual conſultations employed the day; and their nights were generally diſturbed by informations of inſtant danger, from treachery within, or from ſurpriſe without. As the fruit of their conſultations, they iſſued a commiſſion under the great ſeal, to Dr. Hen. Jones Dean of Kilmore, and ſeven other Clergymen; "to call before them all ſuch perſons as had been robbed and ſpoiled, and to examine them upon oath, as well as all the witneſſes that could give teſtimony of any ſuch robberies committed ſince the twenty ſecond of October, or ſhould hereafter be committed, the particulars of which, to what value, by whom, and on what day or night, place of their dwelling, and all traiterous or diſloyal words and ſpeeches." It is ſaid that this commiſſion was in order to adminiſter relief to them according to their ranks; and that by taking an account of their loſſes, a reſtitution might be made when matters were brought to a ſettlement. On the other hand it is inſinuated, that it was in order to convict the rebels of treaſon, and for the forfeiture of their eſtates. The reader may take which of theſe motives he pleaſes; but I incline to believe that neither of them was the true one. At the time when this commiſſion was paſſed, the Miniſtry were in too much real danger, as to the caſtle, the city, and their own perſons, and too much terrified with that danger, as is plain from their letter of the next day to the Lord Lieutenant, abovementioned, to think of reſtitution to the ſufferers, or of forfeitures to themſelves. I apprehend therefore that their intention in this commiſſion, was only with a view to ſtop the progreſs of the rebellion, which they ſaw was becoming general, by laying before the rebels the conſequences of their conduct, which many of them might not have thought of. For notwithſtanding the haſte which they are ſaid to be in for the forfeitures, by thoſe who embrace the latter opinion, it appears by the authentic collection of depoſitions that I have in my poſſeſſion, that the firſt examination is no earlier than the twenty-fourth of March; which was above three months after the date of the commiſſion. The truth is, they were then in ſuch extreme danger, and in ſuch fears ariſing from that danger, that their conſultations tended to nothing but to their ſafety, and to ſtop as well as they could the torrent of inſurrection. But in the midſt of their terror

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and diſtraction, on the laſt day of the year, Sr. S. Harcourt arrived at Dublin with his regiment of twelve hundred foot, and with the news of three hundred unarmed men more at ſea that were almoſt within the harbour. He was a gallant old officer, of great experience in the wars of Flanders, and was appointed by the Parliament to be Governor of the city; and his arrival with this reinforcement cauſed a general joy amongſt the well affected.

The Juſtices and Council began now to take a little courage; not only on account of the ſtrength which ſuch a regiment and commander added to them, but alſo becauſe they ſaw by it, of what they really were in doubt, if not in deſpair, that the Parliament would take them under their care, and ſupply their wants. Whoſoever reads only the hiſtory of England, and hath ſeen the vigorous votes of both Houſes of Parliament here on the affairs of Ireland, would ever ſuppoſe it could be two months before they ſent over any troops againſt the rebels? And in truth the Miniſtry at Dublin, who had ſent over ſo many and ſuch moving repreſentations of their diſtreſs, had too much room to ſuſpect, that thoſe who had the lead in the Houſe of Commons here, were too full of their projects to bring their own country into confuſion—to which the rebellion in Ireland was ſo very ſerviceable—to ſend an aid that would be effectual for their relief. The reinforcement therefore that came with Sr. S. Harcourt, tho' it revived their ſpirits, and enabled them to ſend out ſome parties to clear the country within a few miles of Dublin, yet was far from being ſufficient to reduce the rebels. The body aſſembled at Swords, already mentioned, had been an object of terror both to the Council and the People: and therefore as ſoon as they thought themſelves ſafe at Dublin, by the arrival of theſe forces, Sr. C. Coote was ſent out againſt them; who entirely routed them, and burnt the town of Swords, and ſome adjacent villages, as either belonging to their Chiefs, or as quarters for their entertainment: a ſeverity, which fell promiſcuouſly among Proteſtants as well as Papiſts, and was at this time a little unſeaſonable now their danger was at an end. The town of Naas was a principal place of meeting for the Gentry of the county of Kildare, in which they held their councils of war for applotting levies of men and money and proviſions; and as there were ſome expectations that a battle with the rebels would be the conſequence of an attempt to diſlodge them thence, the Earl of Ormonde was ſent on that expedition; with Lord Lambert, Sr. C. Coote, and Sr. S. Harcourt under him. In his march thither he burnt the borough of Newcaſtle, according to his orders, the village of Lyons, and ſeveral others in the neighbourhood of Naas: but the rebels having quitted that town upon his approach, and the inhabitants having been forward in receiving the rebels, and expelling and robbing the Proteſtants, it was given up to plunder: however, finding it capable of being fortified, and a convenient place, on account of its diſtance from Dublin, for a garriſon, he preſerved it, againſt his orders, from being burnt. Many priſoners were made upon this expedition; and as it was troubleſome, expenſive, and might be dangerous to keep ſo many at Dublin, the Adminiſtration were reſolved to thin them. Men of eſtates were exempted, in order to preſerve the King's eſcheats upon attainders; but the reſt were given up to martial law; under a pretence that they could not find Freeholders enough for Juries: and yet at the ſame time, there were bills of indictment for high treaſon found in two days againſt all the Lords and Gentlemen in the counties of Meath, Wicklow, and Dublin, and three hundred perſons of quality and eſtate in the county of Kildare. Theſe military executions therefore fell entirely upon the poorer ſort who had no eſtates to forfeit; and particularly on the prieſts and friars, who were generally charged as the chief exciters of the rebellion, and whoſe execution would moſt exaſperate the Iriſh. The better to direct them in theſe meaſures, another commiſſion was iſſued under the great Seal, on the eighteenth of January, to the ſame perſons named in the former, with this additional direction; "that they ſhould enquire what lands had been ſeized, and what murders committed by the rebels; what numbers of Britiſh and Proteſtants had periſhed in the way to Dublin, or any other place whither they fled; and how many had turned Papiſts, ſince the twenty ſecond of October." But more will be ſaid of this commiſſion, when I come to ſpeak of the return made by the commiſſioners, in its proper place. The Earl of Ormonde, upon his return to Dublin, had a meſſage from Lord Gormanston, complaining of his burning the country, and hanging people in his expedition; and threatening that Lady Ormonde and his children ſhould anſwer it, if he did ſuch things for the future. The Earl refuſed to receive this meſſage, in a way that might be interpreted a correſpondence with a rebel; and therefore cauſed the perſon who brought it to be examined before the Coun-

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cil. The board approved of his Lordſhip's writing a letter to Lord Gormanston; in which he told him, "that no body had been hanged by his authority in that expedition; but that he ſhould not diſavow any thing he ſhould do in purſuance of his orders, nor ceaſe to proſecute the rebels, for fear of what might befall him and his family; and that if his wife and children, who were in their power, ſuffered any thing from them, he would never revenge it upon women and children, as not only baſe and unchriſtian, but alſo infinitely below the value of ſuch as were ſo dear to him."

About this time, the Miniſters received the proclamation they had deſired, under the King's own hand, and ſealed with his privy Signet; "declaring all thoſe who had taken his ſorts and caſtles, poſſeſſed themſelves of his garriſons and magazines, ſpoiled many thouſands of his good ſubjects of their houſes goods and lands, maſſacred multitudes, and impriſoned many of them, to be REBELS AND TRAITORS; as likewiſe their adherents, and abettors, and all who ſhould hereafter join with them. In the ſame proclamation he commanded them to lay down their arms immediately; and in caſe of their diſobedience, authoriſed the chief Governors to proſecute the ſaid rebels and traitors with fire and ſword." This is the whole purport of the proclamation; and is the only proclamation that was ever iſſued in the King's name. But this is ſo falſified by Geoghgan, that it ought not to be paſſed by. He ſays, "that the King was ſo ſenſible of the provocations of the Iriſh, that he ordered a proclamation to be publiſhed in his name, of a general amneſty to all who ſhould ſubmit in forty days." The reader will ſee from hence, that nothing can be depended upon in ſuch a writer: and tho' the chief deſign of this proclamation was to give the Iriſh the juſt appellation of REBELS, yet Geoghgan inſiſts upon it that they were not rebels; "who are thoſe alone, he ſays, that riſe againſt their Sovereign." The King's whole authority in that country was veſted in the Juſtices and Council; and to ſay, as the Abbot does, that the Iriſh acknowledged only the King for their Sovereign, and did not acknowledge the ſovereignty of the Juſtices and Council, and therefore their riſing againſt them was no rebellion, is ſuch an evaſion of the truth, as the greateſt candour cannot excuſe. But this proclamation was ineffectual;

and the rebels were now united in one body, under the title of the "confederate Roman Catholicks of Ireland;" to which confederacy they bound themſelves by an oath of aſſociation, which was generally taken by them throughout the kingdom. They ſwear, "that at all hazards they will maintain the free and public exerciſe of their religion, that they will bear allegeance to the King, defend him againſt thoſe that ſhall endeavour to ſuppreſs his prerogative, or do any act contrary to his regal government, and alſo the powers and privileges of Parliament, the rights and privileges of the ſubject, and every perſon that took that oath in whatever they ſhould do in lawful purſuance of the ſame; and by all means oppoſe, and endeavour to bring to condign puniſhment, even to the loſs of life, liberty, and eſtate, all ſuch as ſhould in any way whatever attempt any thing to the contrary of any one article in this vow or oath contained." The abſurdity and contradiction of this oath of aſſociation, ſtares every one ſo much in the face, that nothing but an infatuation, under which theſe people ſeem to have been from the beginning, could have reconciled it to a man of the meaneſt underſtanding. The firſt article is, that they will maintain the free and public exerciſe of their religion; and therefore the King, whom by another article they ſwear to bear allegeance to and defend, who they knew did oppoſe that article, they vowed to puniſh, if it was in their power, with the loſs of his life, and liberty: another article is, that they will defend him with their life, power, and eſtate, againſt all ſuch as ſhall do any act contrary to his regal government; at the ſame time that every act of theirs in this rebellion, even this very oath of aſſociation itſelf, was contrary to his regal government, and was high treaſon. But I have dwelt too long perhaps on an abſurdity, too flagrant to paſs among any other people than among the Iriſh.

In anwer, it may be, to this oath of aſſociation, which was circulated Borlase. over the kingdom, the Council iſſued a proclamation on the eighth of February, declaring ſixty five Gentlemen by name, their aiders and confederates, to be traitors and rebels; and requiring all his Majeſty's good ſubjects to purſue and plague them with fire and ſword, and to apprehend and kill them. It was further therein declared, "that whoſoever before the five and twentieth day of March, ſhould kill, and bring to the Lords Juſ-

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tices, the heads of Sr. Phe. O Neil, Sr. Con Magenis, Ro. Macguire, Ph. O Reily, or Col. Macmahon, who were the principal conſpirators and the firſt actors in this rebellion, ſhould have by way of reward for the head of Sr. Phe. O Neil one thouſand pounds, and for each head of the others before named ſix hundred pounds, with a full pardon for all the offences of thoſe who ſhould ſo kill or bring in any of their heads: and if any one ſhould kill them, and not bring in their heads, upon due proof made of being killed, ſhall receive as a reward for killing Sr. P. O Neil eight hundred pounds, and for the others, four hundred each, with a pardon as before." It is further ſet forth in the ſame proclamation, "that whoſoever under the degree of a Knight—except the ſaid O Reily, and Macmahon, L. Toole, the deſcendents of Feagh Birne, and except Ro. Moore—ſhall before the ſaid day, kill, and bring to the ſaid Juſtices the heads of all or any of the other perſons therein named, ſhall have as a reward for every head four hundred pounds, and pardon as before; or for killing them, without bringing in their heads, due proof being made, for every one of them ſo killed three hundred pounds, together with a pardon for all offences." This had been a policy, which, in former rebellions in that country, had produced a good effect; but at preſent, what with the oath of aſſociation, and what with this war being now made, by many of their enemies as well as their friends, a war of religion, few or none were deſtroyed by virtue of this proclamation.

After a tedious expectation and many promiſes from England, at laſt towards the end of February, the Lord Lieutenant's regiment of fifteen hundred foot under Lieutenant Colonel Monck, and four hundred horſe under Sr. R. Grenville, arrived at Dublin. If the Adminiſtration were diſappointed at ſo inconſiderable a ſupply of men, they were much more chagrined that they brought neither money nor proviſions; for both which the State was in the utmoſt diſtreſs, and that diſtreſs muſt increaſe as the number of their men increaſed. The garriſon of Drogheda had been already ſeventeen weeks behind in their pay; the reſt of the army, old and new, had received none for two months; and the arrears of the old army had none of them been diſcharged. The Council therefore compelled the inhabitants of Dublin, on whom the ſoldiers were billetted for their lodging, to give them credit for their diet on their promiſe of ſpeedy payment. But all acceſs to the city, and their trade failing, to their poverty was added a great ſcarcity of proviſions; the villages, and the country round it, being imprudently burned or laid waſte by the Council, to prevent the rebels ſubſiſting there, inſtead of ſending out their troops to ſecure the country for their own accommodation. Hence many inconveniences enſued to the army. Such of the ſoldiers as could get off for England deſerted; of thoſe who were prevented doing ſo by a proclamation, ſome neceſſitated by want, robbed and plundered; others, feeding only upon ſalt herrings, fell into diſeaſes, and died in great numbers. In this ſituation they were at Dublin when the troops above mentioned arrived; and tho' they added to their ſtrength, they added alſo to the ſcarcity of proviſion, and to the dangers ariſing from want of pay. Tho' the Lords of the Pale had not committed any hoſtilities, yet three thouſand of the rebels being poſted at a caſtle within ſeven miles of Dublin, a place of great ſtrength on account of the woods and other faſtneſſes, and it being neceſſary now to give the army ſome employment, the Lieutenant General, conſidering the wild and cruel orders which the Miniſters gave for this expedition, choſe to go on it himſelf. For they ordered him not only "to kill and deſtroy rebels and their adherents and relievers, but to burn, waſte, conſume, and demoliſh all the places, towns, and houſes, where they had been relieved and harboured, with all the corn and hay there; and alſo to kill and deſtroy all the male inhabitants capable to bear arms." Can any one read this order, and think that theſe Juſtices had any reaſon to complain of the cruelties of the ignorant and ſavage Iriſh? It muſt be owned however that Lord Ormonde had more humanity; and thinking that ſuch an order was leſs barbarous in his hands, than in thoſe of ſome others with whom they might be entruſted, he commanded the party himſelf. When he came up to the rebels, he burnt a few villages, and ſome houſes near them, in order to draw them out of their faſtneſſes; and finding that way ineffectual, he attacked them in their intrenchments, drove them out, and routed them.

The long and great diſtreſſes of the garriſon of Drogheda, which had been blockaded by the rebels for three months, had made but little impreſſion at the caſtle of Dublin. The Council were too much taken up

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with their own fears and danger to ſpare them any aſſiſtance; except ſome biſcuit and ammunition at one time, and at another, when horſe-fleſh, dogs, and cats were greedy food, a good ſupply of proviſions. Even after this late acceſſion to their ſtrength, the Lords Juſtices were not ſatisfied that it was proper to attempt to raiſe the ſiege. There was every conſideration in the world to induce them to this attempt, beſides the incredible hardſhips and dangers which the garriſon had ſo long endured, and from which in juſtice they ought to be relieved as ſoon as poſſible. As the ſeaſon of the year was coming on to permit a regular ſiege, and the place was untenable againſt it, the deſtruction of ſo many brave men, who would probably have no quarter, would be not only an irreparable loſs, but, when they had ſuch an army lying idle within the walls of Dublin in their neighbourhood, would expoſe the Adminiſtration to all the world. Even ſuppoſing the rebels to ſpare their lives, they would moſt certainly diſarm the garriſon, as they had done every other; and the very ſupply of arms and ammunition, of which they were in the utmoſt want, would be a miſchief to the State which they ought to prevent. Beſides the town itſelf, on account of its ſituation between Dublin and the North, and of its river and harbour, was of great importance: neither was any doubt to be made, if Drogheda ſhould be taken, but that the forces of the rebels from all parts of the kingdom would be drawn againſt Dublin; which, when they were every where maſters of the field, would be ſubdued by famine, if nothing elſe. But ſhould the ſiege be raiſed, it would in a manner cruſh the rebellion, their own people would be revived, the rebels diſheartened, Dublin would be ſecured, and the whole kingdom reſcued from imminent danger. On the other ſide it was ſuggeſted, that the attempt to raiſe the ſiege was not only hazardous, but the miſchiefs of a miſcarriage would be irretrievable; that the town would then be immediately given up; and when it was known that the forces were drawn out of Dublin, the rebels in Wickſow and the adjoining counties might probably fall upon them, and Dublin would be loſt without a ſiege. The Council being diſtracted between theſe two opinions, did, as moſt timorous people do on ſuch occaſions, take a middle way between both. Neceſſity obliged them to ſend the troops out of Dublin for their ſubſiſtance; and tho' they would not part with them ſo far as Drogheda, which is above twenty miles, yet they reſolved to ſend between three and four thouſand into the Pale, to burn and pillage; in hopes the plunder would pleaſe the army, and the report of their advancing would raiſe the ſiege.

On the third of March therefore, an order was given to Lord Ormonde, to go with three thouſand foot and five hundred horſe againſt the rebels in the counties of Meath and Dublin, and to burn and deſtroy as he ſhould think fit, the places, towns, and houſes, where they and their adherents uſually reſided; but to take care that no corn, hay, or houſes ſhould be burned within five miles of Dublin: and though he was allowed to march into ſuch places as he ſaw fit between the ſea and the Boyne, yet he was on no conſideration allowed to paſs that river. The Council were at their wits end, leſt the General, when he had got his troops upon the march, ſhould break in upon his orders, as he had been ſo preſſing at the board for the relief of Drogheda, and carry them further than they intended. Not contented therefore with having tied him up ſo ſtrictly in their inſtructions, Parsons wrote him a letter in which he acquainted him, "that having conſidered of the expedition and ſome conſequences of it concerning his Lordſhip, they had reſolved to entreat him earneſtly to ſtay at home, and to let them ſend away the army under the conduct of Sr. Sim. Harcourt, wherein they deſired his Lordſhip's approbation." But the King having entruſted him particularly with the command of his army, his Lordſhip refuſed to let it march upon an expedition of ſuch conſequence, and in which ſo much liberty of plunder and ſpoil was given, under the conduct of any General beſides himſelf. When he was advanced to ſome diſtance from Dublin in the way to Drogheda, he ſent out parties to waſte and pillage the country; in order to draw ſome of the rebels to him, and to make it be believed that he was marching to raiſe the ſiege. The report of his march had the effect expected. Sr. Ph. O Neil ſent away his cannon to Dundalk; and the whole force of the rebels, quitting the neighbourhood of Drogheda, diſperſed themſelves in great haſte, and fled towards the North. Upon the news of this event, Lord Ormonde conſulted with Sr. S. Harcourt, Sr. Tho. Lucas, and Sr. Rob. Farrer, the Generals under him; who were unanimous in opinion with him, that by an immediate purſuit of the rebels to Newry, with their own army, and what might now be ſpared from Drogheda, here was a fair opportunity offered for reducing the North into obedience, and for putting an end to the war. Lord Ormonde ſent an account of this to the Miniſtry, and deſired moſt earneſtly to have his authority enlarged for this purſuit: and as he found a diſpoſition in the Lords and Gentlemen of the Pale, to lay down their arms and to ſurrender, he deſired alſo that he might have inſtructions what he ſhould do in caſe they came in to him; and whether he was to burn and deſtroy the houſes and goods of thoſe Lords, on account of their quality, and of no directions having been ſent from England, though deſired by the Council about them. He ſent with the officer and a party of horſe who carried this letter, Colonel Read, and two Gentlemen, who had come in to him the day before. Whatever excuſe might be made in time paſt for the Adminiſtration, on account of their fears, in not permitting the General to attempt the relief of Drogheda, yet now, ſo great an alteration in the ſtate of affairs had been made by the diſperſion of the rebels, that weakneſs and timidity can no longer be pleaded, in juſtification of the refuſal which they gave the General. Had three thouſand rebels been at the gates of Dublin, they could not have been more agitated than they were now at receiving this propoſal from Lord Ormonde, for carrying the army to Newry in purſuit of the rebels. The Council were ſummoned in great haſte, and an anſwer drawn immediately. Inſtead of rejoicing at an event, which not only put them into perfect ſafety, but which gave a probable proſpect of putting an end to the war, if the opinion of the Generals were complied with, they abide by their former order for him not to paſs the Boyne; they direct him to admit thoſe that came in, as priſoners of war only, who ſhould be firſt ſeized by the ſoldiers, if it could be ſo, before they had acceſs to his Lordſhip, whom he was not afterwards to ſee; they order that there ſhould be no difference between the Noblemen and other rebels, in burning and laying waſte their goods and houſes; and in their great condeſcenſion, they give the general leave, in caſe the neceſſity of the ſervice requires it, and he receives no orders from them to the contrary in the interim, to ſtay two or three days longer than the eight days to which they had before confined him. As ſoon as his Lordſhip had ſent away his letter, he continued his march towards Drogheda, and haſtened thither himſelf with the General Officers juſt mentioned, in order to conſult further with

Sr. H. Titchborne, and Lord Moore, who had ſo gallantly defended that place, and were beſt acquainted with the forces of the rebels. They were entirely of the opinion that had been given before; and therefore Lord Ormonde drew up another letter to the Miniſtry, to preſs an enlargement of his authority to purſue the rebels, which was ſigned by all the other five Officers as well as himſelf. They made themſelves ſo ſure of obtaining what was aſked, that his Lordſhip told the Council in his letter, he ſhould march immediately to Atherdee and Dundalk, and either burn or garriſon thoſe places as ſhould be directed; and deſired that ſome ammunition, meal, and biſcuit, might be forthwith ſent to Drogheda by ſea, as the fitteſt place to ſerve for a magazine to ſupply the army.

The Earl of Ormonde had ſeen many proofs of the weakneſs or the wickedneſs of thoſe at the helm, ſince this rebellion had been on foot; but he did not know them yet. The meaſures which he had concerted with the other Generals, were all broken by the anſwer, above recited, which he received from Dublin. A letter from Sr. J. Temple accompanied it, under the notion of particular friendſhip to his Lordſhip; in which having told him, that his propoſal of purſuing the rebels to Newry was diſapproved by the whole board, and by ſome very ſharply reſented, he beſeeched him to be very careful how he received any ſubmiſſions, and to obſerve punctually the directions given him; very modeſtly bidding him "remember, he had no commiſſion to receive any, otherwiſe than they had directed." The reader will eaſily gueſs at the reſentment which Lord Ormonde muſt feel, at being thus controlled in the command of the army, by men who were not ſoldiers, and were ſo much inferior to him in every reſpect. But if he was uneaſy on his own account, he was not leſs ſo on account of the public ſervice; which he ſaw was ſacrificed to the imperious humour, or the malignant diſpoſition, of the Lords Juſtices and their creatures. The laſt uneaſineſs he kept to himſelf for the preſent; the other his Lordſhip communicated in a letter to them the next day. He tells them, "that ſuch a confidence was uſually repoſed in the judgment and fidelity of thoſe that were honoured with the command of an army, as that it was left to them, when, and where, to proſecute an enemy; and that he took this to be his due, though he was content to depart from it. He aſſured them, that all the general officers

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approved as much of the execution of the deſign, as he himſelf who had propoſed it; but that nevertheleſs he was applying himſelf to perform their laſt commands. He knew very well the terms on which he ſtood with the Lords Juſtices, for having conſtantly oppoſed their puſillanimous inactive meaſures with regard to the army, and their violence and cruelty with regard to the Roman Catholicks not in arms: and therefore if he ſhould give them any pretence for an accuſation, in order to remove him, the King in his preſent circumſtances could not protect him, nor put another into the command of the army in whom he could confide. When he communicated his orders to Lord Moore, and Sr. H. Tichborne, and his intentions inſtantly to obey them, they were aſtoniſhed to the laſt degree. The Miniſters had not condeſcended to give any reaſon for continuing theſe orders, after ſuch an alteration in the ſtate of affairs; and no reaſon for it could be conjectured. The Generals ſaw no appearance of any important buſineſs about Dublin, that ſhould require ſuch a ſpeedy return,—which Dr. Borlase abſurdly ſays, "was Beneath the capacity of thoſe who would have had it otherwiſe,"—but they ſaw here was a fair opportunity loſt, of reducing the whole county of Louth into obedience, and of putting garriſons into Ardee and Dundalk, which would curb the Northern rebels, if nothing further; and they looked upon theſe orders with indignation. They ſent to Lord Ormonde however to ſpare them ſome of his army, and two pieces of cannon, in order to take in the ſtrong houſes about Drogheda; and they imparted to him ſome intelligence they had received of the diſtreſſed condition of the rebels. His Lordſhip thought this advice important enough for him to make one effort more to prevail with the Adminiſtration to revoke their order. For this purpoſe he called another council of war; to which, beſides the Officers who had aſſiſted before, Lord Lambert, and Sr. Rich. Grenville were added. The caſe was ſo clear, that there was a fair opportunity of giving the rebels a great defeat, if not a total overthrow, which might never offer again without much blood and treaſure, that they reſolved unanimouſly to inform the Miniſtry, "that they could not conſiſtent with their faith to his Majeſty's ſervice, or their due reſpect to the State, purſue their intentions of returning, before they had communicated to them the letters of Lord Moore and Sr. H. Tichborne, and received their Lordſhips directions: and conſidering

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ſidering the great benefit, and the little hazard, of freeing the country at leaſt as far as Dundalk from being the ſeat of war, by purſuing the rebels, they unanimouſly beſought the Council to ſend them orders to proceed, together with a ſupply of ammunition, and proviſion, and ſome ſhoes and ſtockings. But their repreſentations were all in vain. The Council, who were the creatures of Parsons—for Borlase was but a cypher—adhered to their firſt order; and as they had no reaſons which they durſt avow, they gave none at all for their refuſal. They gave leave indeed to Lord Ormonde to ſend the re-inforcement deſired by Sr. H. Tichborne: and for fear he ſhould be remiſs in executing their former order, after this infamous treatment of him, they repeated their inſtructions to him, to burn all the houſes of the rebels and their adherents in his return.

At the ſame time that they perſiſted in their obſtinate or traiterous reſolution of recalling the army, they complain in their letters to the Lord Lieutenant, that they could not ſubſiſt the troops upon their return; that for want of clothes, the common ſoldiers were expoſed to cold and nakedneſs, in a manner that was diſhonourable to the State; and, from the unwholſomeneſs of their diet, many of them were daily dying." Why then did they not permit the army to purſue the rebels into a plentiful country, which had not yet been waſted; that they might live upon the ſpoil and contributions of the enemy, and ſupply themſelves with neceſſaries out of their ſtock and plunder? The reader perhaps will expect to find the reaſon in their next diſpatch to the Lord Lieutenant. But not a word is there to be ſeen of the ſtate of the Northern rebels, of the General's application for leave to purſue them in their diſtreſs, and of their refuſal. Such an abſolute ſilence in ſo important an affair, and at a juncture ſo critical, gives an unfavourable impreſſion of the truth and faithfulneſs of the repreſentations made into England by this Council. As Lord Ormonde's march with the army from Dublin, had frightened the rebels from the blockade of Drogheda, and his advancing to that place had alſo driven them away from Ardee and Dundalk, ſo they no ſooner heard of his return, than they took poſſeſſion of thoſe places again, and began to draw together their ſcattered forces. Sr. H. Titchborne, and Lord Moore, having reduced ſome ſtrong houſes in the environs of Drogheda, and burned the country in the barony of Slane, advanced towards Ardee. They were met by a party of rebels whom they ſoon routed: but the town was too ruinous and waſted to be worth keeping poſſeſſion of: they marched on therefore to Dundalk, which had a garriſon of eight hundred rebels, and which, beſides its natural ſtrength, they had fortified with a double ditch. Sr. Henry aſſaulted it immediately upon his coming up to it, and with a very inconſiderable force took it by ſtorm. About an hundred of the enemy were killed in the place: but the reſt, with Sr. Ph. O Neil their commander, being favoured by the duſk of the evening, made their eſcape. When Sr. Henry had taken this place, which he thought of vaſt importance to the public ſervice, he made ſtrong repreſentations to the Lords Juſtices for a reinforcement: but as they pretended they had not forces enough, to ſend him ſuch a ſupply as would enable him to keep both that and Drogheda, they thought the firſt muſt be deſerted. He maintained it however againſt all the forces of the rebels; though by not being purſued, they had time to recover their ſpirits, and to gather again in a body: And if he with ſo ſmall a force, after a fortnight's loſs of time, could reduce the whole county of Lowth, what might not the Earl of Ormonde and the other Generals have done towards ending the war, with an army of four times the number of the other, had his Lordſhip been permitted to purſue the rebels, in the height of their terror and conſternation?—But it is time to leave theſe proceedings, and to return to England.

Rushwor. Clarend. The reader may remember that we left it, when the King was ſeparating from his Parliament, highly diſſatisfied with each other, and removing to York. But before he went from Windſor, he took great offence at Mr. Pym's affirming in a ſpeech, printed by order of the Houſe of Commons, "that ſince the ſtop upon the ports againſt all Iriſh Papiſts by the two Houſes, many of the chief commanders, now in the head of the rebels, had been ſuffered to paſs by his Majeſty's immediate warrant." The King demanded to know, if this were a genuine, or a ſpurious ſpeech; and if the former, upon what information that charge was grounded, that it might either be found to have been falſe, or he might know by whoſe fault his authority had been ſo highly abuſed. The Houſe of Commons owned the ſpeech, and averred what Mr. Pym had ſaid to be true; though they believed

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lieved that the warrants were without his Majeſty's knowledge. The King declared his diſſatisfaction with this anſwer; and was poſitive no ſuch perſon had paſſed by his warrant, ſince the order of the two Houſes. He expected therefore that they ſhould name the perſons, who had been licenſed by him to paſs into Ireland, and were then in the head of the rebels, or that they would publicly own their miſtake. The Commons named ſeveral, to whom, and their companies, paſſes had been granted, "who might be doubted to be of the party of the rebels." His Majeſty ſaid in anſwer, that for any thing that had been yet declared, he could not ſee any grounds for that bold affirmation which Pym had made to both Houſes; as there had not been any particular perſon named, that was then ſo much as in rebellion, much leſs in the head of the rebels, to whom he had given a licence to paſs over: and therefore he inſiſted on a public declaration of their miſtake. But ſuch a declaration would have convicted their favourite of a deliberate falſhood; and ſo as they could not defend him, they choſe to give no further anſwer. When the King paſſed the bill for impreſſing men, ſoon after, by commiſſion, he ſent a meſſage to both Houſes; declaring, that "as he had concurred in all propoſitions made for the ſervice of Ireland by his Parliament, ſo he was reſolved to leave nothing undone for their relief, which ſhould poſſibly fall within his power: nor would he refuſe to venture his own perſon in that war, if the Parliament ſhould think it convenient for the reduction of that miſerable kingdom." In a ſhort time after, he ſent them another meſſage, in which he "earneſtly deſired them to uſe all poſſible induſtry in expediting the buſineſs of Ireland, in which they ſhould find ſo chearful a concurrence in him, that no inconvenience ſhould happen to that ſervice by his abſence, being unable by words to manifect more affection to it, than he had endeavoured to do by his former meſſages, having likewiſe done all ſuch acts as he had been moved unto by Parliament. Therefore if the misfortunes and calamities of his poor Proteſtant ſubjects there ſhould grow upon them, though he ſhould be deeply concerned and ſenſible of their ſufferings, he ſhould waſh his hands before all the world, from the leaſt imputation of ſlackneſs, in that moſt neceſſary and pious work." To make therefore ſome ſhew of their own zeal towards it, but in reality to put the diſpoſal of ſo much money into their own power, they prepared an act for the payment of four hundred thouſand pounds, to ſuch perſons as were nominated by themſelves, and to be iſſued in ſuch manner as the two houſes ſhould direct: and as the King had committed the carrying on the war of Ireland to them, he was obliged to paſs the act with ſuch general clauſes; though it put it in their power to divert the money to other uſes than thoſe for which it was given; and they did divert it accordingly. The Commons alſo voted an order, " that the corn, victuals, and other proviſions to be ſent to relieve the Proteſtants in Ireland, ſhould be tranſported free of cuſtoms."

Rushwor. But many people, who ſaw that the zeal of the Parliament, towards ſuppreſſing the inſurrection in Ireland, conſiſted principally of words, and that it never would be ſuppreſſed by the way they took, propoſed a method of raiſing money that would be ſpeedy and effectual; to which the two Houſes aſſented in the following manner: That two millions and a half of acres of the rebels lands in that kingdom, of Engliſh meaſure, conſiſting of meadow, arable, and paſture—the bogs, woods, and mountains to be holden in free and common ſocage of the King—ſhould be allotted and divided after this proportion; to each adventurer of two hundred pounds, a thouſand acres in Ulſter; for three hundred pounds, a thouſand acres in Conaght; for four hundred and fifty pounds, a thouſand acres in Munſter; and for ſix hundred pounds, a thouſand acres in Leinſter; paying a penny an acre in the firſt province, two-pence halfpenny in the ſecond, two-pence three farthings in the third, and three-pence an acre in the province of Leinſter, quit-rent to the Crown: That for the erecting of manours, ſettling waſtes and commons, maintenance of miniſters, creating of corporations, and regulating of plantations, commiſſions ſhould be hereafter granted by authority of Parliament: That the money for this great occaſion might be the more ſpeedily advanced, all the undertakers in the city of London, and within twenty miles of it, ſhould underwrite their ſeveral ſums before the twentieth day of March, all within ſixty miles before the firſt of April, and the reſt of the kingdom before the firſt of May. Theſe propoſitions, with ſome others about the days and ſums in which payment was to be made, being approved by the two Houſes and laid by them before the King, his Majeſty made anſwer, " that as he had offered, and was ſtill ready, to venture his own perſon for the recovery of that kingdom, if his Parliament ſhould adviſe him thereunto, ſo he would not deny to contribute any other aſſiſtance he could to that ſervice, by parting with any profit or advantage of his own there: and therefore relying upon the wiſdom of his Parliament, he conſented to every propoſition now made him, without taking time to examine, whether that courſe might not retard reducing that kingdom, by exaſperating the rebels and rendering them deſperate; and that he would give his aſſent to any act for confirming theſe propoſitions." The Parliament took care in drawing the bill, to inſert ſuch clauſes of authority to themſelves, and diminution of the King's, as in a manner to put the making a peace with the rebels out of his power; but he was obliged to paſs it. This being all that was done here relating to Ireland at the end of March, I ſhall now lead the reader back thither again.

During the late expedition to Drogheda, ſeveral Gentlemen of the Pale—probably convinced, by the raiſing of that ſiege, of the folly of the inſurrection—came in and ſubmitted to Lord Ormonde: and as they had none of them been in any action with the rebels, and ſome of them had been plundered by the Iriſh, they depended upon being received to mercy. Lord Dunsany, whoſe family had been always loyal, who was himſelf Engliſh, and by deſcent, alliance, and affection conſtant to that intereſt, had wrote to Lord Ormonde to deſire his protection. He had retired out of the Pale, when the other Lords and Gentlemen of that country had joined the Iriſh, and lived quietly in his own houſe; doing all acts of humanity to the diſtreſſed Engliſh, even at the hazard of his life, till he came about this time with his ſon to Dublin, and ſurrendered himſelf to the Government. The Lords Netterville, and Slane, and many of the principal Gentry in that diſtrict, had made an offer, if they might be accepted, of the like ſubmiſſions: and this practice there was becoming ſo general, that the Miniſtry thought it time to put a ſtop to it. It appears by their letter to the Lord Lieutenant at that time, that they thought themſelves much wiſer than other Miniſters had been, by too eaſily receiving ſubmiſſions, and granting pardon to rebels; and therefore they ſhould take another courſe. Some of thoſe Gentlemen of the Pale had been indicted of high treaſon, for having been ſeen to converſe with ſome of the rebels, whilſt the rebels were maſters of their country, and the bills had been found by the grand juries; who were ſo extremely alert as to find ſeveral hundreds, as it hath been already ſaid, in two days. The Miniſters reſolved therefore to have theſe tried in a legal courſe; in order to ſhew the reſt that their ſubmiſſion would entitle them to no favour, as well as to lead to a full reſumption of the King's juſt and regal power.—Mr. Carte hath gone further, and hath charged the Miniſters with a breach of the royal word in the proclamation; wherein mercy was promiſed to ſuch as ſhould immediately lay down their arms and forbear further hoſtility: but there is no ſuch promiſe in the proclamation—of which the reader hath had the ſubſtance already—nor any intimation of ſuch favour; and therefore this charge upon them is without foundation.

It is evident however from their laſt letter to the Lord Lieutenant, juſt mentioned, that they hoped for an extirpation, not of the mere Iriſh only, but of all the old Engliſh families alſo that were Roman Catholicks. Hence all the Gentlemen that ſurrendered themſelves, were, without being admitted to the preſence of the Juſtices, committed priſoners to the caſtle; preparations were made for their trial; and it was publicly ſaid, that they ſhould be proſecuted with the utmoſt ſeverity. But as they had never appeared in the field, nor been engaged in any warlike action, proper facts were wanting to ſupport a charge againſt them. To ſupply this defect, the Lords Juſtices had recourſe to the rack, tho' againſt the law, in order to extort ſuch confeſſions as theſe miſcreants had a mind to put into the mouths of thoſe unhappy men who were to undergo it. Could they bring any of them to confeſs, that all the Catholicks in the kingdom, eſpecially thoſe of the Pale, were originally concerned in the conſpiracy, or to charge the King with authoriſing or encouraging the rebellion, the firſt would juſtify their intended ſeverity to thoſe Gentlemen, and forward their own ſcheme of extirpation; and the laſt would ſerve the purpoſe of their faction in the Engliſh Parliament. The firſt perſon brought to the rack was Macmahon; whom the reader muſt remember to have been taken on O Conolly's information, when the conſpiracy was diſcovered. I copied his examination from the Biſhop of Clogher's manuſcripts in the College library; and in that examination he had nothing but hearſay evidence to give; which amounts only to his having been told, that Lord Macguire, M. S.

Sr. P. O Neil, and Phil. O Reily were the chief conſpirators; that all the Papiſts in Parliament laſt ſummer, knew, and approved of the rebellion; that the Committee then employed into England would procure an order or commiſſion from the King to proceed in their rebellious courſes; that he was told laſt October, that the King had given a commiſſion to the Papiſts to ſeize upon all the garriſons and ſtrong holds, and that he ſhould ſee it when he came to Dublin; but he doth not ſay that ever he ſaw any ſuch commiſſion. It hath already been obſerved, that there is no dependance to be had upon any thing that was ſaid by the leaders of this rebellion in order to draw in the weak and credulous: and tho' the Council knew the falſehood of the pretence as to any commiſſion from the King, yet it ſerved the views of his enemies, and helped to blow up the fears and jealouſies that they daily inculcated on the people. This examination however being not enough to the point to ſatisfy men of ſenſe, the next day Sr. John Read, by the ſame ſtretch of arbitrary power, was brought to the rack. This Gentleman hath been already mentioned, as of the privy chamber to the King, a Lieutenant Colonel in the late diſbanded army, and engaged by the Lords of the Pale to carry over their petitions to the King and Queen. He intended to make no ſecret of his journey, and therefore ſent a letter by a ſervant of his own to Parsons, to deſire a paſs; who, in anſwer, required him to repair to Dublin that the Council might confer with him. Whether he had joined the rebel army before Drogheda, as ſome writers ſay, or whether he was intercepted only by them in his return thither to his houſe, as others ſay, is not certainly to be determined: the former appears to me to be the better opinion. But be this as it might.

On the rebels marching away from Drogheda, Sr. J. Read went directly to Lord Ormonde, and was the firſt that gave him intelligence of the ſiege being raiſed. But when his Lordſhip in his letter to the Council mentions Colonel Read's coming in to him, with two other Gentlemen, he adds, "that he had thought fit to ſend theſe to be diſpoſed of according to their Lordſhips pleaſures, and their own demerit." When he was brought to Dublin, his papers were ſeized, and he himſelf committed priſoner. Beſides the petitions to the King and Queen, which were not tranſmitted to them by the Council, he was charged with a letter to themſelves from Lord Netterville; in which he deſired a ſafe conduct for his own perſon and two or three others, that they might go to Dublin to ſee the King's proclamation, which they were told had commanded them to lay down their arms and ſubmit to his mercy; in order, if it was true, that they might render obedience to it. There was nothing in theſe papers that could make the bearer of them ſubject to any puniſhment; but Sr. John Read was notwithſtanding put upon the rack, and there examined. What ſort of confeſſion they drew from him does not appear: though as the Miniſters ſent his examination to the Houſe of Commons, and it was never heard of any more, it may be concluded, I think with certainty, that there was nothing which could be interpreted to the King's diſhonour. The king indeed was a ſtranger to all theſe proceedings: and tho' the Juſtices wrote to Mr. Secretary Nicholas, by the ſame poſt which carried this examination to the Houſe of Commons, yet they ſaid not one word to him about it: which ſhews that they acted in concert with the leaders here, if not by their direction. The King however having heard by ſeveral reports of theſe examinations, ordered the Secretary to write for them to the Lords Juſtices: but they, conſcious, no doubt, of their iniquity in this tranſaction, and being determined to be governed by the Engliſh Parliament rather than by the King, forbore to ſend him any account: upon which he ſent to Lord Ormonde for a copy of the examinations: but they were as induſtriouſly concealed as they were clandeſtinely taken; and his Lordſhip, tho' a Privy Councillor, was not able to comply with the King's requeſt: but this was not all. Sr. J. Read was ſent a priſoner to England; and whilſt abſent, and in thoſe circumſtances, was indicted and outlawed for high treaſon; his Lady and goods were ſeized upon, and ſhe and his children turned out of doors: and when ſhe petitioned to theſe worthy Juſtices to aſſign her ſome part of her effects to maintain her family, they abſolutely refuſed to allow her any; tho' the Barons of the Exchequer, to whom her petition was referred, certified, that it did not appear to them what her huſband's offence was, nor how, nor for what cauſe the Crown might be entitled to his goods or other eſtate. After ſuch proceedings as theſe, what fidelity had the King to expect from theſe Miniſters; and what mercy could thoſe flatter themſelves with, who laid down their arms and ſubmitted to them? The reader will be apt to aſk, why the

King did not immediately diſmiſs theſe men from a truſt which they abuſed, and from a power which they violated, againſt law, and againſt humanity; and natural as the queſtion is, it cannot be anſwered but by conjecture. He knew the reports that had been ſpred to his diſadvantage about this affair of Ireland; and it was not one of the greateſt injuries he ſuffered from ſuch reports, that he durſt not employ thoſe in whom he moſt confided.

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The racking Macmahon, and Sr. J. Read, did not content this merciless Adminiſtration; and ſo Mr. Barnewall of Kilbrew was put to the ſame torture. He was one of the moſt conſiderable Gentlemen of the Pale; a venerable old man of ſixty ſix years of age, delighting in huſbandry, a lover of quiet, and highly reſpected in his country. He had ſent intelligence to the Government of the motion of the Ulſter rebels in the month of November; and the only thing that could be ſaid againſt him was, that he had obeyed the Sheriff's ſummons for the meeting at the hill of Crofty, when Lord Gormanston declared an union with them. It does not appear that he approved the union, or that he actually had joined them upon any occaſion; and ſo little did the Miniſters get by putting him to the torture, that it only ſerved to make his innocence, and their own inhumanity, the more conſpicuous. His innocence was in truth ſo very clear, that when a party was ſent out afterwards to gather the harveſt about Kilbrew, there was a particular order to take care of his ſtock and effects. The Lords of the Pale, finding with what contempt their application to the Miniſtry, by Colonel Read, had been treated, joined in a requeſt to Lord Castlehaven, that he would move the government that they might be licenced to meet in a convenient place—having laid down their arms in obedience to the King's proclamation, tho' they could never ſee it,—where they might draw up their grievances to be preſented to his Majeſty; and in the mean time that a ceſſation of arms might be continued. Lord Castlehaven was deſcended of a very ancient family, who had been Barons of England from the time of Edward the firſt. But the honours, and the Engliſh eſtate having been forfeited by his father, King Charles had reſtored him both to the earldom of Caſtlehaven, and the barony of Audley; the Engliſh eſtate having been granted away. He was a man of good parts, great honour, and a very active ſpirit. His genius leading him to arms, and the ſmall remains of his family eſtate not enabling him to live ſuitably to his quality, he went abroad with a view of inſtruction in the military art, and of an employment in ſome foreign ſervice: and having been at the ſiege of Turin, and alſo made a campaign in Flanders, he came home to ſettle his eſtate, in order to return into the army of ſome Prince abroad. At that juncture, the rebellion broke out in Ireland; and as ſoon as he heard of it, he haſtened away to Dublin, and offered his ſervice to the Lords Juſtices: but they told him, that his religion was an obſtacle againſt his having any command. He then deſired a paſſport to go to England, where a Parliament was ſitting, of which he was a Peer; but this was likewiſe very unjuſtifiably refuſed him; and he attended the Iriſh Parliament the two days they were allowed to ſit. His Lordſhip then acquainted the Miniſtry, that his eſtate there was not ſufficient to maintain him in Dublin; and deſired he might be ſupplied with ſome money for his ſubſiſtence, till ſuch time as he could apply himſelf to the Parliament in England for a paſs to carry him over; but this they alſo denied him: and ſince they would neither employ him in the army, nor permit him to go to England, nor enable him to live at Dublin, he deſired they would direct him what he was to do; to which they replied, that he ſhould go home and make fair weather. This advice he took; and retired to Maddinſtown, a little hunting ſeat in the county of Kildare: where he was very ſerviceable in relieving the Engliſh that were robbed and ſtripped in thoſe parts, and from whence he ſent frequent intelligence to the Adminiſtration, and the troops quartered at Naas, of the proceedings of the rebels.

Whilſt Lord Castlehaven was thus employed, the Lords of the Pale incloſed to him the letter to the Lords Juſtices above mentioned. The letter, his Lordſhip ſays in his memoirs, was very humble and ſubmiſſive: wherefore he ſent it in one of his own, which was little more than a cover; but the Miniſters were ſilent about that from the Lords of the Pale, ſaid they were rebels and traitors, and adviſed his Lordſhip to receive no more letters from them: and as to his own requeſt of a paſs into England, they again refuſed it, and enjoined him not to leave the kingdom without one.

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The arbitrary power exerciſed by the Lords Juſtices on every ſide; their illegal exertion of it in bringing people to the rack to draw confeſſions from them; their ſending out ſo many parties, from Dublin, and other garriſons, to kill and deſtroy the rebels, in which care was ſeldom taken to diſtinguiſh, and men women and children were promiſcuouſly ſlain; but above all the martial law executed by SR. C. COOTE; and the burning the Pale, for ſeventeen miles in length and twenty five in breadth, by the Earl of ORMONDE; theſe meaſures not only exaſperated the rebels, and induced them to commit the like or greater cruelties upon the Engliſh, but they terrified the Nobility and Gentry from all thoughts of ſubmiſſion, and convinced them that there was no room to hope for pardon, nor any means of ſafety left them but in the ſword. Tho' the Lords of the Pale had put themſelves into arms, and made a formal declaration of their conjunction with the Ulſter rebels, yet this union was far from being hearty, and was ſcarcely more than in name. For when the former had raiſed an army, they took care that no part of it ſhould be under the command of the old Iriſh; and attempted to engage the neighbouring counties to acknowledge Lord GORMANSTON for their General. Some of their Chiefs made viſits to the Ulſter officers in their quarters about Drogheda; but it does not appear, ſays MR. CARTE, that they ever remained with them, carried any of their forces, or engaged in any attempt upon the place, or in any other action with them: But in Lord CLANRICARDE's memoirs, there is a letter to him from four Lords of the Pale, dated "from the Catholic camp near Drogheda;" tho' they might not long remain there: and as to the operations of their own army, notwithſtanding they took poſſeſſion of ſeveral towns and put garriſons in them, yet upon Lord ORMONDE's approach with the royal army, they quitted them; and in the great devaſtation of their country by the forces under him, wherein their own and their tenants houſes were burned, they made no oppoſition. There is no accounting for this inactivity, but by ſuppoſing that they had repented of their union with the Iriſh, as ſoon as they had made it; and that they had flattered themſelves with the hopes, that by barely ſtanding upon their guard, they ſhould not be embarked beyond a poſſibility of retreat. The frequent quarrels of the Chiefs on both ſides, obſerved by the priſoners, in which the Gentlemen of the Paſe would frequently lament their combination with thoſe that had always been their enemies, prove the firſt ſuppoſition; and the laſt is evident from the ſubmiſſions they offered to make, and laying down their arms on the King's proclamation. The Lord Gormanston, who was the principal mover in the union with the Iriſh, and in bringing in the other Lords of the Pale to quit the inſurrection, was ſo affected with the behaviour of the former, and with the ſeverity exerciſed by thoſe in power, that he died not long after of grief: and his aſſociates growing deſperate, at ſeeing no hopes of pardon, or of peace, joined all their forces in ſupport of the common cauſe.

The cruelties of the martial law under Sr. C. Coote have been already mentioned: but about this time when it was thought politick to diſcourage the ſubmiſſions, which were growing frequent, Father Higgins, a very quiet pious inoffenſive man, who had put himſelf under the protection of Lord Ormonde, and whom his Lordſhip had brought with him to Dublin, was one morning ſeized; and, without any trial, or delay, or giving his Lordſhip any notice of the intention, by Sr. C. Coote's order hanged. F. Higgins officiated as a prieſt at Naas and in that neighbourhood; had diſtinguiſhed himſelf greatly by ſaving the Engliſh in thoſe parts from ſpoil and ſlaughter; and had relieved ſeveral whom he found had been ſtripped and plundered; ſo far was he from engaging in the rebellion, or giving any encouragement to it. Lord Ormonde had therefore taken him under his protection on his return from that expedition; and when he heard of the execution of this innocent man, for no other reaſon than his being a prieſt, his Lordſhip was very warm in his expoſtulation with the Juſtices upon it at the Council board. They pretended to be ſurpriſed; and excuſed themſelves for having had any other hand in the affair, than giving Sr. C. Coote a general authority, to order ſuch executions without conſulting them. Lord Ormonde told them very plainly, that he did not expect they would order, or ſuffer, one ſo well recommended to him, and ſo juſtly taken under his protection, to be put to death in that manner; and inſiſted that Coote ſhould be tried for what he had done, as having hanged an innocent, nay a deſerving ſubject, without examination, without trial, and without a particular warrant to authoriſe him in it. The diſpute was warm on both ſides. The Juſtices, who had either directed him to do it, or were

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determined to ſupport their favourite in a proceeding which was agreeable to them, would not give him up; and Lord Ormonde threatened to throw up his commiſſion, unleſs they gave him ſatisfaction. This was probably the very thing they wanted: and therefore though he highly reſented this indignity, as he had good reaſon to do, yet conſidering the ill conſequences to the King and to his country, by throwing up his commiſſion at this juncture, he reſolved not to gratify them in parting with it. Their hanging a man of character at all, deſerving in many reſpects, and exceptionable in none but his religion, inclines one to think, that they intended this war ſhould be underſtood to be a war of religion. But their hanging him in ſuch a manner, by martial law by Sr. C. Coote's authority only, againſt juſtice and humanity when brought thither and protected by Lord Ormonde, could be only meant to prevent all ſubmiſſions, or to offer ſuch an indignity to his Lordſhip, as ſhould provoke him to reſign his commiſſion, and to oppoſe them no longer in Council.—It is time now to view the proceedings in other parts of the kingdom.

The rebels having poſſeſſed themſelves of a caſtle in the county of Wicklow, within four miles of Dublin, Sr. S. Harcourt was ſent out with a ſmall party in order to diſlodge them. But being obliged to ſend back for ſome battering cannon, whilſt he waited for theſe and was giving his ſoldiers ſome orders, one of the rebels perceiving him diſcharged his piece at him, and gave him a mortal wound; of which he died the next day, to the prejudice of the ſervice, and the great grief of the Engliſh. His men, who loved him greatly, were ſo enraged at the cowardly manner in which he was killed, that when the cannon came up and had made a breach ſufficient for them to take the caſtle by ſtorm, they put all within to the ſword, without ſparing man, woman, or child. The next attempt was to ſend out Lord Ormonde with three thouſand foot, five hundred horſe, and five field pieces, to burn and deſtroy the houſes and goods of the rebels, who had deſerted the county of Kildare. When he came to Naas, which he had before ſaved from burning, he put a garriſon into it, eſtabliſhed a new ſovereign and eight burgeſſes, and ſettled fifty families of deſpoiled Engliſh in the houſes that had been forſaken. He then marched on according to his orders, deſolating the country, and relieving ſeveral of their own caſtles, which had been blocked up by the rebels. To the ſame purpoſe he detached Sr. T. Lucas, Coote, and Grenville, with ſix troops of horſe and dragoons to Burris, and other places. The enterpriſe was difficult and dangerous, on account of the length of the march, the badneſs of the roads thro' woods bogs and defiles, and the troops of the rebels which lay diſperſed about in thoſe parts. Expedition and ſecrecy were the life and ſoul of the enterprize, and the only things which could enſure ſucceſs. They took their way thro' the woods of Montrath, performed all the ſervice for which they were ſent, and returning thro' O Dun's country, whither the General had ſent a body of five hundred foot and a troop of horſe under Colonel Monck to favour their paſſage over the Barrow, they rejoined the army; after a march of eight and forty hours, with only three hours reſt, without any loſs, except of ſome horſes, which were rendered unſerviceable thro' the greatneſs of the fatigue.

The rapid progreſs which was made under the Lord Mountgarret and others on the borders of Munſter, at the cloſe of the laſt year, has been already related. Having advanced to Caſhell in January, he was met there by Lord Ikerrin with above ſeven thouſand men; not half armed indeed and very wretchedly accoutred, but their numbers which were increaſing hourly, made amends for all other defects. They marched on then, meeting with no reſiſtance, into the county of Corke; where they took the caſtle of Mallock, and where they were joined by others of that county: and tho' Sr. W. St. Leger came up with them, yet viewing their forces from the top of an adjoining mountain and ſeeing their number, he did not think it prudent to attack them with his handful of men; and only deſired a parly with Lord Mountgarret, or ſome of his principal officers. Whilſt this conference, which was conſented to, was carrying on between the parties, Sr. William got time to convey away from Mallow and other neighbouring places, ſuch arms, ammunition, and goods, as he was moſt deſirous to preſerve; which ſeems to have been the only end of the conference, and indeed the only thing that he could do. It hath already been taken notice of, that when the inſurrection broke out, the whole province of Munſter had no more than a ſingle troop of horſe for its defence: and tho' the Preſident had obtained, by reiterated complaints to the State, a commiſſion to levy a regiment of foot and two troops of horſe, yet having no arms for them, and the Parliament of England, to which he had applied, having ſent him none, he was in no condition to make head againſt the rebels. Lord Mountgarret had therefore the whole country before him, and ſaw nothing to hinder his march to the ſeveral forts in that county; which, being very indifferently provided for a defence, he might eaſily become maſter of. His Lordſhip was very deſirous however to make the attempt: but Lord Roch, who was very powerful in thoſe parts, and had a great body of men in that army, diſputed his authority, and inſiſted on having the command in that county himſelf. His claim was ſupported by the Gentlemen belonging to it; and the heats were carried to ſuch a height, that the army ſeparated, and did nothing of any conſequence for a long time after. But when Lord Ormonde had executed his orders in the expedition juſt mentioned, and was returning with the army to Dublin, he found Lord Mountgarret and the principal rebels of thoſe parts, with a body of eight thouſand foot and two or three troops of horſe, at the bridge of Mageny, ready to diſpute his paſſage. Lord Ormonde, with Sr. T. Lucas, and ſome other General officers, eſcorted by two hundred horſe, went out to reconnoitre their ſtrength, and their encampment. His Lordſhip, at his return to his quarters, called a Council of war, to conſider what was beſt to be done. Many of the horſes were exceedingly harraſſed, in their late, long, and difficult march; ſeveral of the ſoldiers were ſick; their proviſion and ammunition were almoſt exhauſted; they were greatly encumbered with a multitude of carriages and bread waggons, for their own ſubſiſtence, and a ſupply of the caſtles which they had relieved; and the rebels were poſted to a great advantage. Under all theſe circumſtances, it was reſolved in the Council of war, not to attack the enemy; but if the rebels ſhould oppoſe them in their march, not to bear ſuch an inſult, and to force a paſſage at all events. What with the men left in ſeveral garriſons, and the great number ſick, the army of fighting men did not amount to three thouſand. Of theſe Lord Ormonde made the beſt diſpoſition he could: and they had ſcarce marched a mile in that order, when they diſcovered the rebels about three miles on their right, marching in haſte to overtake them, or to ſeize a paſs thro' which the King's army was obliged to march. As the rebels were not encumbered

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bered with any baggage, their army marched faſter than the other could poſſibly do; and therefore the General detached Sr. T. Lucas with the greateſt part of the horſe to ſecure the paſs. By the time that they had marched about two miles further, the ſcouts brought intelligence, that the rebel army were on the other ſide of a hill, which had concealed them, and were making great haſte to the paſs. Sr. T. Lucas however had ſecured it; and facing about towards their van cauſed their whole army to halt. Each ſide upon this prepared for the engagement; the left wing, or rather the left diviſion of the rebels, both horſe and foot, fled at the firſt charge given by Sr. T. Lucas, ſupported by Sr. R. Grenville, leaving many colours and arms behind them: the right diviſion, in which was Lord Mountgarret and moſt of the principal rebels, and in which they repoſed their greateſt confidence, exchanged ſome vollies when it was attacked by Lord Ormonde with his troop of volunteers, and three hundred foot under Sr. John Sherlock, and then retreated in ſome order till they reached the top of a hill near them; where they broke at once, and run for their lives to a neighbouring bog, to which their other diviſion had fled for ſafety. In this action, which is called the battle of Killruſh, the Engliſh had not above twenty killed, and forty wounded: but above ſeven hundred rebels were ſlain on the field of battle; amongſt which were ſeveral Colonels and Gentlemen of diſtinction. The Chiefs of the rebel army fled different ways, all in no little diſtraction; and their forces were quite diſpirited and diſperſed. After giving this defeat, the royal army being to paſs juſt by Lord Castlehaven's gates, ſome of the officers of his acquaintance galloped up, and informed him that Lord Ormonde would be with him in half an hour. Upon this, he ſays, he beſtirred himſelf; "and having ſome company with him, and two or three cooks and a good barn door and plenty of wines, they patched up a dinner ready to be ſet upon the table at his Lordſhip's coming in: but ſome that came with him turned it another way, magnifying the entertainment beyond what it was, and publiſhed thro' the army that it was a mighty feaſt prepared for Lord Mountgarret and the rebels. This paſſed for current thro' the Engliſh army; and he believes did him no ſmall prejudice with the Lords Juſtices." The army moved the next day to Naas where Sr. C. Coote was left with his regiment and three hundred horſe in garriſon, and then returned to Dublin. But before we leave the province of Leinſter, it is proper to inform the reader, that about this time the Romiſh Clergy, who had hitherto — as the Lord Juſtices ſay — walked ſomewhat inviſibly in theſe works of darkneſs, began openly to juſtify the rebellion. The titular primate, O Neil, ſummoned all the biſhops and clergy of his province to meet in Synod at Kells; where after making ſome conſtitutions againſt murderers, plunderers, and uſurpers of other mens eſtates, they declared the rebellion to be a pious and lawful war, and exhorted all perſons to join in the ſupport of it. The titular biſhop of Meath was a much honeſter man. He neither obeyed the ſummons himſelf in perſon, nor by proxy; nor ſent any excuſe, nor admoniſhed the dignitaries of the church to attend the Synod. He had laboured all that was in his power to keep the Nobility and Gentry of his dioceſe from engaging in the rebellion, which he declared to be unjuſt and groundleſs: and he had ſucceeded ſo well, particularly with the Earl of Westmeath, in whoſe houſe he lived, and with ſeveral of the Nugent family, that they had not embarked in it. To this the rebels imputed their miſcarriage before Drogheda: and therefore it was thought neceſſary to cenſure a prelate who had done already ſo much miſchief; and, in caſe he did not ſubmit, to threaten him with a ſuſpenſion.

Notwithſtanding the moſt preſſing applications poſſible of the Preſident of Munſter to the Council at Dublin, and to the Parliament in England, for ſupplies of men, and money, and ammunition, nothing was ſent to him, except Lord Dungarvan's troop, till the beginning of March; when Sr. Cha. Vavasour with a thouſand foot, and Lord Inchiquin with horſes and arms for two troops, arrived at Corke. His Lordſhip had procured him a ſmall proportion of powder out of the King's ſtores before he quitted England: and had it not been for that ſupply, the whole province, and all the towns in it, would have been loſt, and the Preſident muſt have quitted all, or periſhed. He had been ordered, as we have ſeen, to raiſe men, but he had no arms; nor had any money been ſent him to raiſe or maintain them afterwards. The forces which now came over had brought him no arms, ammunition, nor money, of all which he ſtood in extreme need; ſo much care did the Engliſh Parliament take of the war in Ireland, after they had had the management of it for five months. Nay the troops then

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ſent over did not bring any money for their own ſubſiſtance; the Parliament intending they ſhould be maintained by the province, though the greateſt part of it was then in rebellion, and vaſt numbers of the Engliſh themſelves had been ſo plundered that they had not bread to eat. The ſuccour of men indeed in one reſpect came very ſeaſonably: for Lord MUSKERY ſoon after joined the rebels, and the difference being compromiſed between the rival Lords, G. BARRY was declared their general; and they joined all their forces to ſubdue the reſt of the country. But the Preſident, after putting the tenable places into the beſt poſture of defence he could, was forced to ſhut himſelf up in Corke; ſorrily provided to ſuſtain a ſiege, and ſurrounded by a great number of enemies, who reſolved to ſtarve him if they could not take the place by treachery or aſſault. To this purpoſe, Lord MUSKERY beſieged him on the north ſide of the city; and had it not been for Lord ORMONDE's ſucceſs at the battle of Killruſh, who defeated them, the Tipperary, and Lord ROCHE's forces were to have joined, to beleaguer him on the ſouth. But having thus been ſhut up above a month, Lord INCHIQUIN ſallied out with three hundred muſketeers, and two troops of horſe, in order to diſlodge a party who had advanced almoſt up to the walls; and having routed that party and drove them upon their army, the muſketeers followed their blow ſo effectually, that not above two hundred of the whole army made good their retreat. The Preſident however was in no condition to improve the victory; and if he had not borrowed four thouſand pounds, and taken as much more by force, which was going to be ſhipped for England — and was not repaid till after the reſtoration — all his forces would have diſbanded. He had no artillery, and but one engineer: he wanted proviſion and ammunition, and the ſoldiers were almoſt naked for want of clothes. Oppreſſed with theſe difficulties, he was neither able to take the field, nor to relieve the fort of Limerick which had been for ſome time beſieged. Hearing however that Lord MUSKERY, who had got his forces again together, was marching thither, he was reſolved to oppoſe him in the beſt manner he could. When the two armies met, and the Preſident was preparing to begin the attack, a trumpet brought a meſſenger from Lord MUSKERY — ſuppoſed to be Mr. WALSH the lawyer — who deſired to ſpeak with SR. W. ST. LEGER, on a buſineſs of the utmoſt conſequence. The Preſident had with him the Earl of BARRYMORE, ſon-

MORRICE.

in-law, and the Lords Kinelmeaky, and Broghill, ſons of the Earl of Corke; and having given notice to the trumpet that the meſſenger might approach, Walsh told the Lord Preſident that his buſineſs was with him alone. Sr. William, and the Lords with him, who all knew Walsh, began to reproach him; and expreſſed great ſurprize that a man of his education and learning ſhould be ſo mad as to join with the rebels. To this he replied they were no rebels; as he would ſoon convince them, if he might be allowed to ſpeak privately with the Preſident. Sr. William, being a man of great intrepidity, was going aſide with him; but the Lords, not thinking it ſafe that their general ſhould be in the power of an enemy, deſired Walsh to ſay what he had to deliver in their preſence; and on his refuſing to do this, it was agreed that he might ſpeak to the Preſident out of ear-ſhot, but that a party of men ſhould be on each ſide of them for his guard. When they were thus drawn aſide, he told the Preſident in few words, that he would do well to decline fighting againſt them, becauſe Lord Muskery had a commiſſion from the King to raiſe men to aſſiſt him in all extremities; and that, if he might have a ſafe conduct, he would bring the commiſſion under the great ſeal and ſhew him at his own houſe the next morning. The Preſident was infinitely ſurpriſed at this meſſage; and aſſuring Walsh he ſhould have a ſafe conduct, if he brought the commiſſion, diſmiſſed him. When he imparted it to the Lords, they were all ſtruck with aſtoniſhment; but on a moment's recollection, Lord Broghill obſerved it muſt be a cheat, and that the King would never grant a commiſſion to thoſe, who in his proclamation he had declared to be rebels. He deſired therefore that Sr. William would examine the commiſſion narrowly, if it was brought, of which he doubted; taking it only for a ſtratagem to amuſe them while Lord Muskery paſſed by. They agreed however to expect Walsh at the Preſident's houſe, which was near at hand, and in the mean time encamped their ſoldiers. At the return of the trumpet, the rebel army alſo was drawn off; and the next day, Walsh was conducted in the ſame manner again to Sr. William's, where he produced a large parchment, containing a commiſſion in form to Lord Muskery to raiſe four thouſand men, with the great ſeal affixed. When the Preſident had red it over, he diſmiſſed Walsh; and returning to the Lords, aſſured them there was a commiſſion in due form, and that he would diſmiſs his men, and ſtir no more in this buſineſs; for he would die before he would be a rebel: upon which they withdrew to their ſeveral houſes. The rebels had had ſo much ſucceſs with the other commiſſion, pretended to by SR. PH. O NEIL, that they were willing to try it in this inſtance, to ſave their army from being beaten: And the ſame author adds to the account already related, that Lord BROGHILL — from whom he had it — being one day after the reſtoration alone with Lord MUSKERY, and finding him in a pleaſant humour, aſked him how the rebels obtained that commiſſion, which they ſhewed to SR. W. ST. LEGER under the great ſeal. His Lordſhip told him very freely, that it was a forged commiſſion drawn up by WALSH, who having a writing to which the Great Seal was fixed, one of the company very dexterouſly took off the ſealed wax from the label of that writing, and fixed it to the label of the forged commiſſion; and that it would have been impoſſible to have held their people together without this device. —— We muſt now turn and ſee what was doing in the province of Conaght.

It hath already been obſerved, that by the care of Lord RANELAGH the Preſident, and the extraordinary vigilance of Lord CLANRICARDE, the Governor of the county and town of Galway, there had been no acts of hoſtility in thoſe parts, till after the defection of the Lords and Gentlemen of the Pale. The county of Mayo then roſe in arms, ſeized on Lord DILLON's houſe, who was gone to England, and pillaged all the Engliſh thereabouts. Lord MAYO had raiſed ſome companies for the ſecurity of the country; but having no arms to put in their hands he was too weak to make head againſt the rebels. The county of Roſcommon was alſo ſo generally ill-affected, that the Preſident, who had only one troop of horſe and two companies of foot for the defence of the whole province, was reduced to great difficulties. One of the caſtles of Lord CLANRICARDE was ſurpriſed by one of his own tenants, whom he had entruſted with a company of fifty men; and though his Lordſhip was deſirous to recover that caſtle, yet he could not venture with the ſmall ſtrength he had to march into ſo remote a corner of the country. The whole force he had at firſt was an old company of fifty men, which the Miniſtry had given him leave to make up an hundred: and though he had prevailed with the Gentlemen of the county, to raiſe two troops of horſe and to maintain them at their own expence, yet they were miſerably armed, and much too few for their defence. But however his care and activity had been ſo effectual, that the county had been preſerved free from any ravage or commotion, till an unhappy difference between the town and fort of Galway had like to have put the whole into a flame. The fort was commanded by Captain WILLOUGBY, ſon to SR. FRANCIS Governor of Dublin caſtle; but without his father's experience, or good temper. Being young and violent, and truſting perhaps to his intereſt, he had treated the townſmen, who on their ſide were proud and haughty, with too little management; putting ſome of them in priſon, and ſetting a guard of muſketeers on their goods in ſhips. Hence aroſe many jealouſies and quarrels between them; and the town having furniſhed the fort with four months proviſions at the beginning of the inſurrection, refuſed now to furniſh any more without ready money. Lord CLANRICARDE interpoſed, and pieced up their quarrel for ſome time, procuring money and proviſion for the fort: but ſoon after, it broke out more violently than before; Captain WILLOUGHBY firing great and ſmall ſhot into the town, and the inhabitants impriſoning ſome of the ſoldiers of the fort. Upon this his Lordſhip deſired SR. R. BLAKE, who had great intereſt in both places, to try to make up this breach; which he did with good ſucceſs: but ſo much rancour remained between them, on account of the Captain's violence and raſhneſs, that his Lordſhip was obliged to go thither, and ſtay ſeveral days, before he could make a thorough reconciliation between the town and the fort. Many of Lord CLANRICARDE'S letters at this time are full of complaints of the little ſtrength he had, to do ſervice to others, or to preſerve himſelf from danger; and preſſing the adminiſtration to ſupply him in ſuch a manner, as would enable him to act according to his zeal for the public good. But though they made, he ſays, "a formal ſhew of favour and regard, yet they had but little intention to repoſe any truſt or confidence in him, or to afford him any kind of ſupply; as was apparent by their telling him, that they would ſend him powder, match, and lead, if they knew how to ſend them, ſo as they might not be intercepted by the rebels, when at that very time, and frequently before, they ſent the ſame to Captain WILLOUGBY by ſea, without any direction to him to ſupply his Lordſhip with them; and probably the Captain's ſuſpicion was grounded on the cautions he received from Dublin." In ſhort, the conduct of the adminiſtration towards Lord Clanricarde, to whoſe zeal, intereſt, and indefatigable application, the preſervation of the fort and town of Galway, and the peaceableneſs of the county, were entirely owing, admits of no excuſe: and in another part of his memoirs at this time he ſays, "that by ſeveral obſervations he had cauſe to miſtruſt, that the State did not much care if the government there were deſtroyed, or he himſelf forced into action againſt it."

As much care and pains as this Lord had taken, to ſecure a good underſtanding and agreement between the town and fort of Galway, upon which the public ſervice in the county did in a good meaſure depend, yet all his endeavours were in a few days entirely fruſtrated. Some of the Merchants and young men of the town, notwithſtanding their great profeſſions of loyalty, and of a deſire of preſerving harmony with the fort, taking advantage of the abſence of the Captain of a ſhip and ſome of his men, and diſguiſing themſelves like boatmen that uſed to come for ſalt, attacked the reſt of the crew that were in the ſhip in the harbour, which had a dozen pieces of ordnance, about as many muſkets, and ſeven or eight barrels of powder: and though the pretence was that they wanted it for their own defence, yet they killed the mate, and one more common ſailor, wounding ſeveral others, diſarmed all the Engliſh in the town, ſecured the ſhip, and entered into an oath of aſſociation to bear allegeance to the King, but to avow and maintain the Roman Catholic religion, and to defend all thoſe who ſhould join in that union. Upon this, Captain Willougby on his part burned the ſuburbs next the fort: on the other hand, the townſmen beſtirred themſelves in fortifying the town, in raiſing a battery againſt the fort, and blocking it up on all ſides in order to ſtarve it. A ſhip arriving from England at that time, with Lord Clanricarde's own armour, with arms for thirty horſe, and with ſome wine, and clothes, his Lordſhip ſent his Gentleman to Galway to fetch them away; but ſo much madneſs and confuſion reigned in the place, that it was not without great difficulty that he and the other ſervants with him got ſafe away, with a few of the piſtols and carbines, but could not bring away his Lordſhip's armour. The reader will eaſily imagine, that a man of Lord Clanricarde's zeal and activity, when ſuch a diſpute happened between a fort, and town of which he was governor, and the harmony whereof he had laboured to promote, was not idle. He ſent an hundred and forty carriages of proviſions into the fort; he raiſed all the force he could in the county, to the number of ſeven hundred foot and near two hundred horſe; and placing ſtrong garriſons in his caſtles round about the town which commanded the river, he ſcoured the plains with his horſe, and prevented any proviſions being brought to market. Thus the deſign of reducing the fort by famine was returned upon the inhabitants: being by this means brought to reaſon, he entered into a treaty with them for a ceſſation of arms for two months, as the beſt expedient then in his power. But after waſting ten days in a fruitleſs negotiation, his Lordſhip diſſolved the treaty: and as ſoon as he had ſent away his diſpatches for that purpoſe, a man of war of thirty guns under Captain Ashly arrived in the bay of Galway, with a plentiful ſupply of ammunition for the fort. Upon this his Lordſhip advanced with his forces before the town; and going into the fort and ſaluting them with three and thirty cannon ſhot, ſent a trumpet with a ſummons to ſurrender. Seeing him thus in earneſt, and beginning to be ſtreightened for want of proviſions, the inhabitants ſent an agreement to his propoſitions: but Lord Clanricarde would then accept of nothing leſs than an abſolute ſubmiſſion till the King's pleaſure was known; with which they thought proper to comply. They laid down their arms, they ſent away their rebel garriſon, they agreed to diſmantle their new fortifications, to ſell and iſſue out no ammunition nor arms without his Lordſhip's warrant, and to deliver all in their poſſeſſion then to the commiſſioners which he appointed; and for the performance of theſe conditions, they put two lawyers, and a merchant, into his hands as hoſtages. In this manner did Lord Clanricarde reduce one of the ſtrongeſt and moſt important towns in the kingdom, to the ſurprize of every body, and his own honour, without any other aid from the State than what has been mentioned, and in a manner without any blood ſhed: when many parts of the county were in action; when the neighbouring counties were overrun with rebels, and threatening every day to fall upon him. The ſucceſs of the undertaking, great as it was, even with all his intereſt and authority, was more extraordinary, becauſe two or three days before the ſubmiſſion, a ſhip loaded with arms, ammunition, and corn, had put into a neigha neighbouring creek, and conveyed the powder to Galway. For this eminent ſervice, Lord Clanricarde had the thanks of young Sr. C. Coote, who commanded in a neighbouring garriſon, and of the Preſident of the Province; acknowledging the happy effects and importance of it to the kingdom. But the Juſtices and Council, though they thank him for relieving the fort at Galway, yet they tell him, "that if they had been conſulted, they ſhould not have admitted of his deſcending to make ſuch an agreement as he had made with the rebels; wherein to deal clearly with his Lordſhip, there were ſundry particulars much to be diſliked in ſome reſpects." Lord Clanricarde had wrote them word, that reſolutions had been taken to burn and deſtroy all behind him by the rebels in the county of Mayo, and to incloſe his ſmall forces between them and thoſe before the fort; and that it was difficult, next to a degree of impoſſibility, to keep his own followers at a ſiege who diſliked the quarrel with the town, with many other particulars that made his agreement with them neceſſary; and it would have been madneſs in the Miniſters to have controlled him, and to take the pacification out of his hands. But the point which galled theſe honeſt Governors, was his Lordſhip's receiving a ſubmiſſion, and granting his protection, though it was only till the King's pleaſure ſhould be known, to the town of Galway: and they ſent him expreſs orders, "to receive no more ſubmiſſions from any rebels whatever, but to proſecute them with fire and ſword." Such indeed was the tenour of all their orders; though they knew—for they own it in their letters—that the ſoldiers in executing theſe orders, murdered all perſons that came in their way promiſcuouſly, "not ſparing the women, and ſometimes not the children."

The Preſident, and Lord Clanricarde, ſaw the evil policy of theſe orders, and very juſtly dreaded their effects: and the former tells his Lordſhip, in a letter contained in his memoirs, "that he ſhould preſume to crave leave to ſwerve from directions of ſuch pernicious conſequence, Lord Ormonde having informed him that they were the advice of ſome particular perſons in the Council, to which he had always been averſe; and to which he himſelf, with God's favour, ſhall alſo be, as his actions would demonſtrate." Theſe were directions that not only tended to make thoſe rebels already in arms mercileſs and deſperate, but tended alſo to perſuade others of them, that an utter extirpation of all their nation and religion was reſolved upon. The treatment which Lord Clanricarde met with from the Miniſtry; the orders which he received, ſo contrary to his judgment, and his humane and benevolent temper; the diſcontent and uneaſineſs of his beſt and neareſt friends, who had had protections from the State at his requeſt, and yet had been plundered, and their houſes and effects deſtroyed by the royal army; the damage which he had himſelf ſuſtained in that reſpect; and the threatening of the rebels, that if he perſiſted in his oppoſition, they would fall upon him; theſe were circumſtances, which would have tempted a man of leſs zeal, and honour, and goodneſs of heart than he had, to remain at leaſt inactive. But he was unalterable in his affection for the good of his country; and though he had done much already, he had a great deal more to do.—What a leſſon of rebuke is the conduct of this Nobleman to the patriots of our days! Who if they are diſmiſſed from an employment, or fail of procuring one they ſolicit, immediately ſet themſelves upon traverſing the meaſures of Government; and right or wrong, be they of advantage or be they pernicious to their country, endeavour all that is in their power to overturn them. The reader hath ſeen already many diſcouragements to Lord Clanricarde from the Adminiſtration at Dublin; many others might be mentioned. Let it ſuffice however only to add, that from the beginning of the rebellion, he had deſired with much earneſtneſs both here and there, that he might be honoured only with the command of a troop of horſe; and this ſmall gratification, ſo neceſſary to the public ſervice, as well as to his private inclination, with all his application, and notwithſtanding he was laying out all his time, his eſtate, and money, ſacrificing his eaſe, domeſtic comfort, and acting againſt his principles of religion, he could not obtain. But what was his Lordſhip's behaviour upon this occaſion? Did he immediately reſign his government of Galway, oppoſe the meaſures of the Adminiſtration, endeavour to diſtreſs them by throwing difficulties in their way, and by propagating reports of falſhood and calumny, or did he even remain inactive, ſullen, and indifferent as to what became of his country, ſince his own ambition, or vanity, or intereſt, was not gratified? No, nothing like it. He ſtill continued, with the ſame zeal and activity, expence and labour, to promote the public good: and though a man of as high a ſpirit, as jealous of his honour, and of as quick a ſenſibility of ill uſage as ever was born, he carried on the ſame friendly correſpondence with the Adminiſtration, and paid the ſame obedience to their orders, whether he approved them or not, as tho' he had been uſed by them ever ſo well, and they had not denied him any thing. If the PATRIOTS of the days in which we have lived, were to lay their hands upon their hearts, and honeſtly to aſk themſelves whether they would have acted the ſame part, it would be very much to their honour—more I doubt than would be believed—if they could anſwer, that they would.

Had it not been for the conſtant unremitted care, and the powerful intereſt, of the Earl of CLANRICARDE in this buſineſs of Galway, the whole province of Conaght would have been endangered, if it had not been poſſeſſed, by the rebels. For in the county of Mayo, they were very powerful, and had done much miſchief: and if his Lordſhip had delayed but a few days longer his agreement with the town of Galway, they would have been upon his back; and with the few forces that he had he muſt have been deſtroyed between them. Lord MAYO, it is true, had aſſembled all his dependants to oppoſe their progreſs: but by two of his letters to Lord CLANRICARDE at this time, he was certainly not very zealous, and may be ſaid to have been wavering in his reſolution; and the rebels had got poſſeſſion of moſt of the caſtles and fortreſſes in the county. The adjoining county of Sligo was entirely under their command; and except a few caſtles which held out, and theſe too they had beſieged, they were maſters of the county of Roſcommon. In this ſituation was the affair of the rebellion at the end of May in the province of Conaght. Let us now turn to ſee what had been doing in Ulſter.

It hath already been obſerved, that the Engliſh Parliament had agreed with the Scotch Commiſſioners ſent up for that purpoſe—upon terms diſhonourable enough to England, and detrimental to the public ſervice in Ireland—for the immediate tranſportation of twenty five hundred men, which they had ready in Scotland, into the province of Ulſter. The condition of the rebels in the Southern part of that province, after they had raiſed the blockade at Drogheda, hath alſo been ſet forth. Notwithſtanding the advantageous terms which had been granted to the Scots for the immediate ſupply of the Northern part of it, and that this contract was made in the laſt week of January, yet it was the middle of April before General Monroe landed with the men at Carrickfergus. Sr. H. Titchborne had already driven the rebels to Newry; to which place he would have purſued them, if he had had ſtrength enough to ſpare men to garriſon the place when he ſhould have taken it. But ſoon after the landing of the Scots, and being joined by Lord Conway and Colonel Chichester with eighteen hundred foot and ſeven troops of horſe and dragoons, they marched for Newry; which the enemy quitting on their approach, they entered, and the caſtle ſurrendered without any reſiſtance. The ſame ſubmiſſion was made the next day at Carlingford caſtle to Sr. H. Titchborne; who left a few men to ſecure it, and went on to confer with the Scotch General, and to inform him of the ſtate of the province, and of the condition of the rebels in it. They were indeed in a terrible conſternation at the approach of this army, and with good reaſon; being deſtitute of every thing neceſſary for their defence. The principal rebels in the county of Down, had quitted their ſeats, and fled with great precipitation. Sr. P. O Neil, dreading the further advance of the army, had burned and deſerted Ardmagh, given up Dungannon, and retired to Charlemount—which, tho' a fortreſs almoſt impregnable, was at that time indefenſible for want of powder—and his followers had diſperſed themſelves and fled into the faſtneſſes of Tyrone.. There was then a royal army in Ulſter of twelve thouſand foot, beſides a conſiderable body of horſe; a ſtrength, ſays Sr. H. Titchborne, "fit for a greater employment, and of more importance than the clearing of Ulſter was likely to be, if the benefit of time were ſpeedily embraced." It was indeed a ſtrength ſufficient to reduce the whole province, and to aſſiſt the government in other parts of the kingdom, where the rebels were more formidable than there. This was Sr. Henry's opinion; and he preſſed very ſtrenuouſly to purſue the rebels with vigour, before they had time to recover their ſpirits, or to procure arms and ammunition from foreign parts. But Monroe had either inſtructions or inclinations of another tendency: and therefore after putting about ſixty men, two prieſts, and eighteen women, to death at Newry, and leaving a garriſon of three hundred men there under one of his own Lieutenant Colonels, he returned with the army to Carrickfergus. In his march back he waſted the country, and took, beſides other effects, a prey of four thouſand cattle: but the night before they were to be divided between the armies, the Scots carried them all off, to the great diſcontent of the Engliſh troops, who began to mutiny, and never afterwards cared to march with ſuch a band of thieves. This was the firſt fruits of that diſhonourable treaty made by the Engliſh Parliament with the Scots, the inconvenience of which was foreſeen by the King; by which treaty the Scotch officers were to be accountable for their proceedings only to his Majeſty, and the Parliament of England. In ſhort the Scotch General had as little honour as the banditti which he commanded. After a ſhort ſtay at Carrickfergus, employed in ſending away their booty to Scotland, he marched his army into the county of Antrim; where he burned a town belonging to the Earl of that title, waſted his lands, and made another prey of five thouſand cows. The Earl of Antrim had been but a ſhort time in that country; but he had found means to ſupply the town of Colerain, which had been blocked up by the Iriſh, and reduced to great extremities, with an hundred head of cattle, and ſixty loads of corn, together with other proviſions, at his own expence. As ſoon as Monroe arrived in the country, the Earl ſent him an offer of his ſervice, in order to aſſiſt him in ſecuring the public peace; in which, on account of his great eſtate in thoſe parts, his Lordſhip was highly intereſted. The General made him a viſit at Dunlace, a ſtrong caſtle by the ſea ſide in which he lived; where Lord Antrim received him with great pleaſure, and entertained him with great magnificence. But no ſooner was the entertainment over, than the Scot, ſeizing the caſtle, made the Earl a priſoner in it, and left a garriſon with a Lieutenant Colonel to take care of both. He continued in this country, roving up and down with his army for the ſake of plunder, but without the leaſt attempt againſt the rebels, for two months; who had leiſure given them by this negligence to gather again in a body.

It is time now to look toward Dublin; which the reader may remember we left on the return of Lord Ormonde with the army from the battle of Killruſh. The Miniſters had received notice from the King at this time, of his intention to go into Ireland to ſettle the peace of the kingdom, and to chaſtize the rebels; at which they were greatly alarmed. For but a few

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days before, they had written to the Speaker of the Houſe of Commons, "that conſidering the Parliament of England had with great wiſdom and piety interpoſed towards their deliverance from the bloody hands of the rebels, they thought it neceſſary in that reſpect ſo to order their councils, that their proceedings in that great work might conſiſt with the Parliament's purpoſes and reſolutions, for his Majeſty, and his kingdom of Ireland." They knew that the King's coming over would not only defeat the purpoſes of the Parliament, which was not to put an end to a rebellion that was ſo ſerviceable to their views, but they likewiſe knew that their own authority would be determined by it, their own meaſures defeated, and as they were conſcious of much infidelity to the King, and of illegal arbitrary conduct towards his ſubjects, that they ſhould be certainly diſmiſſed with ignominy, if not with puniſhment. No wonder therefore that they were alarmed at this reſolution, and that they uſed all their art to prevent it. They repreſented in a letter to Secretary NICHOLAS, that the rebels were exceedingly ſtrong, their forces very numerous, and maſters of the field; that thro' the inclemency of the winter, the want of clothes, food, ſhoes, medicines, and pay, ſo many of the royal army were incapable of ſervice, that they had not above ſix thouſand effective men fit for fighting, including thoſe that muſt neceſſarily be kept in garriſon, which were two thirds of that number. In ſhort they made ſo doleful a repreſentation of their condition, and eſpecially of their great want of money, as ſhould convince the King, that unleſs he was enabled to ſupply all the defects they had ſet forth—which they knew he could not be—it was in vain for him to come over, or to do any ſervice if he did come. Thus by the craft of theſe Miniſters, and by the Engliſh Parliament's abſolutely interdicting the King's intention—as the reader will ſee in its proper place—here was another fair opportunity loſt of putting an end to the rebellion, and of reſtoring the peace of Ireland. If the Lords Juſtices did not act in this matter by the expreſs direction, yet it is plain enough it was with the concurrence, of that faction which governed then in the Engliſh Parliament. Their endeavours indeed were ſo very acceptable to that body, as that they thought themſelves entitled to ſome recompence: and accordingly in a private letter of their own, to the Speaker, excluſive of the reſt of the Council, in a few days after their letter to the Secretary above mentioned, they beſought

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the Commons to aſſiſt them with "a grant of ſome competent proportion of the rebels lands." Here the reader will find the key that unlocks the whole ſecret of their iniquitous practices: and here we find the motives to the orders they gave, for receiving no ſubmiſſions; for iſſuing no proclamations of pardon at firſt, as the Parliament had ſuggeſted; and in ſhort for all their backwardneſs in putting an end to the rebellion, of which ſeveral opportunities offered; and conſequently for their ſacrificing the peace and happineſs of their country, and the lives of thouſands of their fellow ſubjects.

Among all the groundleſs pretences for bills of indictment of high treaſon at this time at Dublin, ſure none could equal that which was found againſt Lord Castlehaven. The reader will remember what was ſaid of him before in this book, from the memoirs which he publiſhed after the reſtoration. It hath been already ſaid, that he had offered his ſervices to the Miniſters at the breaking out of this rebellion, and had been rejected on account of his religion; that he had deſired a paſs into England that he might attend the Parliament there, of which he was a Peer, which had been refuſed; and that he was ordered home to his houſe in the country, where he did all the ſervice in his power to the diſtreſſed Engliſh. But now on the mere pretence that a lame boy, blind of one eye, kept by his Lordſhip out of charity to whip the dogs away, had been inſtrumental to a ſervant of Lord Antrim's being taken by the rebels, Lord Castlehaven was indicted of high treaſon. Colonel Touchet, his brother, being then at Dublin where the bill was found, as ſoon as he heard of it, went and complained to the Lords Juſtices of this ill uſage: but however, he ſaid, he would go and fetch his Lordſhip up, if they would aſſign him a party of horſe for a convoy; which they refuſing, he went accompanied with ſome of his friends. The Earl was ſurpriſed, but came immediately with them; and as ſoon as he arrived at Dublin, addreſſed himſelf to Lord Ormonde, whilſt his brother went to the Council to inform them that Lord Castlehaven was there. Their anſwer was, that they could ſay nothing to it till his Lordſhip appeared before them; and when he waited at the caſtle, for that purpoſe, they committed him, without calling him in, to the cuſtody of one of the Sheriffs of Dublin. After the many extraordinary

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traordinary things that we have ſeen were done by this Adminiſtration, we ſhall not wonder at this treatment of a Peer of England, as well as of that kingdom. We muſt leave him a priſoner with the Sheriff for a time, and turn to other affairs.

A relation hath been already made of a provincial ſynod ſummoned by the titular Primate for the province of Ardmagh. To this it was thought proper to add a general ſynod of all the Popiſh Biſhops and Clergy of Ireland; which met in May at Kilkenny. Three of the titular Archbiſhops, ſix other Biſhops, the proxies of five more, beſides Vicars general, and other dignitaries, were preſent at this ſynod; and all agreed in declaring the war for the defence of the Catholic religion, and the maintenance of the prerogative and royal rights of the King and Queen, to be juſt and lawful. Among other conſtitutions, they ordered an exact regiſter to be kept in each province, of the robberies, burnings, murders, and cruelties committed by the Proteſtant forces; and paſſed cenſures of excommunication upon ſuch of their own people, as ſhould be guilty of any of thoſe outrages; or ſhould proceed out of ſome particular and unjuſt title, covetouſneſs, cruelty, revenge, or hatred, or any ſuch unlawful private intentions. They provided that no diſtinction ſhould be made of Old and New Iriſh; that all who had taken arms ſhould be united by a common oath of aſſociation; that whoſoever ſhould refuſe to take the oath, or ſhould remain neuters, or ſhould aſſiſt the enemy with victuals, arms, advice, or intelligence, ſhould be excommunicated, and deemed enemies of their country. They reſolved alſo to ſend ambaſſadors to the Kings of France and Spain, to the Emperor and the Pope, in behalf of the whole kingdom. There are many other articles relating to the regulations of their ſeveral Councils, their ſoldiers, priſoners, and other ſubordinate affairs; but too tedious and unintereſting to require a place. It muſt be obſerved that all theſe were the acts and ordinances purely of the Roman Catholic Clergy of Ireland, repreſented in a general ſynod: And therefore I ſuppoſe it will be allowed on all ſides, that whatever principles are found here, or whatever practices are here allowed of, may with great truth and impartiality be charged on the Catholick religion: but that whatever proceedings are here condemned, are to be placed to the account of the follies and vices of parti-

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cular people, and cannot fairly be charged on the Roman Faith. Here then both the Proteſtants and Papiſts muſt join iſſue; as little ſoever as it may ſuit with the prejudices and the paſſions of either.

I ſhall paſs by the extreme treachery of entring into a ſolemn general aſſociation, in order to carry on a war againſt the King's authority, againſt his intereſt, and againſt his poſitive command, as a means to preſerve his rights, his perſon, or prerogative. This is too glaring to be admitted by a man of common ſenſe, unleſs his underſtanding is perverted, by intereſt, or by paſſion. But this treachery, groſs as it is, was the only refuge they had to cover their want of allegeance and fidelity to the powers that were: and when the other article is conſidered, of ſending an embaſſy to the Pope, and foreign Princes, it ſhews us that it is the grand overruling principle of the Catholic Faith, which directs the whole ſyſtem, that nothing is to ſtand in competition with the intereſt of that religion, be it the obedience due to Princes, under the protection of whoſe laws the profeſſors of it live, or any other ties whatever. Hence the proſecution of thoſe they deem Hereticks, in order to compel them to embrace this religion, when they have it in their power, is derived. If this is not the firſt principle of the Roman policy, to which all other conſiderations are to be ſubſervient, then the acts and conſtitutions of this general ſynod are without any meaning. Well therefore doth it become the wiſdom of every Proteſtant State in Europe, to admit to no place of truſt, or power, or public counſel, any member of the Church of Rome: but this ſecurity being taken, the civil Magiſtrate hath nothing further to do with opinon; and the private exerciſe of their religion ſhould be allowed without diſturbance. The Papiſts ought to ſubmit quietly, and without uneaſineſs to the former; and the Proteſtants ought not to repine at, or infringe the latter. But tho' it appears by theſe acts of the Clergy, that the allegeance of Roman Catholicks to their natural Sovereign, is on Principle to be ſubſervient always to their religion, and can never therefore be depended on, where theſe intereſts claſh or interfere, yet the robberies, murders, and barbarities committed by the Iriſh in this rebellion, and not in open war, are very ſeverely cenſured. How weak, how uncharitable, and how unjuſt then is it in thoſe, who charge ſuch horrid impieties on the principles of the Roman religion, as were merely owing to the accurſed helliſh diſpoſition of the particular perſons who gave a looſe to them? The Proteſtants, I am ſure, would take it ill, and very juſtly, if the barbarities of Sr. C. Coote, and Sr. Fred. Hamilton, were faſtened on their religion; and why then ſhould they charge thoſe of which Sr. P. O Neil and others were guilty, on the principles of the Romiſh church, which hath diſclaimed them? It is to be hoped that theſe conſiderations may have a good effect on the paſſions and prejudices of both ſides. They may be too candid and impartial to pleaſe the ignorant and the bigotted; but they will teach principles and practices more agreeable to Chriſtianity, than thoſe which prevailed at that time, and which we now ſo much lament; and may therefore prevent ſuch for the future.

In a ſhort time after Lord Ormonde returned with the army, Lord Lisle, ſon of the Lord Lieutenant, landed at Dublin with his regiment of horſe, and another of dragoons, making nine hundred men. The latter were ſent immediately to poſſeſs the country between Drogheda and Dundalk, and the other were kept about Dublin. Lady Offaly had been beſieged for ſeveral months in her caſtle in the King's county, which ſhe had defended with ſurpriſing ſpirit and gallantry: but being now reduced to great extremities, the Council thought it high time to relieve her. Lord Lisle was complimented with the command of the party deſtined to that ſervice, which they performed with eaſe; and having ſupplied the caſtle with all neceſſaries, the old Lady choſe to continue in it. The ſame aſſiſtance was given to Caſtle-Jordan, burning all the country in their march; and tho' four of the Lords of the Pale were in the town of Trim, yet they quitted it on the approach of the detachment. They left indeed three or four hundred men to defend it, but they were ſoon obliged to ſurrender. The place was of ſome conſequence being ſituated on the Boyne, about twenty miles from Dublin; very convenient for annoying the rebels in the counties of Cavan and Weſtmeath, and in the beſt country in Ireland for horſe ſervice. The General officers employed in the expedition, were of opinion it ſhould be held by a garriſon, and that it might be made one of the ſtrongeſt towns in the kingdom. Lord Lisle therefore wrote to the Lords Juſtices to ſend him three troops of horſe and twelve hundred foot, that he might puſh his conqueſts on that ſide. But a great debate aroſe in the Council upon that letter: ſome were even for recalling him with the troops he had already, inſtead of ſending above twice as many more. They were afraid of truſting ſo young and unexperienced a commander with ſuch a body of forces; but they were afraid too of diſobliging him on account of his father. Upon the whole therefore it was reſolved, to ſend the twelve hundred foot and one troop of horſe to reinforce the party at Trim; but to ſend orders with them not to make inroads into Cavan, or the country thereabouts. But the day before they were to march, Lord Lisle came to Dublin to haſten them away; and when he underſtood the orders that were to accompany them, the Council eaſily prevailed with him to ſtay behind. The command then devolved on Sr. C. Coote; but the reinforcement was ſo long delayed, and the party was ſo weakened by Lord Lisle's and another convoy to Dublin, that the rebels attacked the town of Trim with three thouſand men: the garriſon however being prepared for them, they were beaten off with loſs; and Sr. C. Coote, ſallying out with a party of horſe to improve the ſucceſs, was ſhot dead in the field; but whether by the enemy, or one of his own troopers, it ſeems was wholly uncertain. On receiving this intelligence, the Council ſent orders to Sr. R. Grenville, next in command, to ſpoil and kill all the rebels on this ſide the Boyne, and then on the other ſide, as far as he could go in a day and a night; but not to attempt any places, unleſs by ſurpriſal, nor to leave any garriſon, if they ſhould be taken. The reader cannot avoid obſerving the extreme caution uſed by the Miniſters, againſt an enemy that was always vanquiſhed: a caution natural enough to old men not verſed in military expeditions, the ſucceſs of which often depends on accidents not to be foreſeen, and at the moment when they happen may be ſeized with advantage. But however at this time, there were reaſons of another ſort; which made this caution againſt the conſequences of ill ſucceſs not at all improper. The Engliſh forces that had been ſent over did not well agree with the old or new army in Ireland; tho' all of them Proteſtants, and for the moſt part Engliſh. An impertinent kind of vanity in reſpect of their own country, and too great a contempt for the other—to which the people of England are at all times too much addicted—had put the Engliſh forces upon upbraiding the other, in reproachful language, with the rebellion of their countrymen, which had produced frequent quarrels between them; and for want of pay, it was impoſſible to exact a proper diſcipline. On the day before the reinforcement marched to Trim, ſome of the Captains, who were ordered to go upon that ſervice, repaired to the caſtle whilſt the Council were ſitting; and, requiring an audience, told the board very bluntly, that they were not able themſelves to march for want of money, and that the men refuſed abſolutely to ſtir from Dublin without their pay, and without being furniſhed with ſhoes and ſtockings. Had this been only the reſolution of a few, the Government might ſafely have puniſhed them with ſeverity, as a terror to others: but the common men of the army were generally thus diſpoſed; which made the Council dread a mutiny every moment. They had no money, and none they could borrow: but the greateſt part of a thouſand pounds which had been collected in England, as a charitable relief for the poor ruined Proteſtants, being not then iſſued, they were obliged to uſe that money to give ſome content to the officers; who were even then with difficulty prevailed on to march. But the common ſoldiers ſtill refuſed: and one of them perſiſted in ſo high a tone, and with ſuch ſeditious inſolent expreſſions, that they were obliged to give orders for hanging him at the head of the ranks, when they were drawn out to march to Trim. Theſe orders had nearly occaſioned a general mutiny: they all exclaimed aloud for their pay; and ſome of them were attempting to reſcue their comrade from the gallows. If the officers had not reſtrained them, by reſpiting the execution till they had ſent to the Lords Juſtices, a general mutiny probably would have enſued. This ſaved themſelves, as well as the man; the Miniſters yielded to his pardon, and then the detachment marched away. But thoſe that remained at Dublin, were in ſuch diſtreſs for want of money, that it was with great difficulty they were kept from plundering the city.

Tho' very little was done in England at this time for the relief of Ireland, to which the Parliament had made ſuch great pretences, yet it is proper the reader ſhould be acquainted what that little was. We left England at the end of March, when an act was paſſed for allotting the forfeited eſtates in Ireland, to thoſe who would ſubſcribe their money for the reduction of it: and tho' the King in his then circumſtances could not refuſe this act, yet

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it put the power over the money in the Parliament, who took care that very little of it went to Ireland; and it alſo deprived the King of his prerogative, in rewarding thoſe who had ſerved him well, or in pardoning ſuch as had been unwarily drawn in, and forcibly driven to join the rebels. In the beginning of April, the King ſent a meſſage to the Parliament, that "being grieved at the very ſoul for the calamities of his good ſubjects of Ireland, and being moſt tenderly ſenſible of the falſe and ſcandalous reports diſperſed among the people concerning the rebellion there, he had firmly reſolved to go thither with all convenient ſpeed: and as he undertook it for no other end, than the defence of God's true religion, and his diſtreſſed ſubjects—to the truth of which he called God to witneſs—ſo he aſſures them, that he will never conſent, upon any pretence, to a toleration of the Popiſh profeſſion there, or the abolition of the laws now in force againſt Popiſh recuſants in that kingdom. Towards this work, he tells them, that he intended to raiſe immediately by his commiſſions, in the counties bordering upon Cheſter, a guard for his own perſon when he ſhould come into Ireland, conſiſting of two thouſand foot and two hundred horſe; to be armed at Cheſter from his magazine at Hull, where all the officers and ſoldiers ſhould take the oaths of allegeance and ſupremacy. The charge of raiſing and paying theſe forces, his Majeſty deſired the Parliament would undertake; but if their pay was found too great a burden for his ſubjects, he was willing, by the advice of his Parliament, to ſell or pawn any of his parks, lands, or houſes, towards the ſupplies of the ſervice of Ireland." The Parliament were extremely diſcompoſed at this meſſage; and the rather becauſe they durſt not own their real objection. Their objection was, that the management of the war in Ireland would be thereby taken out of their hands, and conſequently would deprive them of a great deal of power over men and money; which, tho' raiſed for the ſervice of Ireland, they intended to employ to another purpoſe. Beſides, it was reaſonable to ſuppoſe, that the King would probably recover in a ſhort time one entire kingdom to his obedience, by which he might be able to preſerve the peace of the other two. When the true reaſon of a meaſure is not to be owned, other reaſons, however flimſy or fallacious, are to be ſubſtituted in its room. Thus among ſeveral reaſons which they offered to the King, in anſwer to this meſſage, for his not going to Ireland, the two Houſes tell him, "that it will exceedingly encourage the rebels, who do generally declare that his Majeſty doth countenance their proceedings, and that this inſurrection was undertaken by his commiſſion; eſpecially there appearing leſs neceſſity of his Majeſty's going thither at that time, by reaſon of the manifold ſucceſſes which God had given againſt them." I preſume Bodies of men never take ſhame, and are out of countenance, when they make uſe of weak and impudent pretences to impoſe on the public underſtanding. But be this as it may in other caſes—of which there are a thouſand inſtances in our hiſtory—in the caſe before us, the Parliament muſt have had a conſummate aſſurance, to endeavour to make the King and the people believe, that his going over to Ireland to be at the head of his army in the field againſt the rebels, would encourage them, and confirm the report of their acting by his commiſſion: and as to the ſucceſſes which had been given againſt them, the reader hath ſeen an account from the Lords Juſtices to the King, when they diſſuade his coming over, directly contradictory to this repreſentation. The Parliament were reſolved however that the King ſhould not go; and therefore after giving ſome other abſurd and ſhallow reaſons for that reſolution, they proceed to tell him plainly, "that they would not conſent to the raiſing or payment of any levies, but ſuch as ſhould be employed and governed by their direction; and if any ſuch levies were made as they did not agree to, they ſhould interpret them to be raiſed to the terror of the people, and ſhould apply the authority of Parliament to ſuppreſs them." Rushwor. The King was extremely irritated with this anſwer; "and appealed to all his good ſubjects and the whole world, whether the reaſons alledged in it were of weight to ſatisfy his underſtanding, or the counſel preſented to diſſuade him were full of that duty as was like to prevail over his affections." He reminds them that the officers of ſeveral regiments, whom they had a long time allowed entertainment for that ſervice, had not raiſed any ſupply or ſuccour for it; that many troops of horſe had long lain near Cheſter untranſported; that the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, on whom he relied principally for the conduct of affairs there, was ſtill in this kingdom, notwithſtanding the earneſtneſs expreſſed by his Majeſty that he ſhould repair to his command: and that he had ſigned a commiſſion to four Lords and eight commoners, as a committee for the affairs of Ireland, and yet little or nothing was done. In ſhort he confuted all the reaſons they had given, as he might eaſily do. Rapin ſays, that the Parliament loſt no time in replying to the King; but in Rushworth, whom he quotes as his authority at the head of the paragraph, there is no ſuch reply to be found, nor in Lord Clarendon. If the King got an advantage by being able now to ſay, that he had offered to go in perſon and endeavour the reduction of Ireland, but his offers were rejected; the Parliament on the other hand had a new cauſe of triumph, that they had plainly threatened him out of what he pretended to have been firmly reſolved to do. In a ſhort time after, both Houſes threw a reflexion upon the King, in one of their declarations, that tho' the inſurrection in Ireland began at the latter end of October, yet that the proclamation againſt thoſe bloody traitors who joined in it, came not out till the beginning of January; and then, by ſpecial command from his Majeſty, but forty copies were appointed to be printed. General Ludlow in his memoirs hath gone further: he hath aſſerted very falſely, "that the Parliament earneſtly preſſed the King to proclaim them rebels, but could not obtain it to be done till after many weeks: and then but forty of thoſe proclamations were printed, and not above half of them publiſhed." The reader may remember that the Iriſh Miniſtry had ſent a draught of a proclamation to the Lord Lieutenant, to be ſigned by the King's own hand, and ſealed with his ſignet; and deſired twenty copies might be ſent them. His Majeſty, in his anſwer to the two Houſes, reminds them that he was in Scotland at the breaking out of that rebellion, and for a month after; that he therefore remitted all the care of that buſineſs to his Parliament; that however he had obſerved all the forms, to which they, or his Iriſh Council, had adviſed him; that if no proclamation from him iſſued ſooner, it was becauſe none was ſooner deſired; that the number mentioned was twenty, but that he had cauſed forty to be printed, which he had ſigned with his own hand; and it being double the number deſired from Dublin, he thought no objection could be made to him on that head.—— To be impartial it muſt be ſaid, that the truth was, as the King had related, but it was not the whole truth: he might be very well excuſed in ſigning only forty, when the Miniſters who drew them deſired no more than twenty: but he ordered Secretary Nicholas, when the copy was ſent to the printer with a warrant for the printing them, to declare it was "his Majeſty's expreſs command that he ſhould print but forty copies."

What the King's reaſon could be for this command, it is hard to ſay: but it is eaſy enough to ſee, from the ſuſpicions there were of his tenderneſs to the rebels, that this warrant would be made uſe of to his diſadvantage; and in whatever light we conſider it, it could not be to his credit. In theſe mutual reproaches for a neglect of Ireland conſiſted in a manner all that was done here about that time for its relief. The Parliament, to ſave appearances, now and then ſent a few forces, a little ammunition, and ſmall ſums of money; juſt enough to feed the hopes of the Proteſtants, and to keep the war alive, but in no reſpect ſufficient to ſupply their wants, or to enable them to reduce the rebels. Thus in the beginning of June, after the King had reproached them with their ſhameful negligence of Ireland, they ſent eleven thouſand five hundred pounds, and four regiments of foot: " a ſupply ſo unanſwerable to the long expectations of the government,—as they write the Lord Lieutenant,—and ſo far ſhort of enabling them to give any ſatisfaction to the army, that they ſtill lay open to the danger of mutiny; and their proceedings were arraigned with terrible exclamations." We muſt now leave England, where nothing more was done this year in Iriſh affairs, and which was in the midſt of its diſtractions preparing for a civil war; in order to return to Ireland which was unhappily engaged in one: and if the hand of Providence had not been very heavy, as a ſcourge upon theſe nations, the fate of the latter might have ſerved as a warning to prevent the miſeries of want and ſlaughter which the former afterwards endured. But as this war, between the King and his Parliament, had a conſiderable influence on the affairs of Ireland, and put them in ſome meaſure under a new direction, it will be proper to put a period to this book. The reflexions to be made on it are ſo obvious, and it is ſo very plain to the reader, at whoſe door muſt lie the blame of continuing this rebellion, that it is entirely needleſs to point them out. I ſhall therefore conclude it with an obſervation I have ſomewhere met with, that kingdoms are liable, like all other ſublunary things, to be diſturbed or interrupted in their courſes by certain extraordinary incidents unforeſeen; which for any thing we can diſcover of the ways of Providence, may be termed epidemical diſtempers that frequently precipitate their deſtruction.

THE
HISTORY
OF THE
REBELLION and CIVIL-WAR
IN
IRELAND.

BOOK IV.

CHARLES I.
A. 1642.

BORLASE.
CARTE.
CLANRICA.
CASTLEHA.
COX.

THE nearer the Parliament of England advanced to an open rupture with the King, the more did the Lords Juſtices, and their party in the Council of Ireland, withdraw themſelves from their obedience to his Majeſty's commands, and delay the execution of his orders: the more in ſhort, they were the Miniſters of the Parliament, and leſs the Miniſters of the King. When SR. CHA. COOTE went out on the expedition in which he was killed, Lord LAMBERT, being the moſt eminent commander leſt in Dublin, had the charge of the city committed to him, during SR. CHARLES's abſence; and on the news of his death the Council continued his Lordſhip in the government, and applied to the King for a commiſſion to confirm him in it. The King approved of Lord Lambert; and ſent an order to the Juſtices to paſs a patent for making him Governor of Dublin. But, in the mean time, the Lord Lieutenant having ſent over a commiſſion appointing Colonel Monck to that command, with a ſallary of forty ſhillings a day—in which he exceeded his authority—the Council reſpited the execution of the King's orders. They had no ſuch pretences however in the caſe of Lord Moore, and ſeveral others, wherein they took upon them to fruſtrate his Majeſty's commands. The Earl of Ormonde received at this time a letter of thanks from the King, for his eminent ſervices againſt the rebels; and another from the Speaker of the Houſe of Commons, to thank him for the ſame in their name: the Commons alſo ordered him a preſent of a jewel of five hundred pounds value, and that the Houſe of Lords ſhould be moved to join with them, in deſiring the King to make his Lordſhip a Knight of the garter. But whether the Lords did not concur with them in that requeſt, or whether his Majeſty did not approve of their recommending to ſuch honours, doth not appear: it is certain that it was not conferred upon him by this King, nor till ſome years after. His Lordſhip received however at this time from the King, a commiſſion to nominate, in the abſence of the Lord Lieutenant, all ſuch ſubordinate officers as were neceſſary to ſupply the vacancies which might happen.

On the twenty-firſt of June, the Parliament met at Dublin: and on the ſame day, the Houſe of Commons expelled all the Members that were actually in the rebellion, or that ſtood indicted of treaſon; which, though it took in a conſiderable number againſt whom indictments had been found, they had certainly a power to do: but on the next day they made an order, that no perſon ſhould ſit in the Houſe, either in that, or any future Parliament, till they had taken the oath of ſupremacy; which they certainly had not a power to do. The oath was however immediately taken by all the Members then preſent: and as by the firſt order forty-ſix in the rebellion were expelled, ſo by the laſt a much greater number, unexceptionable in all reſpects but that of their religion, were diſqualified. What by theſe orders, what by many that were prevented by the rebel army from coming up, what by others employed againſt them, and what by many abſentees in England, the Houſe was very thin. They were ſenſible that they had need of a particular law to warrant what they had thus arbitrary ordained; and therefore immediately drew up heads of a bill, to be preſented to the Council for their approbation, and to be by them tranſmitted in due form to England. Whether ſuch a bill as this was expedient at that juncture, I will not take upon me to determine: much may be ſaid on both ſides: but in the circumſtances in which the nation then was, it could not be ſaid to be neceſſary: and from thence perhaps an argument might be drawn that it was not expedient. The diſtractions in England however at that time, gave no leiſure to the King and Council to take ſuch a bill into conſideration; and the Parliament had not then attempted to alter the conſtitution of the Iriſh Government. When they had finiſhed this bill, a declaration was drawn up, and agreed to by both Houſes, in an addreſs to the King and Parliament of England, praying that a preſent courſe might be taken for executing the penal laws in force in Ireland againſt all the Papiſts in that kingdom, and particularly in the city of Dublin; that bills might be tranſmitted into England, in order to make all the laws there againſt the Popiſh clergy and their relievers to be enacted for Ireland: and that it might not be in the power of any Governor of that kingdom, to ſuſpend, inhibit, or connive at, the exemption of ſuch laws, or any of them. If it was the deſign of the Council that the rebellion ſhould be thought a war of religion, and a total extirpation of all Catholicks, and of Popery, was the ſcheme propoſed, then nothing was more to the purpoſe than this declaration. But it was a meaſure, of which all wiſe and good men dreaded the conſequence. The two Houſes alſo joined in a repreſentation of the diſtreſs of the State, for want of clothes, arms, ammunition, money, proviſions, and men; and in preſſing for an immediate ſupply of them all, as abſolutely neceſſary for the ſafety of the nation. Having made a proviſion, as they thought, for puſhing things to extremity, no conſideration at all was had of any methods to quench the flame of rebellion, to quiet the minds of the people which were in the utmoſt diſtraction, or to reſtore the peace of the kingdom. The Earl of Ormonde was abroad with the army; the Earl of Clanricarde could not ſtir from his poſt; and the others, who had honeſty and inclination enough to propoſe ſuch methods, and were not employed abroad, had not weight enough to undertake it. On the third day of their ſitting, they adjourned to Auguſt, to allow time for the return of the bills that were to go to England: and thus ended a ſeſſion of Parliament, which, with the power of doing a great deal of ſervice to their bleeding country, did a great deal of miſchief, by opening further thoſe wounds which it was their duty every way to try to heal. In the ſame week in which this Parliament met, Sr. And. Aylmer, who had married Lord Ormonde's ſiſter, Lord Castlehaven, and ſeveral others who had lived quietly in their own houſes, and had never been in any action with the rebels, were arraigned at the bar of the King's bench, and then remanded back to priſon. About the ſame time, in order to ſave ſome expence to the State, Lord Macguire, and Macmahon, were ſent to England, and committed to the Tower of London.

The Lord Lieutenant had for ſome time appeared devoted to the party which governed in the Engliſh Parliament. The reader hath ſeen that the King complained of his not repairing to Ireland, though he had earneſtly preſſed him to do ſo; and one would think by his conduct, that he ſtaid for no other purpoſe but to ſerve the intereſt of the Parliament, and to follow their directions in the diſpoſal of all commands that became vacant. This gave a great and a reaſonable diſguſt to the army: the Colonels complained that they could not recommend very deſerving men to their own regiments, and the Subalterns that they were not preferred in their order, but had raw and unexperienced men put over their heads. Upon theſe accounts, and becauſe it had been the cuſtom in former times, for the Commander in chief to beſtow all commiſſions that became vacant, whilſt the army continued in the field in actual ſervice, the King ſent the commiſſion mentioned above to Lord Ormonde; though his Lordſhip kept it a ſecret, till an accident happened which obliged him to diſcloſe it. On the death of Sr. C. Coote, his Lordſhip recommended Lord Dillon for his troop of horſe; a Proteſtant young Nobleman, who had conſtantly attended him as a volunteer, to the great hazard of his life, in all the General's expeditions againſt the rebels; and whoſe father, the Earl of Roscommon, was a Privy Councillor, and had been twice Lord Juſtice of Ireland. But the Lord Lieutenant, not regarding Lord Dillon's merit, nor the recommendation of the General, diſpoſed of the troop; and ſoon after another, to officers of his own, or the Parliament's chooſing. Lord Ormonde was nettled at this neglect: and another troop of horſe becoming vacant juſt after, he gave it to Lord Dillon, without any other ceremony than acquainting the Lord Lieutenant that he ſhould do ſo. The Lord Lieutenant, who knew nothing of the Earl's commiſſion from the King, complained to the Lords Juſtices of his abuſing his power, in pretending to diſpoſe of commands without his Lordſhip's leave; and directed them to put Major Willis in poſſeſſion of the troop which had been given to Lord Dillon. Lord Leicester however alledged as a reaſon, that a reſolution had been taken in England, that no troops nor companies, either of the old or new army, ſhould be given to any but Engliſhmen whom the Parliament approved of. If this had not been falſe in fact — as it was by Lord Inchiquin's having a troop then given to him, who was born in Ireland, and of Iriſh race—it was a reſolution which the Lord Lieutenant could not obey, without betraying his truſt from the King. Lord Ormonde, who had never heard of the reſolution, and who thought the diſtinction odious, and of pernicious conſequence, inſiſted on his right by the King's commiſſion; in the execution of which he had hitherto been very ſparing. He had indeed conferred the command of a company of firelocks, which were the moſt proper for convoys, on Sr. Phil. Percival, Commiſſary General of the proviſions of the army; who had been ſome time in poſſeſſion of the company, recruited it with men, repaired their arms, and ſupplied the wants of the ſoldiers at his own expence, when the Government had no money to pay them. But now the Lord Lieutenant, who was too full of reſentment to write to Lord Ormonde, in the ſame letter in which he commanded the Juſtices to diſpoſſeſs Lord Dillon, commanded them alſo to turn out Sr. P. Percival, and to give his commiſſion to Captain Denn who had one already. The Council however pauſed upon this order relating to Sr. Philip, who was much in every body's eſteem; and choſe firſt to repreſent to the Lord Lieutenant, the great inconveniences which would happen by obeying his order. Lord Ormonde refuſed to ſign the letter; and diſpatched Sr. Pat. Wemys into England, to acquaint the King with the indignity that had been put upon him, and with the management of his Majeſty's affairs in Ireland. The King was then at York; where the Earl of Leicester was alſo come, as he pretended in his way to that kingdom, but in reality to complain of Lord Ormonde's invaſion of his rights, and to get him removed. The reader, from what he hath ſeen of the exertion of his Lordſhip's authority, will eaſily gueſs how this diſpute ended; eſpecially when he is told, that Lord Leicester juſtified what he himſelf had done, by inſiſting that no body ſhould be admitted to any command, but who was firſt approved of by the Parliament. Whilſt there were any hopes of accommodation, and there were any terms neceſſary to be obſerved towards the Parliament, it might have been prudent in the King,—though his affairs in Ireland ſuffered by it extremely—to continue Lord Leicester, who was in their favour, Lord Lieutenant. But when all hopes of accommodation were at an end, when he had not obeyed the King's preſſing inſtances to repair to Dublin, and when he now avowed himſelf a creature of the Parliament, the King was inexcuſably weak, in not diſplacing him immediately, by giving the ſword to the Earl of Ormonde. But his Majeſty contented himſelf with ſupporting his Lordſhip in what he had done, and in acquainting the Miniſtry at Dublin, that as it was by his command and by the authority which he had given the Lieutenant General, in the abſence of the Lord Lieutenant, that Lord Ormonde had diſpoſed of ſome poſts in the army, ſo his Majeſty would not ſuffer them to be diſputed; but that all perſons who had already, and ſhould hereafter be ſo preferred by his Lordſhip, in the abſence of the Lord Lieutenant, ſhould be continued in their commands. It was indeed high time to inveſt Lord Ormond with this authority; conſidering that attempts had been made to engage the army in the intereſts of the Engliſh Parliament; and more endeavours probably might be uſed. Sr. P. Wemys was inſtructed to lay all the wants of the State before the King; and at the ſame time to complain of the arbitrary interpoſition of the Juſtices and their party in the management of the war, by which means ſeveral fair opportunities of reducing the enemy had been loſt. Among other partialities and miſmanagements, may be reckoned the cuſtodiums which were granted at this time of the lands of rebels to their favourite officers of the army, and the creatures of the Miniſtry. There was a ſpecious pretence indeed of relieving ſome of the ſufferers in this rebellion, of encouraging and ſubſiſting ſome of the ſoldiers, of preſerving the corn and graſs to ſupply the army and other good ſubjects, and of keeping the rebels from

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theſe advantages. But in fact theſe cuſtodiums were an obſtruction to the ſervice, by employing the troops upon them when they ſhould have been ſent againſt the enemy: and the officers to whom they had been granted were ſo intent upon their gain, that notwithſtanding the public neceſſities, they would not ſend their corn to ſupply the markets, without an extravagant price. A crime perhaps more notorious among the Engliſh, than any other civiliſed people under the ſun!

It is time now to look into the provinces to ſee what was doing there. The province of Leinſter, of which the Miniſtry had the care, if it had ſuffered nothing from the rebels ſince the battle of Kilruſh, it had done very little againſt them. The diſtreſſes of the army were ſo great, that in truth but little could be attempted. The four regiments which were at laſt ſent over, were ſo far from being a reinforcement equal to their neceſſities, that they wanted at that time, as they expreſs in their letter to the committee for Iriſh affairs, at leaſt ſeven thouſand men to recruit their forces. Theſe ſupplies were neceſſary to enable them to take the field, and to reduce Roſſe, and Wexford; and that ſervice was alſo neceſſary, becauſe the rebels expected great ſupplies of men, and arms, and ammunition, to arrive at thoſe two places. In order to intercept this reinforcement, the Miniſters had ſent to the Parliament for two men of war to lie at the mouth of the river of Wexford: but inſtead of this, Captain Kettleby, who had been ſent with ſome frigates to lie off the coaſt of Ireland, had, notwithſtanding all the treaties of the Lords Juſtices, ſailed back, and left the ſea open for the ſhips which brought the ſuccours. One is tired and diſguſted with ſo many repeated complaints, as are found in the letters of the Council, of the diſtreſſes they endured for want of men, of money, of arms, of ammunition, of proviſion, and of the ſmall quantities they received of either from the Engliſh Parliament; "as though, ſay they, it was intended that the forces ſhould be incapacitated to act againſt the rebels." A great deal of this diſagreeable trouble hath been ſaved the reader, by my giving only a general account of ſuch complaints, without reciting the particulars. The Council however made a ſhift, after the arrival of the four regiments above-mentioned, to ſend Lord Ormonde with four thouſand five hundred foot, and ſix hundred horſe, to raiſe the blockade of Athlone; in which the Preſident of Conaght had long ſuffered. In his way thither, he took the caſtle of Knocklynch by ſtorm; forced a paſs in which five hundred rebels had intrenched themſelves; and advancing to Lord NETTERVILLE's, who had fortified his houſe and intended to defend it, his Lordſhip abandoned it, and burned the town; and the Earl proceeded towards Athlone. But SR. JAMES DILLON, who had lain before it from Chriſtmas, upon the approach of the army, raiſed the blockade and retired. This gave an opportunity to the Lord Preſident, to march out with a ſmall party, and to meet Lord ORMONDE at Kilkenny: where he received his own, and SR. MICH. ERNLY's regiment, and two troops of horſe that were deſigned him, but no money to pay, or to ſubſiſt them; and the General, having performed the ſervice on which he was ſent, returned with his army to Dublin.

We left the province of Munſter in a very indifferent plight; the Preſident, SR. WIL. ST. LEGER, having neither men, nor money, nor proviſion, neither able to take the field, nor to relieve the fort of Limerick which was beſieged. Both he, and his province, ſeem to have been abandoned by the Council, and left to ſhift for themſelves as they could. In the laſt letter he wrote to the Earl of ORMONDE, which was almoſt eight months after the rebellion had broken out, he tells him "that he had not received the honour of one tittle or letter from them, either of inſtruction, encouragement, or advice. Money he did not expect from them, nor urge for very earneſtly: but that which he chiefly deſired, they could never anſwer the refuſal of before GOD or man; having ſo many ordnance to ſpare — of which he only deſired ſix pieces — as that he knew they could not poſſibly deviſe how to employ them there." As the rebels had laid a boom acroſs the river of Limerick, to prevent its being relieved by ſea, they were in daily expectation of its being ſurrendered for want of proviſion and ammunition; but finding their hopes fail them, they reſolved to undermine it. Having worked ſome time with little ſucceſs, at laſt a great part of the wall fell down; and the fort capitulated. The Preſident, ſeeing himſelf and his province ſo much neglected, and being worn down too much with age to bear up againſt the difficulties with which he had to encounter, he laid his ill treatment ſo much to heart, that he fell into a diſorder of which

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he died, in a few days after the loſs of Limerick. Upon his death, the military command of the province was given by the Adminiſtration to Lord INCHIQUIN; and in the civil government, he was joined by Lord BARRIMORE, who dying a few months after, the whole command devolved upon him. He ſent over two officers to the Parliament to ſollicit ſupplies of all ſorts; but he got nothing ſave only ten thouſand pounds, which ſerved to keep the forces juſt alive, and not to enable them to take the field; they were ſo much weakened by ſickneſs, and want, and other hardſhips. The Lord FORBES, who was made by the Parliament, without the King's concurrence, Lieutenant General of the additional forces raiſed by the adventurers to ſcour the coaſts of Ireland, in a privateering kind of way, came into the harbour of Kinſale, with twelve hundred ſoldiers on board his ſhips: and without any ceremony towards Lord INCHIQUIN, in acquainting him with his commiſſion or deſign, he landed his men, and marched with eight hundred into the country; where he ſuſtained a great loſs in men, and arms, and colours by the rebels. Lord INCHIQUIN, being deſirous to make uſe of the forces for the advantage of the public ſervice, paſſed by the incivility ſhewed him; and ſent a gentleman to Lord FORBES, deſiring his aſſiſtance in an expedition to deſtroy the harveſt of the rebels in the county of Limerick, which by preventing their ſubſiſtence in the enſuing winter might ſhorten the war in that province. But Lord FORBES gave a flat denial. He was ſollicited alſo to throw in ſome proviſions by ſea to SR. ED. DENNY's caſtle, a ſtrong and important place on the coaſt of Kerry: but he choſe to make preys on the country, rather than to do any ſervice; and after beſieging the caſtle of SR. ROG. SHAGNUSSY, who was then in actual ſervice againſt the rebels, after burning his town, waſting his eſtate, and committing other ravages in the county of Cork, he re-embarked his forces, and ſailed for the river of Limerick.

Lord INCHIQUIN being thus unaſſiſted, and ſcarce able to ſubſiſt, could do nothing more than make incurſions into the country from his garriſons, in order to bring in ſome proviſions for his men. The rebels, by the ſurrender of the caſtle of Limerick, had acquired ſome pieces of cannon—one of which carried a ball of two and thirty pounds—and with theſe they had reduced all the caſtles in that county. They were preparing to reduce thoſe in the county of Cork; and Lord INCHIQUIN, apprehending that he ſhould in the end be blocked up and ſtarved, reſolved to make a puſh, and to put the fate of the province upon the iſſue of a battle. Beſides the forces already mentioned, the Earl of Cork had raiſed two troops of horſe at his own expence, commanded by his ſons the Lords KYNALMEAKY, and BROGHILL, and four hundred foot; and the Earl of BARRIMORE, his ſon-in-law, had raiſed another troop, and two companies of foot. They had maintained as well as raiſed them, at their own charge, till a little before this time; when, at the inſtance of the Adminiſtration, they were put on the eſtabliſhment, but they had not yet received any pay for them. They were very ready however to go upon action; and having joined Lord INCHIQUIN, the army under him conſiſted only of eighteen hundred and fifty foot, and four hundred horſe: a ſmall body to encounter ſeven thouſand five hundred rebels; and yet to make up that ſmall body, he had drained his garriſons ſo near, that there were not above four hundred men left to garriſon the important towns of Cork, Kinſale, and Youghal. The Iriſh brought with them their large battering piece in a hollow tree; drawn by five and twenty yoke of oxen, over bogs where no wheel-carriage could paſs. Their firſt attempt was on the caſtle of Liſcarrol, belonging to SR. P. PERCIVALL, which was ſtrong both by art and nature; but having only a ſerjeant and thirty men to defend it, in a few days ſurrendered. Lord INCHIQUIN being determined to riſque a battle, and having with him SR. CHA. VAVASOUR a gallant old officer, and the Lords BARRIMORE, DUNGARVAN, KYNALMEAKY, and BROGHILL, advanced towards Liſcarrol to meet the enemy. The rebels had intended to march to Donneraile; but hearing of Lord INCHIQUIN's intention to engage them, they drew up in order of battle, to great advantage near the caſtle, and determined to wait for him in that poſture. When his Lordſhip ſaw their ſituation, he was more concerned at their advantage-ground, than at their numbers. He made uſe of a feint therefore to draw them from it, in which Lord KYNALMEAKY was killed by a muſket ſhot; but this feint not ſucceeding, he determined to attack them where they were, notwithſtanding the advantage of the poſt they occupied, and their vaſt ſuperiority. The rebels received the attack with more firmneſs, and maintained the action with more courage for a ſhort time, than was uſual with them; but at laſt, they fell back,

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and fled with great precipitation, to a neighbouring bog which ſaved them. Of the royal army, there were only twelve men killed, and about twenty wounded; but of the rebels about ſeven hundred. There were three pieces of cannon, thirteen colours, three hundred muſkets, and three barrels of powder taken. No quarter was given, but to two or three officers, and Colonel Butler, ſon to Lord Ikerrin; who was the laſt man of the Iriſh that retreated. Lord Inchiquin was wounded in the head and hand; but he was not diſabled from purſuing the rebels in their flight. He was diſabled however, by the want of pay, and proviſions for his men, from purſuing the victory; and was obliged the next day to march to Mallow, and diſtribute his army into garriſons. In thoſe he made a ſhift juſt to ſubſiſt them; but no ſupplies arriving from England, notwithſtanding his earneſt ſollicitation, he was in no condition to make any attempt againſt the enemy, during all the reſt of the year.

We left the province of Conaght at the end of May, with the counties of Mayo, Sligo, and Roſcommon, moſtly in the power of the rebels: And tho' Lord Ormonde, as we have ſeen, had carried a ſupply of two thouſand five hundred men, yet bringing no proviſions, nor money for their ſubſiſtence, nor for the pay of thoſe forces that were before in the province, the men were rather a burden than of any uſe. For they came to a country waſted to ſuch a degree, that the garriſons of the county of Roſcommon could not have ſubſiſted ſo long as they did, if they had not been ſupplied with proviſions from the county of Galway, by the care and credit of Lord Clanricarde. The Preſident had been blocked up for ſix months in Athlone; and being almoſt ſtarved himſelf, had nothing for the ſupply of the additional forces. Dr. Borlase, who ſeems greatly prejudiced againſt Lord Ranelagh, ſays indeed "that with theſe forces he might eaſily have ſubdued all Conaght: but inſtead of employing ſuch brave men abroad, while the ſummer laſted, he kept them at home on ſhort and rotten commons; whereby moſt of them were famiſhed, or ſo enfeebled, that a tenth man was hardly able to march, tho' the country yet abounded in corn, and cattle." The truth is, the ſoldiers had not a morſel of bread for three days after they came to Athlone, and for fifteen days ſucceding but three pounds to a man: ſo that they took up their arms, and were marching away to Dublin in a mutiny; and it was with the utmoſt difficulty, that SR. M. ERNLY, who came with them from England, and commanded one of the regiments, could prevent their going away. This however was not the fault of the Preſident, as BORLASE ſays with great untruth, and as many others at that time ſeem to have believed.

The memoirs and letters of Lord CLANRICARDE, in which the diſtreſſes of that province, and the Preſident's utmoſt endeavour to relieve them, appear very clearly, are a ſufficient vindication of Lord RANELAGH: And though SR. M. ERNLY, SR. C. COOTE, and ſeveral other officers, exhibited ſeventy four articles againſt his Lordſhip, which Lord ORMONDE ſent to the King, yet when he attended his Majeſty in England, in conſequence of that complaint, he fully cleared himſelf of all the aſperſions caſt upon him. Indeed it appears very clearly from theſe memoirs, that Lord RANELAGH was one of thoſe who did not approve of the ſcheme of extirpation; and who was for treating thoſe who had been unwarily miſled, or forced into the rebellion, with much more moderation, than thoſe who had from the beginning been the chief actors in it: and this opinion, and his conduct conformable to it, were probably the foundation of all the complaints againſt him. But be this as it might. As ſoon as he had procured a ſupply of bread, and four hundred pounds from Lord CLANRICARDE on their joint bond, which appeaſed the army for ſome time, the Preſident led them into the field, took and burned ſome caſtles, engaged and defeated a body of rebels, and routed the forces of O CONNOR DUN the Iriſh Chieftain of the province; "who had long lain inactive, and was then but newly awakened out of his ale and aquavitæ." The bread and money being exhauſted, and the Preſident unable to procure more, the ſoldiery were reduced to a diſtreſs which words cannot paint. This obliged him to make a ceſſation for three months, in the counties of Weſtmeath, and Longford; and not being able to do the ſame for Roſcommon, Athlone was again beſieged by the rebels, and ſo continued for the remainder of this year.

Except a wild tract of country, called Irconaght, the whole county of Galway, the largeſt and richeſt in that province, was hitherto preſerved in peace and obedience, by the indefatigable care, and the great credit, and intereſt of Lord Clanricarde; for he had no aſſiſtance of any kind, either of men, money, arms, ammunition, or proviſion, from the Engliſh Parliament, or the Adminiſtration of Ireland. The laſt indeed were ſo far from ſupplying his wants, that they were glad of an occaſion to traverſe the meaſures which he took, with the greateſt wiſdom and ſucceſs, for the peace and quiet of the country. The reader muſt remember the diſlike they ſhewed, at the agreement which he had made with the town of Galway, and the protections he had given. Had any other man been Governor of the fort, beſides Captain Willoughby, that pacification might have laſted to the end of the war. But he was young, and violent; and the pacification, which had coſt Lord Clanricarde a great deal of trouble, was no ſooner completed hardly, than he broke it; burning, and laying waſte the villages, for ſome miles into the country; deſtroying the ſuburbs; firing his artillery for a whole day together into the town; and cauſing ſuch a general diſcontent, and reſentment, that it put all Lord Clanricarde's wiſdom, care, and intereſt to the ſtretch, to prevent an open inſurrection. Even ſome of his friends and relations were ſo exaſperated, at the outragious behaviour of the Governor, which was little ſhort of madneſs, as to deſert his Lordſhip, and engage with the rebels. The Captain went into the country, which was then perfectly quiet, with his trumpet and troop of horſe; and from ſome pretence of complaint of a ſmall extortion, ſeized a ſerjeant of a company which had been raiſed by Lord Clanmorris, gave no attention or anſwer to his Lordſhip's letter about him, but carried him bound to the fort, and there immediately hanged him. This violent proceeding ſo enraged his Lordſhip, who had been very active in ſuppreſſing the diſorder in the county, and in aſſiſting and ſupplying the fort, that he charged Lord Clanricarde with a neglect of his friends and kindred; and was bent upon revenging the injuries done him by this inſolence.

Willoughby was not content with what he could do himſelf, but he ſent for Lord Forbes, to aſſiſt him with his fleet againſt the town, in breach of the pacification. As ſoon as his Lordſhip anchored in the bay of Galway, he landed ſome of his men on the Thomond ſide, and burnt the houſes, and waſted the lands, of the only two Gentlemen in the county, who

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who had not joined in the rebellion; and who had not only preſerved the Engliſh all that was in their power, but had alſo relieved the fort with proviſions, by their boats when it was beſieged. The arrival of this commander, without any commiſſion from the King, or from the Government of Ireland, threw Lord Clanricarde into a freſh perplexity. His Lordſhip repreſented to him, the fatal conſequences that would attend the breach of the pacification. But Forbes, who had all the roughneſs of the ſeaman, without any of the politeneſs of the nobleman, and who was beſides governed by the famous Hugh Peters, his chaplain in the expedition, meant nothing leſs than to do any ſervice to the King, and the country, againſt the rebels. Thus landing his men on the weſt-ſide of Galway, he took poſſeſſion of one of the churches, planted two pieces of ordnance againſt the town, declared againſt the pacification, required an abſolute ſubmiſſion from the corporation, of which he ſent them a draft, and burned all the villages round about, which were chiefly the eſtates of Lord Clanricarde. His Lordſhip complained loudly of theſe proceedings; and the Preſident of Conaght went on purpoſe to Lord Forbes, to perſuade him to withdraw his forces, and to leave the town and country in the quiet, in which the Governor, by his great prudence and intereſt, had hitherto preſerved it. But though the Admiral had found by this time that he could not take the place, nor execute the wild ſchemes which Willoughby had infuſed into him, yet when the Preſident propoſed his removing with his fleet to the bay of Sligo, which was an excellent harbour at a ſmall diſtance, a town eaſily to be gained, and the fitteſt for a magazine of any in thoſe parts, the Admiral would not comply with it. He made however ſome accommodation with Lord Clanricarde, and ſome little excuſes for his uncivil letters, and the outrages of his men: and having committed a ſenſeleſs kind of fury towards the town, in defacing the church, digging up the graves, and burning the bones and coffins incloſed in them, he embarked his men, and returned to the river of Limerick. As ſoon as Lord Clanricarde had got rid of this imperious and troubleſome viſitant, he renewed his care and influence in ſupplying the fort with three months proviſions. But it would take up a large book of itſelf to recount the violent proceedings of Captain Willoughby, and of the Captain of a frigate in the bay of Galway, againſt the town; the reſentment of the town againſt thoſe com-

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commanders; the complaints of both to Lord Clanricarde; his Lordſhip's repreſentations to the Government; and the infinite pains and trouble which it coſt him, to piece up the quarrels between the town and fort. Theſe may be ſeen at large in the folio edition of Lord Clanricarde's memoirs: and nothing but the peruſal of that work can give the reader an idea of the indefatigable application of that Nobleman; the difficulties he had to ſtruggle with, through the want of all aſſiſtance from the Miniſtry, or rather from their diſcouragements; from the perverſeneſs and ill humours of the town of Galway; the unaccountable frenzy of Captain Willoughby; the perpetual ſollicitations of ſome of his Catholic friends and relations to join with them in the common cauſe; and the threatnings, if he did not, of being deſtroyed by others. But ſuch was the real patriotiſm of Lord Clanricarde, that nothing could move him from his loyalty to the King, and his love to his country: and therefore at much expence, and with great trouble, and danger, he continued to ſupply the fort, and to preſerve the town and county of Galway in their duty, to the end of the year.

In the province of Ulſter, to which we muſt now return, we left the rebels reduced to the laſt extremities, by their diſappointment at Drogheda, their loſs of Newry, the ſucceſſes of Sr. H. Titchborne, and the progreſs of the Scotch forces in the North of Ireland. But Monroe having lain idle for two months, without attempting any thing againſt the rebels, they had time to gather again in a body: and Sr. P. O Neil, having collected all the forces that could be raiſed in that province, marched at the head of them againſt Sr. W. and Sr. Rob. Stewart. They met, and fought; and after the ſharpeſt action that had been in the North, the rebels were routed with the loſs of five hundred ſlain on the ſpot—Borlase ſays two thouſand—beſides many priſoners and a much greater number wounded. The two conquerors were deſirous of improving their victory, by driving the enemy out of their lurking holes in thoſe parts; and they repreſented the neceſſity of doing it to the government: but as they had no pay for their men, and the Miniſters either could not or would not ſend them any, this neceſſary ſervice was not performed. About this time Lord Montgomery, with ſeven hundred of his own regiment, and three troops of horſe, followed by others of Lord Clanboy's and Conway's men, joined Monroe as he lay in his quarters near Liſburn. His Lordſhip preſſed him extremely to purſue the rebels into the county of Ardmagh; and Monroe poſitively refuſing to croſs the Bann, he marched thither with his own little army, and forced the town of Charlemont. On the ſame night, Sr. W. Brownlow ſurpriſed the fort of Dungannon; and with the braſs ordnance that was found there, Lord Montgomery hoped to frighten the fort of Charlemont—the only place of ſtrength left to the rebels in thoſe parts—into a ſurrender; but being ſhort of ammunition, he was obliged to quit the enterpriſe, and return home. He prepared however to make a ſecond attempt upon that caſtle; but Monroe would not permit his forces to march, pretending that the Scots only were to make war in Ulſter. Indeed they carried that article in their agreement with the Engliſh Parliament—ſo diſhonourable to England, and ſo pernicious to the Iriſh ſervice—to ſo great a length, that the Earl of Leven, the Scotch General, ſent poſitive orders, that no place ſhould be beſieged, nor a garriſon put into any town in Ulſter, but by permiſſion of the Scotch commanders.

As ſoon as Monroe began to aſſemble his forces, and to make ready for attacking the rebels, which was not till the middle of July, the Iriſh Chiefs had a meeting to conſider what ſhould be done: and finding it impoſſible for them, in their then circumſtances, to make any defence, having neither arms, nor ammunition, it was agreed that every one ſhould ſhift for himſelf; and they were preparing for their eſcape abroad accordingly. But juſt at this juncture, an expreſs arrived from Owen O Neil, with an account that he was landed in the county of Donnegall, accompanied with ſome old officers and ſoldiers of his own regiment, and a conſiderable quantity of arms and ammunition; that he had ſent a ſhip with another cargo to Wexford; and ſince his landing had poſſeſſed himſelf of Caſtle-Doe, where he ſhould ſtay till they ſent ſome forces to convoy him into their quarters. This account revived their hopes; and getting together a ſufficient number of men for that purpoſe, they ſoon brought O Neil to the fort of Charlemont; which, if the Scotch General had pleaſed, might have been then in the hands of the Government. But he would not permit the royal army to take it, nor would he take it himſelf. His

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whole time was ſpent in ravaging the counties of Down and Antrim, which he waſted more than the rebels had done, and in driving vaſt herds of cattle to the ſea ſide, and tranſporting them into Scotland. His exploits of this kind were ſo extravagant, that the Council found themſelves obliged to complain of him to the Commiſſioners for Iriſh affairs; leſt he ſhould exhauſt the province of Ulſter of all the cattle, and diſtreſs the army, and inhabitants, for want of proviſion.

Owen O Neil was a man of good natural parts much improved by experience in his profeſſion; in the exerciſe of which he ſeems to have copied after the model of the Roman Fabius, by leaving very little to chance, in dextrouſly taking hold of any advantage given him by his enemy, and in the utmoſt care to afford no advantage over himſelf. To this officer, who had brought them ſuch ſeaſonable ſupplies, the Ulſter rebels ſubmitted readily, as their General; and put the management of the war into his hands. To his military qualifications, may be added his ſobriety, moderation, reſervedneſs, and knowledge of the world; in all which Sr. Phelim was very defective. Tho' the latter therefore had the true pretenſions to the title of the O Neil, which he had aſſumed—Owen being of an illigitimate branch—yet he thought it prudent to drop it, in reſpect to a General officer of ſuch ſuperior merit. The firſt thing which the new General did, was to expreſs his abhorrence of the cruelties that had been committed upon the Engliſh, and to ſend the few priſoners, that had not been put to the ſword, ſafe to Dundalk. He affected to treat Sr. Phelim with great ceremony; but yet he told him plainly, that he deſerved to be uſed with the ſame cruelty. To ſhew his deteſtation of the barbarities that had been committed, he burned ſeveral of the murderers houſes at Kinnard, where he was declared General; and ſaid with a warmth, that was not uſual to him, that he would join with the Engliſh rather than not burn the reſt. His next care was to diſcipline his forces, and to provide the fort of Charlemont againſt a ſiege.

For the Earl of Leven was landed with ſo many additional forces, as made the Scots an army in Ulſter of ten thouſand foot. As many more of the King's forces, beſides a thouſand horſe, were likewiſe in that province;

and the whole was under his direction. With this army, that was equal to the greateſt undertaking, nothing was done that deſerves any notice. They paſſed over the Bann into the county of Derry; and thence advancing into Tyrone, Leven wrote a letter to O Neil, to adviſe him to return to his former ſervice abroad; and in which his Lordſhip told him, that he was ſorry that a man of his great reputation and experience, ſhould come to Ireland to maintain ſo bad a cauſe. O Neil in his anſwer ſaid, that he had more reaſon to come to relieve the deplorable ſtate of his country, than his Lordſhip had to march at the head of an army into England againſt his King, in order to force him into unreaſonable conditions, when they were then already maſters of all Scotland. Leven found by this anſwer, that he was not a match for O Neil in letters; and whether or no he concluded thence that he was not a match for him in arms, it is certain that in the ſhort ſtay he made in Tyrone he attempted nothing; but retreating back to the Northern part of the province, delivering up the command of the army to Monroe, and telling him he would certainly be worſted, if once O Neil got an army together, he went off for Scotland.

Whether this conduct of the Scotch General, at the head of twenty thouſand men, will move the reader's mirth or indignation muſt be left to himſelf: if it was his Lordſhip's cowardice, it will excite the former; but if it was his iniquity, that the war might be protracted, and their troops employed, it will move the latter. No good reaſon ſurely can be given for ſuch inaction; and if we add, that he refuſed to ſend the powder, match, and other military ſtores, which were at Carrickfergus before his arrival, for which the Lords Juſtices had given expreſs orders, and for want of which they were in the utmoſt diſtreſs, a bad reaſon it is to be feared muſt be aſſigned. Indeed the Iriſh confidently gave out, that they had no hoſtilities to fear from the Scots; and as tho' Monroe had a deſign to confirm the report, he made no attempt upon the enemy during the remainder of the year, nor till the following ſpring. If, in excuſe of this inactivity, he might plead that his forces were very ill paid by the Engliſh Parliament, the other forces in the province were paid worſe, and were beſides in great want of all warlike neceſſaries. Indeed the two regiments, of Lord Conway, and Sr. John Clotworthy, raiſed and officered by the Parliament,

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had received one thouſand pounds; but all the other regiments, commiſſioned by the King at the breaking out of the inſurrection, whoſe ſervices and ſufferings had been very great, and who had borne the brunt of the war in all the rigour of the winter ſeaſon, were left to ſhift for themſelves. It was not till ſix months after they had been raiſed and maintained, chiefly at the expence of their officers, who were Gentlemen of fortune in the country, that the Council in Ireland could prevail to have them put upon the eſtabliſhment; and in ſix months after they were allowed to be paid, not a ſhilling had been ſent for theſe ten thouſand men. The Council repeated their ſollicitations in favour of them, from time to time, and repreſented their infinite diſtreſs; but the Parliament contented themſelves with ordering the value of fourteen thouſand pounds, in money, proviſion, and ammunition, to be ſent to Carrickfergus for them in October; for nothing of this was received at the end of the year, tho' they had been fourteen months in arms without any ſupply whatever. Having ſeen the ſtate of the ſeveral provinces to this period, we muſt return to the tranſactions which were carrying on at Dublin by the Council, and at Leinſter under them.

A diſpute between the Lord Lieutenant, and the Earl of Ormonde, about the diſpoſing of commiſſions in the army, hath been already mentioned: and as Lord Leicester pretended that he was going over to his command in Ireland, ſo the caſtle was fitting up for his reception. Wherefore to provide againſt any oppreſſion, which Lord Ormonde might ſuffer from the ill humour of the Lord Lieutenant, or any detriment to the public ſervice by vacating his commiſſion, the King ſent him a licence to repair into England when he ſaw fit; and a commiſſion, under the great ſeal, of Lieutenant General of the army in Ireland, by immediate authority from his Majeſty: the commiſſions which he had for that poſt before being from the Lord Lieutenant, and revocable at his pleaſure. The King, having thus provided for the continuance of his Lordſhip's power, as a further mark of the ſenſe his Majeſty had of his eminent ſervices and fidelity, created him Marquis of Ormonde. But the more he was honoured and confided in by the King, the more obnoxious he became to the Iriſh Miniſters. They had always found his command in the army had been a great obſtruction to their meaſures; and they did every thing which they could to make him uneaſy in it, that he might be tempted to throw it up. He was but too well acquainted with their ſentiments, and with their deſigns againſt him; but his deſire to ſerve the King, and to prevent the ruin of his country, made him paſs by all their contumelious uſage. He had about this time propoſed to them the ſiege of Wexford, where the rebels expected their foreign ſupplies to land; and deſired nothing more than to march out with ſuch a part of the army only as might well be ſpared from Dublin. He preſſed this expedition daily at the Council board; but the prevailing opinion, that they had not either men, or ammunition enough to ſpare for ſuch an undertaking, ſet it aſide. That propoſal being rejected, the Marquis then recommended, that a part of the army might be employed, in reducing ſome of the moſt conſiderable inland places in Leinſter; in which lay the greateſt ſtrength of the rebels in thoſe parts. This propoſal met with a better reception; and the Marquis had fixed on the number of men, and the day to march: but falling ill himſelf of a violent fever—not without ſome ſuſpicion of poiſon, ſays Lord CASTLEHAVEN—that deſign was alſo laid aſide. Tho' all his propoſals of going out upon ſervice, had been anſwered with the emptineſs of the ſtores, and the wants of the army, yet when he was confined by illneſs, proviſions were found, without any freſh ſupply, for a three weeks expedition under the Lord LISLE; who did nothing more in it than waſte the lands of the Earl of FINGALL, and burn the houſes, corn, hay, and turf, that he found in the country, without any oppoſition from the rebels.

Before the Marquis was recovered, Colonel PRESTON landed at Wexford. He was brother to Lord GORMANSTON, had ſerved many years abroad with great reputation, and, having married a Flemiſh lady of quality, was in a fair way of aggrandiſing himſelf in Flanders. He brought with him three frigates of war, beſides ſome other veſſels laden with battering cannon, field pieces, and a vaſt quantity of arms and ammunition. He was accompanied with four Colonels, ſeveral engineers, and five hundred other officers who had been long employed in foreign ſervice, whom he had perſuaded to try their fortune under him. There had two veſſels arrived at the ſame port before him, laden with arms and ammunition; and he was ſoon followed with twelve more, not only freighted with the ſame warlike ſtores from three ports in France, but with abundance of officers, and old ſoldiers, which Richlieu had diſcharged, that they might return into their own country upon this occaſion. The Council in Ireland had given notice to the Engliſh Parliament of theſe intended ſupplies—as already mentioned—and had deſired ſome men of war to be ſent upon that coaſt to intercept them. But when Lord Ormonde propoſed to the ſame Council the ſiege of Wexford, in order to prevent the landing of theſe ſupplies, or ſecuring them if they came into port, they were as inattentive to him, as they ſaw the Parliament had been to them; and probably becauſe they ſaw the Parliament ſo. In this manner were the Iriſh ſupplied abundantly with all ſorts of warlike ſtores; whilſt the Engliſh forces were labouring under the want of every thing.

There was not a ſingle piece of battering cannon at Dublin, and their powder and match were brought very near to an end. The clothing, and money, that had been ſent, bore no ſort of proportion to the diſtreſſes of the officers, and ſoldiers of the army. To enumerate all theſe would be tedious and diſagreeable: let it ſuffice to ſay in general, that during a whole year of this rebellion, the ſeveral ſums put together ſent over by the Engliſh Parliament for the pay of the army—which was above thirty four thouſand men, beſides the Scots—and for the relief of the ruined Proteſtants, amounted to no more than eighty eight thouſand five hundred pounds. Whoever conſiders the vaſt diſproportion between the ſums remitted, and what was neceſſary for the pay of the army, and the other occaſions of the ſervice, the amazing ſlowneſs in ſending any ſupplies, and the paltry ſums and quantities in which they were ſent, ſo unequal to the diſtreſſes of the State and army, and of ſo little uſe to remove them, can ſcarce believe that the Engliſh Parliament had any deſire then to ſuppreſs this rebellion. Many inſtances might be given in which it ſerved their purpoſes very effectually; but they have been already hinted at, and more does not fall within the purpoſe of this hiſtory. About the latter end of October, Reynolds and Goodwyn, two Members of the Houſe of Commons, arrived at Dublin, with twenty thouſand pounds, and ſome powder and match. The buſineſs of theſe men was to govern the Lords Juſtices, and to endeavour to ſeduce the army in Leinſter; in order to make themſelves as ſure of Ireland, as they were then of Scotland: and tho' the ſupply they brought was infinitely below the neceſſities of the State and army, yet they ſignified that nothing further was to be ſoon expected.

The Parliament of Ireland met at Dublin in November according to their adjournment; but the bills which had been ſent to England, in order to make the penal laws againſt the Papiſts ſtill more ſevere, were not yet returned: and according to POYNING's law, there could be no proceeding upon thoſe bills, till they were approved, and remitted by the King, and Council in England. The Miniſters, ever ready at expedients, propoſed a bill to ſuſpend a part of the ſtatute, called POYNING's act, concerning acts to be paſſed for the aboliſhing of Popery, and the attainder of the rebels. But as in the draſt of this bill they had taken notice of the Adventurers act lately paſſed in England, the Marquis of ORMONDE objected to it, as implying a conceſſion very prejudicial to the independency of that kingdom. The Parliament were much alarmed at this objection; and as they would not admit, that acts paſſed in England ſhould be obligatory upon Ireland, without being confirmed there, ſo this expedient was then dropped. A petition from the Lord DUNSANY, and ſeveral other priſoners in the caſtle, was preſented to the Houſe of Lords; complaining of the hardſhips they ſuffered in their confinement, and deſiring to be admitted to bail: but after ſeveral debates, the Houſe came to a reſolution not to intermeddle in the caſe, and to refer their examinations to the court of King's bench; the judges whereof ſhould make uſe of them, as they ſaw cauſe, and as was practiſed in the like caſes. The petitioners, finding they were not likely to be bailed, preſented a ſecond petition; deſiring that their priſon might be changed. This petition was referred to the conſideration of a committee, who reported that the Lord DUNSANY, and three others, were fit to be recommended to the Council, to be ſent to ſome priſon or place of ſafety in the city.

As ſoon as REYNOLDS, and GOODWYN, ſent over by the Engliſh Houſe of Commons—as above mentioned—were ſettled at Dublin, they took upon them the direction of all public affairs: they were allowed by the Lords

Juſtices, without any leave from the King, to ſit in the Privy Council; and their opinion governed the whole board. When they made their firſt appearance, PARSONS being whiſpered in the ear by Lord LISLE—who had himſelf no buſineſs there—directed them to ſit down, and take their places: and as ſoon as their letters of credence and inſtructions were red, they offered to withdraw; but the ſame Lord Juſtice told them there was no occaſion for it, the buſineſs to be debated being only war; upon which they ſat down again, and put on their hats. From this time, by the direction of PARSONS only, without conſulting any other of the board, they came as regularly, and ſate at every meeting, as tho' they had been members of the Privy Council. They applied themſelves particularly to gain the officers of the army; and employed the twenty thouſand pounds they had brought over with them, in ſuch a manner as might beſt promote that deſign. If they could put the power of the army under Lord LISLE, and get the Government of Dublin into the hands of another creature of their Parliament, they thought their buſineſs would be done. But Lord ORMONDE's credit with the officers was too well eſtabliſhed; and Lord LAMBERT would not reſign, nor be corrupted. In ſhort, they neglected no means of creating a general diſaffection to the King; which cauſed great diſturbances at Dublin. Among other inſtruments for that purpoſe, they made uſe of ſome noiſy impudent preachers, ſuch as had been uſed with ſucceſs to the ſame purpoſe in England. One in particular—S. JEROME a lecturer at St. Patrick's—employed his talents ſo much to the ſatisfaction of the Miniſters, by thus proſtituting the place and character he ſpoke in, that he was appointed to preach at Chriſtchurch, where the Council go in ſtate to divine ſervice. In a ſermon which he delivered there, he inveighed ſo much againſt the King and Queen, the Council and the army, that the Archbiſhop of DUBLIN thought fit the next day to ſilence him, and to inhibit his preaching as lecturer of St. Patrick's any longer. JEROME applied himſelf to his patrons the Lords Juſtices; who the next day ſigned an order, that he ſhould continue the lecture without interruption, till good cauſe to the contrary were ſhewed to them: and leſt the Archbiſhop ſhould plead ignorance of their pleaſure, if he ſhould dare to proſecute their tool for diſobeying his Dioceſan's mandate, his Grace had that order ſent him. Whether the preacher, or his patrons, had the moſt impudence, ſhall be left to the reader's determination: but the Houſe of Lords, then ſitting, reſolved that the ſermon ſhould not paſs without a cenſure. Lord HOWTH therefore acquainted the Houſe, that he had been informed, by a reverend Prelate, of ſome very ſcandalous reflections, which one JEROME had thrown on their Majeſties, and ſome of the Members of that Houſe, in a ſermon on Sunday laſt; which he thought was an affair that required their Lordſhip's conſideration. The Biſhop of MEATH then ſtood up, and aſſured the Houſe, that he was at church and heard the reflections mentioned; upon which an order was made to take JEROME into cuſtody, and to bring him before the Houſe to anſwer the complaint againſt him. The next day the Biſhop of MEATH informed the Houſe, that JEROME had the day before preached another ſermon in the ſame place, no leſs ſcandalous than the former, and therefore moved that he might be brought before them, and puniſhed; more eſpecially, he ſaid, as the Lords Juſtices had protected him, in contempt of the authority of his dioceſan. But JEROME, not caring now to rely upon his protection, abſconded; and was not taken till the Tueſday following, when he was brought to the bar, and committed to the cuſtody of the Serjeant at arms. Had it not been for the length which the Miniſters went, in ſupporting ſuch a turbulent noiſy fellow, he was in himſelf ſo worthleſs and inconſiderable, that the Lords would have left him to the contempt of the public, without any notice of him. But when they ſaw the ſteps which the Juſtices had taken, it was no longer the cauſe of a mean illiterate buffoon, but it was the cauſe of the State againſt the Miniſters of the State. The buſineſs of JEROME therefore was referred to a committe, of three ſpiritual and ſix temporal Lords, upon whom the Judges were to attend. When the report was made to the Houſe, it was thought the moſt prudential way, in order to put a ſtop to ſuch licentiouſneſs, to ſend the examinations to the Council, by the Lords ORMONDE and LAMBERT, who were members of it, and for them to recommend it to the Juſtices, as a matter of great conſequence fit for their conſideration. At the ſame time, JEROME was committed to the cuſtody of one of the Sheriffs of Dublin, till further order fro[illegible] Juſtices, or the Houſe of Lords. The Juſtices were far from inclining to puniſh a man whom they had protected, if not employed; and this impunity encouraged others to follow his example. Upon this, the Lords ORMONDE

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and Lambert were again appointed to acquaint the Miniſters with the evil conſequences of this practice; and that it was the deſire of the Houſe that they would take care to prevent them. But as the Miniſters were determined to do nothing in it themſelves, they were reſolved that the Houſe of Lords ſhould have no opportunity of proceeding in it neither. Wherefore letting the buſineſs lie dormant, on the day on which they had determined to prorogue the Parliament, Parsons ſent the examinations to the Lord Chancellor, and directed him to inform the Houſe, that the Council "thought Jerome worthy of puniſhment, for ſo much of his ſermon as ſhould be deemed to reflect on his Majeſty; but that they did not think fit to take it out of their Lordſhip's hands, and left it wholly to them to puniſh the delinquent—whom the Juſtices eſteemed a raſh diſtracted man—as the Lords ſhould think fit." The Chancellor delivered the meſſage, and the examinations; and the Lords were not a little nettled at this tricking treatment of the Juſtices. They reſolved however, as ſhort as their time of ſitting was to be, to declare their ſenſe of this proceeding: and forming themſelves into a committee, of which the Marquis of Ormonde was chairman, they drew up an order, to which the Houſe unanimouſly aſſented, and which was accordingly entered. After reciting the ſeveral preceding facts, "it was reſolved that the examinations ſhould be carried again to the Juſtices by the ſame two Lords; who ſhould acquaint them, that as the Houſe is diſabled by the prorogation from the final hearing of the cauſe, and it is a matter in which the honour of the King, and of the Government, is much concerned, therefore the Houſe conceived it proper, that the Juſtices who repreſent his Majeſty's perſon, and who have his authority, ſhould vindicate the ſame; and that Jerome ſhould be continued, or bailed, or diſcharged, as they ſhould direct." The Lords had ſcarce paſſed this order, when a meſſage was delivered to them from the Commons, that they had heard of an intention to prorogue the Parliament; and having ſome buſineſs of conſequence then before them, they deſired that the Parliament might not be prorogued till ſome other day, or at leaſt not till the afternoon. [illegible] anſwer was returned by the Lords, that they had alſo buſineſs of conſequence before them; but they had thought fit to conform themſelves to the pleaſure of the Government, and ſhould acquieſce in the prorogation. Thus was this Parliament broke up on a ſudden, without any intimation to either houſe, for the diſpatch of the buſineſs before them, in order to a receſs.—It is impoſſible to read an account of the arbitrary meaſures of theſe Miniſters, and not to be moved with ſurpriſe and indignation, that men ſo devoted to the deſtruction of their country, and ſo diſobedient to the intereſts, and to the orders of the King, ſhould be ſo long entruſted with the power of hurting both.—We muſt now turn to the proceedings of the rebels in Leinſter till the end of the year.

It was expected when **Preston** had landed at Wexford, with ſuch an extraordinary ſupply as hath been mentioned, that they would have entered immediately upon ſome important action: but they had ſome affairs to ſettle among themſelves, before they could draw out all their forces, to act in concert againſt the Proteſtants. It was abſolutely neceſſary for the rebels to eſtabliſh ſome authority, to make orders obeyed, and to prevent thoſe miſchiefs which always attend competitions for power, and an uncertain right of command. To this purpoſe, the deputies out of all the provinces met in a general aſſembly, in the latter end of October, at Kilkenny: and after proteſting that they did not mean that aſſembly to be a Parliament—the right of calling which they owned to be inſeparable from the Crown—but a general meeting only to eſtabliſh order in their affairs, till his Majeſty's wiſdom had ſettled the preſent troubles, they proceeded to form their plan, in a manner reſembling that of a Parliament. One body was compoſed of Biſhops and temporal Lords; and the other conſiſted of the deputies of counties and towns, as the eſtate of the Commons. They met in one room, in which **Mr. Darcy** ſate bareheaded on a ſtool, to repreſent the Judges, or Maſters in Chancery; and **Mr. Nich. Plunket** ſate as Speaker, to whom both Lords and Commons addreſſed their ſpeeches. The former had an upper room to retire to for private conſultations; and when they had taken their reſolutions, they were communicated to the latter by **Mr. Darcy**. The Clergy met in another houſe, called the Convocation; where, it was reported, that they handled only matters of tithes, and the ſettling of church poſſeſſions; to which but little deference was paid by the laity. Each county was to have its Council, to decide all affairs cogniſable by Juſtices of the Peace, pleas of the Crown, and ſuits for debts, and perſonal actions. From theſe there lay an appeal to the provincial Council, conſiſting of two deputies from every county, to meet four times a year, to decide all ſuits like Judges of Aſſize, and to eſtabliſh recent poſſeſſions. From theſe there lay a further appeal to the Supreme Council of twenty-four, to be choſen by the General Aſſembly; of which twelve were to be conſtantly reſident at Kilkenny, or wherever elſe ſhould be judged expedient: they were to have equal voices, but nine were neceſſary to make a board, and ſeven were to concur in the ſame opinion to make it an act of council. Out of theſe twenty-four, a Preſident was to be named by the General Aſſembly, who was to be always reſident; and in caſe of death, or ſickneſs, or any neceſſary abſence, the other reſidents were to chooſe a Vice-Preſident out of the whole Council.

To this Council was committed a power over all the Generals, military officers of all ranks, and all civil Magiſtrates: to which they were to ſend an account of all their proceedings, and receive their orders from it. In ſhort, the Supreme Council was to hear and judge in all cauſes, except in titles to lands, and to do every thing that was neceſſary for the common good of the confederacy; and it was to be confirmed or changed at the end of each Aſſembly. Having thus ſettled their form of government, the provincial Generals were next appointed; Ow. O Neil for Ulſter, Preston for Leinſter, Gar. Barry for Munſter, and in hopes of prevailing with Lord Clanricarde, Colonel Bourke as Lieutenant General only for the province of Conaght. To prevent diſſentions between particular perſons about titles to eſtates, it was ordered, that all lands ſhould be enjoyed by thoſe who had been in poſſeſſion for three years before the inſurrection; and that no diſtinction, nor compariſon ſhould be made, between the old Iriſh and the new Engliſh, or between ſepts and families, under very ſevere penalties. But even in this Aſſembly, where harmony and unanimity ſeemed ſo eſſential to their common cauſe, a ſpirit of ambition created feuds and animoſities; Sr. P. O Neil, R. Moore, and others, conceiving themſelves to be ſlighted in the diſpoſition of the miniſtry, and the poſts in the army. Theſe were however compoſed by the interpoſition of friends; at leaſt in appearance. Several other regulations were made in this Aſſembly, but not worth reciting. Their chief employment was to draw up letters and inſtructions for their agents to foreign princes, deſiring their aſſiſtance; and petitions to the King and Queen, ſetting forth their condition, and begging that a place of ſafety might be aſſigned them where they might with freedom expreſs their grievances. Theſe petitions are too long and wordy to be inſerted: nor is there in them any juſtification, or apology for their behaviour, but what is founded upon a fallacy too groſs to deceive the King. They aſſign the reſolution taken by the Engliſh Parliament, and their party in Ireland, to extirpate their nation and religion, and the King's ſubjects there in arms being bent upon their ruin, as the reaſon of their rebellion; which they modeſtly call too, " putting themſelves into a poſture of natural defence:" and all the helliſh cruelties which SR. PH. O NEIL, MACGUIRE, and others practiſed, are ſkimmed over with the phraſe " of an intemperance in the commonalty, that they acted ſome unwarrantable cruelties upon Puritans, or others ſuſpected of Puritaniſm." But they dwell largely upon the meaſures offered to the Catholic natives, and give a minute and pathetic deſcription of the barbarities which they ſuffered. Theſe petitions were red on the laſt day of the Aſſembly, and their conveyance was recommended to the Supreme Council.

The reader muſt remember how, and on what account, Lord CASTLEHAVEN was made a priſoner by the State, without any hopes of relief from England; the King telling his brother, Colonel TOUCHET, that he had left all the affairs of Ireland to the Parliament; and on his application to them, the Parliament ſaying, they could do nothing without the King. In this uneaſy ſituation, after twenty weeks impriſonment at the Sheriff's, there was an order of Council to remove his Lordſhip to a cloſer confinement in the caſtle; at which he was ſtartled. The Miniſters, he knew, were of the faction of the Engliſh Parliament; and Lord ORMONDE was confined with illneſs. Weighing theſe circumſtances well, " and concluding that Innocence was but a ſcurvy plea in an angry time, he reſolved to attempt an eſcape, and ſave himſelf in the Iriſh quarters." Having effected his eſcape, and got ſafely into Kilkenny, at the time when the General Aſſembly had made theſe regulations, his Lordſhip was ſent for by the Council there, to tell his ſtory, and what he intended to do. On his replying that he intended to go by the way of France into England, they informed him what they were doing for their preſervation, ſeeing no diſtinction made, nor ſafety but in arms; and aſſuring him that he was well-beloved, and perſecuted on the ſame ſcore that they were, and they were all ſo ruined that they had no more to loſe than their lives, they perſuaded him to ſtay with them. He took two or three days time to conſider of this propoſition, and to examine the model of government they had prepared, and moſt particularly their oath of aſſociation; which was ordered to be taken in every pariſh throughout the kingdom, and the names of ſuch as took it to be enrolled on parchment, and returned to the ordinaries of every dioceſe. Lord Castlehaven having ſpent ſome time in theſe conſiderations, and taken his reſolution—to which whether anger and revenge did not incline him as much as any thing, he could not certainly reſolve—he returned to the Supreme Council, thanked them for their good opinion of him, and engaged himſelf to run a fortune with them." There is an inaccuracy in his Lordſhip's placing the Supreme Council before the General Aſſembly, which is here corrected; but as his memoirs were writen at the diſtance of forty years after the facts, the inaccuracy is not much to be wondered at. He was added to the Supreme Council, when he had taken the oath, without relation to any province, but to the kingdom at large,, and made General of the Horſe under Preston.

The oath of aſſociation differs ſomewhat in form, though little in ſenſe and in a treacherous abſurdity, from that which had been taken before; and which is mentioned in the former book. In this oath they ſwore, to bear true allegeance to the King, and to maintain his prerogatives and rights, the power and privileges of the Parliament in Ireland, and the fundamental laws of that kingdom." But they ſwore at the ſame time, in direct oppoſition to theſe fundamental laws, " that they would defend and uphold the free exerciſe of the Roman catholic faith and religion throughout the land, and the lives, liberties, eſtates, and rights, of all thoſe that had taken, or ſhould take that oath, and perform the contents thereof: that they would obey all the orders of the Supreme Council, and would not ſeek any pardon or protection for any act, touching the ſaid general cauſe, without the conſent of the major part of the ſaid Council: that they would not do any thing to prejudice the ſaid cauſe, which, to the hazard of their lives, and eſtates, they would aſſiſt, proſecute, and maintain:

moreover they ſwore further, that they would not accept of, nor ſubmit to any peace made without the conſent of the General Aſſembly: and for the preſervation, and ſtrengthening of the aſſociation, upon any peace to be made with the confederate Catholicks as aforeſaid, they would, to the utmoſt of their power, inſiſt upon, and maintain the enſuing propoſitions, until a peace be made, and the articles agreed upon be eſtabliſhed, and ſecured by Parliament.” The enſuing propoſitions were to no leſs a purport, than that “ the Roman catholic religion ſhould be as freely, and publickly exerciſed, and in as full luſtre and ſplendour, as before the reformation; that the Prelates, and all the ſecular Clergy, ſhould enjoy their ſeveral juriſdictions, and immunities, in as full and ample a manner, as they did before the reformation; that all the laws of reſtraint, penalty, fine, or incapacity laid upon the Catholicks, clergy or laity, ſince the reformation, ſhould be repealed by Parliament; and that the Prelates, and Clergy, ſhould hold and enjoy all the churches, and church livings, with all their profits and emoluments in as large and ample a manner, as they were enjoyed by the Proteſtant Clergy before this rebellion.”

In ſhort, the meaning of theſe propoſitions, was nothing more nor leſs, than that the Proteſtant religion ſhould be extirpated, the reformation ſhould be annihilated, and Popery ſhould be eſtabliſhed in all its ancient ſplendour. That the titular Biſhops, and Clergy, ſhould have impudence enough to frame ſuch an oath, and ſuch propoſitions, by which they were to acquire ſo large a ſhare of power, and profit, is not much to be wondered at: but that the Nobility and Gentry, who had either conſcience or common ſenſe, could be weak enough to ſubmit to an oath, by which, in the beginning of it, they were bound to maintain and defend the King's rights, and the fundamental laws of the kingdom, and in the end of it, equally bound to oppoſe thoſe rights and laws, and finally to abrogate and overturn them, is a matter of great aſtoniſhment. If the making a new Great Seal, coining money, appointing an Attorney General, and ordering “ that no temporal government or juriſdiction ſhould be exerciſed within that kingdom during the troubles, except ſuch as ſhould be approved of by the General Aſſembly, or Supreme Council,” were not acts that deprived the King of his rights and prerogatives,

tives, and that abrogated the fundamental laws of the land, then nothing could be ſo interpreted; the King's Miniſters were rebels, and this Aſſembly was the legal State: An abſurdity, which the Popiſh Clergy found men obedient enough to them to ſwallow, though ſo repugnant to common ſenſe. But it confirms an obſervation made in the laſt book on the principles of Popery; "that no duty of allegeance, no ties of any kind, are to ſtand in competition with the intereſt of that religion." It ſhews too, what a great power the prieſthood have over the conſcience in that communion; a power inconſiſtent with reaſon, and not more oppoſite to liberty, than to the Chriſtian doctrine.

A reſolution had been taken in the General Aſſembly, to raiſe an army of upwards of thirty thouſand men in Leinſter; the greateſt part of which was to be kept in the garriſons of that province: but about ſix thouſand foot, and ſix hundred horſe, were to form an army for General Preston; under whom Lord Castlehaven ſerved as Lieutenant General of the horſe. When half of this body was got together, Preston marched into the King's county; and having inveſted the caſtle of Burras, it was ſurrendered to him immediately. This was the laſt action performed in the province of Leinſter in that year; and how the ſtate of the other provinces, and of the tranſactions in England relating to them, remained at that period, A. 1643. hath been already ſhewn. The next year was uſhered in, in the ſame county, with inveſting the caſtle of Birr, which was unprovided for a defence: but however the garriſon made a good capitulation, to march out with their arms, half their plate and money, their clothes, and as much proviſions as they could carry; the terms of which were very honourably fulfilled. Lord Castlehaven had here the good fortune, he ſaith, to begin his command in the army with an act of charity. For going to ſee the garriſon before it marched out, he found many people of quality of both ſexes in a great room; who, as ſoon as they ſaw him, fell on their knees, and, with tears in their eyes, beſought him to ſave their lives. He was much aſtoniſhed at their poſture, and petition; and having deſired them to riſe, aſked what was the matter. They anſwered, that from the firſt day of the war, there had been continual action, and blood-ſhed, between them and their Iriſh neighbours, and but little quarter on either ſide;

and therefore, underſtanding that he was an Engliſhman, begged that he would take them under his protection. His Lordſhip owns that he knew there was too much reaſon for their fears, conſidering they were to march for two or three days, through woods, and waſte countries, before they got to Athy, their next friendly garriſon; and therefore he went immediately to the General, to obtain his leave to be commander of their convoy: and, as though his Lordſhip ſtill ſuſpected the villanous cruelty of his own party, he choſe three hundred foot and two hundred horſe, in whom he could moſt confide, and carried off the garriſon, conſiſting of above eight hundred men, women, and children; which, though ſometimes attacked by the Iriſh, he delivered ſafe to their friends with all their baggage.

There being no oppoſition made to PRESTON, he ſate down before fort Falkland; a place of ſtrength enough to have held out againſt him, longer than he could have ſtaid, in that ſeaſon of the year, and for want of proviſions. But though thoſe within the place were numerous, yet many of them were not ſerviceable; and they were all much diſcouraged, by a long and vain expectation of ſuccours from the Miniſtry, which had entirely neglected them. It would have been impoſſible indeed, that they ſhould have ſo long ſubſiſted as they had done, had it not been for the relief which was ſent them, from time to time, by Lord CLANRICARDE. But as he was himſelf then ſurrounded with too many difficulties to afford them a proſpect of any ſuccour, and as PRESTON had granted an honourable capitulation to the garriſon at Birr, the beſieged were inclined to ſurrender to him, for fear of falling into worſe hands. Therefore the next day after he came up to fort Falkland, before any battery was raiſed, Lord CASTLESTEWART the Governor capitulated; and was to be conveyed ſafe with all his people to the fort of Galway.

Though PRESTON had met with Colonel MONCK, and had near double his number—ſays CARTE from the Lords Juſtices letter—but in the number pretty equal—ſays Lord CASTLEHAVEN who was in the action—yet the buſineſs was ſoon over, and not many killed before PRESTON's army was routed: and had MONCK purſued his victory, it being a plane country, and no garriſon near, the Iriſh muſt have loſt the greateſt part of their foot.

But the Colonel having contented himſelf with beating them, and there being but about ſixty of them killed in the action, Preston ſoon reduced all the forts in that county. Whilſt he was upon this expedition, he wrote a letter to Lord Clanricarde, to endeavour to bring him over to the cauſe of the Iriſh, and their religion. But his Lordſhip ſo clearly and ſo ably refuted his arguments, and expoſed ſo thoroughly the falſe pretences by which they coloured over this rebellion, as not only ſhewed the ſuperiority of his underſtanding, and the integrity of his heart, but that all ſuch attempts from the General would be in vain. I have ſaid that Lord Castlestewart had capitulated to be convoyed with all his people to the fort of Galway; and Preston accordingly ſent two companies with them as a guard. But they were ſtopped by Colonel Bourke, the Catholic Lieutenant General for Conaght, who would not permit them to paſs according to the capitulation; granting leave only to his Lordſhip, and two or three ſervants: and the convoys, with their charge, were obliged to return back, and then to deliver them at the caſtle of Athlone.

The army in and about Dublin, it hath been already ſaid, was in extreme diſtreſs; even after the arrival of the two commiſſioners from the Parliament with the twenty thouſand pounds. The Council had endeavoured to give ſome little contentment to the ſoldiers in defect of their pay, by ſupplying them with proviſions for their ſubſiſtance: but the Officers, having had no relief that way, and no other pay than in ſmall dividends, proportionable to the inconſiderable ſums remitted out of England, were reduced to miſeries, grievous to themſelves, and ſcandalous to the nation. They ſaw themſelves neglected ſo entirely, notwithſtanding their great ſervices, and the repeated repreſentations they had made of their diſtreſs, that it looked as though they were ſent over only to periſh, by the ſword, or famine. Under a juſt ſenſe of this cruel treatment, the Earl of Kildare, and all the principal Officers of the army then in Dublin, except the Lord Lisle, drew up a remonſtrance to the Council of the hardſhips they underwent. They take notice, in the preamble, of their earneſt but vain ſollicitations of Mr. Pym, and the other commiſſioners for the affairs of Ireland, by Major Warren, whom they had ſent into England for that purpoſe; which had obliged them to ſeek redreſs of their grievances, by appealing to the King.

The remonſtrance conſiſts of eight articles; ſetting forth the agreement that had been made by the Parliament of England, by the Lord Lieutenant, and Council, that their pay ſhould be made good; the ſervices that had been performed by the army, at the frequent hazard of their lives; the ſtrictneſs put upon them in muſters upon oath, notwithſtanding their ſtarving condition; the privileges inſeparable from their profeſſion, of having military offences puniſhable only by martial law; the neglect of making up their accounts ever ſince they had been upon this ſervice; the vaſt ſums of money raiſed in England for them, and the ſmall part which had been applied to their neceſſities; the loſs which they ſuffered by the coin, in which the little pay they had was received, whilſt others wanted not the confidence to advance their own fortunes by it; and the hard condition for them to venture their lives, if their arrears were to be anſwered in ſubſcriptions, and not in money. This is the ſubſtance of the remonſtrance: and in the concluſion they deſire, that the Council would ſpeedily make it appear there was a real care taken for their certain ſubſiſtence; or otherwiſe, ſince there was ſo ſmall hope of aſſiſtance from the Parliament of England, that their Lordſhips would leave them to themſelves, to take ſuch courſe as would beſt ſuit with the glory of God, the honour of the King, and their own urgent neceſſities.

Whilſt the Marquis of Ormonde was ſitting one day at the council-table, he was informed by the door-keeper, that ſome Officers of the army deſired to ſpeak with him. On his Lordſhip's going out, he found Sr. Fulk Huncks, Colonel Gibson, and ſeveral others, who preſented the remonſtrance to him, ſigned by above forty of the principal Officers of the army, and deſired him to deliver it to the Lords Juſtices and Council. He complied inſtantly with their requeſt: but the Miniſters endeavoured to put them off, as uſual, with promiſes and fair words; which was a coin that would paſs with them no longer. To ſhew ſome deſire therefore of gratifying them, they iſſued out an order, that every one ſhould bring in half their plate to be converted into money, for the preſent relief of the Officers of the army; and this order being ineffectual, they declared in council they would ſend in their own plate the next day. The members then at the

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board ſigned a writing to that effect; which was ſent to the abſent members by a meſſenger, for them to ſubſcribe it likewiſe. The Biſhop of **Meath** was one of theſe; being ſeldom ſummoned to Council, on account of his oppoſition to the meaſures of the Miniſtry, as well in Parliament, as at the board. His Lordſhip telling the meſſenger, that he had no plate, and nothing but a few old gowns left to give, the Juſtices very readily catched at this anſwer, as a diſreſpect to their authority; and were determined to make him feel the weight of their reſentment. Accordingly they ſummoned him to attend the board; and when he appeared, he was committed to the cuſtody of one of the Sheriffs of Dublin. The week following, the Biſhop petitioned to be confined to his own houſe, on account of the trouble, and expence of his impriſonment, till they ſhould think fit to order his enlargement. But this petition was rejected; and therefore he drew up a ſtate of his caſe, and ſent it over to the King. The iſſue of this application we are not told; but it appears by the ſequel, that the Biſhop of **Meath** was in a ſhort time an active member at the board, in oppoſition to **Parsons** his great enemy.

The aſſiſtance given by the plate, was too ſmall to relieve the neceſſities, and to quiet the minds of the officers of the army. Wherefore they made a ſecond application to the Juſtices and Council: and deſpairing of relief from them, they drew up at the ſame time an addreſs to the King; repreſenting that their caſe was now become ſo deſperate, through their fruitleſs applications to the Engliſh Parliament, "that unleſs his Majeſty ſhould interpoſe, they could not diſcover any thing that might ſtand betwixt them and abſolute deſtruction." This addreſs to the King was by no means agreeable to the two commiſſioners from the Parliament; ſo that when a paſs was moved for at the board, for Major **Woodhouse** to go over with it to his Majeſty, they took occaſion to declare, that the Parliament would certainly withdraw their ſupplies, upon notice of ſuch an addreſs; and not only engaged the Miniſters to refuſe the paſs, but, leſt the Major ſhould go without one, to lay an embargo on all ſhips in the harbour. The Officers ſeeing their deſign thus defeated, in two days after, Lord **Kildare**, Sr. **Fulk Huncks**, and Colonel **Gibson**, having obtained admittance to the

Council, demanded a paſs for Major WOODHOUSE to go into England with their addreſs to the King. The embargo was taken off; and if they did not grant a paſs, which is moſt probable, the Major got away without one, and delivered the addreſs to the King at Oxford.

When the commiſſioners from the Parliament found that all their endeavours to ſeduce the Officers at Dublin were without effect, they made a viſit to all the conſiderable garriſons in Leinſter, to try if the ſame arguments would have the ſame ill ſucceſs; and they were every where diſappointed. They hoped however to derive a greater advantage to their negotiations, from another affair which happened at this time; in conſequence of the petitions from the General Aſſembly to the King and Queen, already mentioned. The King, having conſidered the circumſtances and occaſion, which had induced ſo great a body of nobility and gentry of Engliſh race to have recourſe to arms; their repeated application for a ceſſation; their earneſt deſire of laying their grievances before him, and ſubmitting to his determination; the blood that muſt be ſhed, and the ruin that would attend the kingdom if the war continued; the little care the Parliament had taken to ſend ſupplies, and the improbability then of ſending any more; the inability that he was under to ſubſiſt the army, or to preſerve his Proteſtant ſubjects from deſtruction, now the rebels had received ſuch great aſſiſtance from abroad; the King, I ſay, conſidering theſe ſeveral incidents, directed a commiſſion under the great ſeal of England, to empower the Marquis of ORMONDE, and five other Privy-Councillors, together with MR. BOURKE, a Roman Catholic Gentleman who carried over the commiſſion, to have a meeting with the principal rebels that had ſigned the petition, and to receive in writing what they had to propoſe; tranſmitting it afterwards to his Majeſty.

At the ſame time, the King ſent a letter to the Lords Juſtices, to inform them of this commiſſion, and to require them to aſſiſt in the execution of it. But theſe honeſt Miniſters, inſtead of obeying the King's command, were more inclined to ſtop it, and to obey the commiſſioners of the Engliſh Parliament, who exclaimed loudly againſt it. No artifices, whether true or falſe, were omitted by them, in order to prejudice the people againſt it: and their ſuggeſtions were propagated with ſo much induſtry, and aſſerted with ſuch confidence, that the Marquis of Ormonde was obliged to ſhew the commiſſion, and to refute the falſe reports that had been raiſed, to ſome of the Officers of the army, that he might prevent their ill effects. The commiſſioners had endeavoured to get ſome of theſe Officers, and of the inhabitants of Dublin, to ſign a paper, expreſſing their diſcontent of the commiſſion: but they could prevail with none, except perſons of mean condition, and of the republican party; which then began to be called Roundheads. The chief ſupport of that party, was Lord Lisle, ſon to the Lord Lieutenant; who, tho' no Privy-councillor, had, by the favour of the Juſtices, been always admitted to the board, even when matters of the greateſt conſequence had been debated. Lord Ormonde had for a great while connived at this; as thinking that Lord Lisle might be better able to contribute to the public ſervice againſt the rebels: but when it appeared that he made uſe of that privilege, to obſtruct the King's deſigns, and to promote thoſe of the Parliament, the Marquis thought it his duty to inform his Majeſty of it, and to adviſe him to direct his Miniſters, no longer to aſſume a power, which he had not given them, of admitting perſons unſworn to be preſent at the moſt private debates of the Council. Having received upon this advice a very ſevere reprimand from the King, for admitting Goodwyn and Reynolds, with an expreſs command to the contrary, the Miniſters thought fit to acquieſce; and to ſignify to the commiſſioners that they could be no longer admitted. The commiſſioners were highly provoked at this excluſion from the Council; where they had uſurped the management of all affairs: and they broke out into language, not unſuitable to the pride and arrogance of Reynolds, which had made him extremely hated and deſpiſed. They had before this acted with ſome caution, in their endeavours to ſeduce the Officers of the army; but now they openly ſollicited them, to oppoſe the execution of the commiſſion, and to declare themſelves for the Parliament. But being ſtripped of their power in the Council, which had lowered their influence out of it, they met with no ſucceſs: and being furniſhed by the Lords Juſtices with one of the King's frigates, they went to the garriſons in the North of Ireland, where they ſucceeded better. They had good luck in leaving Dublin when they did; becauſe, in ſome few days after, a warrant came from the King to commit them to priſon.

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His Majeſty would now have prevented the ill effects of the diſaffection of his Miniſters, by making the Marquis of ORMONDE Lord Lieutenant: but he declined it; as thinking he could do the King better ſervice in the way he was in, which was more agreeable to his inclinations. The latter reaſon was probably true, the former certainly could not; and I draw that aſſertion from his Lordſhip's own letters. He had preſſed the Earl of LEICESTER, before they had any quarrel, to haſten over as ſoon as poſſible; "it being a great diſadvantage to the public ſervice, that the civil and military command was not in one perſon;" and he had more than once complained to the King, of the obſtruction to his meaſures, from the Lords Juſtices having a power to abridge his command over the army. He had given a particular inſtance of the fatal effects of that power, in their not permitting him to purſue the rebels, according to the unanimous ſenſe of a council of war, when they fled from Drogheda. But without this, it was obvious to common ſenſe, that the difference to the King's ſervice muſt be very great, between having Miniſters entirely devoted to him, and thoſe who were entirely devoted to the Engliſh Parliament: and next to devolving the whole power and management of the Iriſh war upon that Parliament, it was the greateſt fault in the King's conduct with regard to Ireland, not to diſplace thoſe Lords Juſtices, the firſt moment it was perceived that they were engaged in a faction againſt him. In truth, it contained the original error, to which all his ſubſequent errors there, and the thread of misfortunes which followed, are to be aſcribed.

Whoever takes his idea of theſe Iriſh affairs, from what he meets with only in RAPIN, and the other writers in Engliſh hiſtory, will never underſtand them rightly. RAPIN is not content with the many opportunities that he hath, of very juſtly blaming the conduct of this King, but he ſeeks occaſions of making him appear culpable, when there was no true foundation for it. His partiality is the more groſs, and inexcuſable, becauſe, for the moſt part, it is unſupported by the authorities from which he writes. RUSHWORTH, and CLARENDON, are the only authors he quotes on Iriſh affairs: and tho' the former may be depended upon, for the copies which he gives of all the public papers on both ſides, yet the hiſtorical part of that author, who was a ſervant of the Parliament, is much to be ſuſpected;

pected; and in many particulars is abſolutely falſe. For inſtance, in the caſe before us; he ſays that the King, in his letter to the Lords Juſtices, commanded the removal of Goodwyn, and Reynolds out of Ireland; which is not true. His Majeſty's letter, which in Carte's collection is given at length, requires only "that they ſhould not be permitted to ſit at the council table, but if they have any buſineſs there, they ſhould attend as others of their quality." Had Rapin taken this, and all the hiſtorical part of Rushworth upon truſt, whilſt he queſtions every thing ſaid in favour of the King by Lord Clarendon, his partiality would then have been too glaring not to be owned. But when an hiſtorian gives a turn to facts, which is not ſupported by the authority from which he writes, but is rather contradicted by it, he is much worſe than partial; he is a falſe hiſtorian. Thus in the ſame paragraph in which Mr. Rapin hath ſaid from Rushworth, that the commiſſioners from the Parliament, were by the King's expreſs order, ſent back to England, he hath alſo ſaid, "that one cannot help ſuſpecting that the complaints of the officers of the want of men, money, ammunition, and proviſions, were all a contrivance, to ſerve as a cloke for a ceſſation:" though theſe complaints had been made long before any ceſſation was thought of, and though in the paſſage following that from which this quotation was made in Rushworth, there is a letter from the Lords Juſtices, whom he hath confeſſed to be on the ſide of the Parliament at that time, in which they tell the Speaker, "that the miſeries of the officers and ſoldiers for want of all things were unſpeakable, and all thoſe wants made the more inſupportable by the want of food, which the Adminiſtration was not able to procure them." But to return to the hiſtory.

The Marquis of Ormonde, and the other commiſſioners, having conſulted together, a letter of ſummons was ſent by a trumpet to Kilkenny, directed to the Lords Gormanston, Mountgarret, Ikerrin, and ſeven others, or any two of them which had ſigned the petition to the King; in order that they ſhould ſend their agents to Drogheda, to meet the commiſſioners, and to deliver in writing what they had to propound, that it might be tranſmitted to his Majeſty. The two firſt of theſe were members of the Supreme Council; to whom the trumpet delivered the ſummons, and a ſafe conduct from the Lords Juſtices for the agents and their retinue. Lord Ormonde, being apprehenſive that the Catholic Clergy would oppoſe every ſtep that led to peace, at the end of the ſummons added theſe premonitions; that none but Laymen ſhould be employed as agents, that the number ſhould not exceed thirty, and that they ſhould treat the commiſſioners with that reſpect, which was due from ſuch as were in the nature of petitioners, to thoſe who were honoured with the King's commiſſion. But the rebels, being elated with their late ſucceſſes, and the advantagious proſpect they had from their preſent condition, returned a very ſlight, or rather a high toned anſwer.

Lord Castlehaven being then at his brother's, and hearing a general account of the ſummons, and the anſwer that had been ſent, repaired immediately to Kilkenny: "where finding his information true, he ſent for thoſe that were in the town, whom he knew to be well affected, and leading men in the aſſembly, tho' not of the Council; and having acquainted them with what he underſtood, he told them if they would ſtick to him, he would endeavour to give it a turn. They all agreed to his propoſal; which was to go directly to the Council then ſitting, and to remind them that the conſiderations concerning peace and war, were reſerved by the General Aſſembly wholly to themſelves; and therefore to require them, to ſend immediately a trumpet of their own to the Marquis of Ormonde, to acquaint him that they had iſſued a ſummons for a General Aſſembly; in order to acknowledge the King's gracious favour, in naming him his Majeſty's commiſſioner to hear and redreſs their grievances." The Council did not make much oppoſition; and reconſidering the matter, they wrote another letter, in which they made an apology for their former, and great profeſſions of loyalty; "in which ſurely, there appeared nothing like the propoſitions of "actors and abettors in an odious rebellion:" and as they could not but reſent theſe expreſſions, they inſiſted, that no ſuch words ſhould be inſerted in any inſtrument directed to them; that they might have a copy of the commiſſion; a more commodious place; and a competent time appointed for the meeting. The commiſſioners, on the receipt of the firſt letter, conſidering the great jealouſies that were entertained of the Lords Juſtices, and imagining that the high reſentment, expreſſed at the

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words in the ſafe conduct, aroſe from a notion they had conceived that thoſe words were inſerted without warrant, reſolved to ſend an anſwer, with a copy of the commiſſion; in which the words that ſtung them would be found, as well as in his Majeſty's letter to the Lords Juſtices. The time and place they allowed might be varied, ſo as it might be with ſpeed and conveniency; and they required an anſwer by the drum which carried the letter. The anſwer was returned accordingly; in which they made an apology for their reſentment at the words to which they objected; renewed their profeſſions of loyalty; named ſix Laymen for their agents; and propoſed the ſeventeenth of March for the day, and Trim for the place, of meeting. The commiſſioners ſent an agreement to this propoſal; and aſſured them of a ſafe conduct, and a convoy from the Marquis of ORMONDE, to meet them on the road, and conduct them ſafe to Trim.

Whilſt theſe points were ſettling, the Council reſolved to ſend the army out into the field; being in as much danger of periſhing by their wants, as to be deſtroyed by the ſword of the rebels. It hath already been obſerved that Lord ORMONDE propoſed ſome months ago to the Council, an expedition to Wexford, in order to prevent the ſupplies expected by the rebels from landing there; but this propoſal was rejected, that the Lord Lieutenant, who was then expected over, might have the honour of it: and now, when their diſtreſſes drove them to ſend out the army for ſubſiſtence, the command was intended to be given to Lord LISLE, without any notice of the Marquis of ORMONDE. The Commiſſioners of the Engliſh Parliament had not then left Dublin; and together with Captain TUCKER, agent from the London adventurers, had advanced five hundred pounds apiece for the expedition. The forces were ready to march, and Lord LISLE to put himſelf at their head: but the Lieutenant General, ſeeing himſelf treated with that indignity, declared to the Miniſters, that as he was particularly entruſted by the King with the charge of the army, he could not let ſo conſiderable a part of it be ſent abroad, without going with it himſelf; and therefore if the expedition went on, of which he had been the firſt propoſer, he was determined to take the command. The Miniſters then grew very cool about the enterprize; and the Parliament commiſſioners were for recalling their money: but TUCKER repreſented what an intolerable affront it would be, to put by the General a ſecond time; and if the expedition could not be undertaken, for want of the money which they had promiſed to furniſh, they would be cenſured as hinderers of the public ſervice; which would be neither for their own reputation, nor for the honour of the Parliament which employed them. Upon this, an order was made in Council, that the intended expedition ſhould be left wholly to the Lieutenant General, and the council of War; notwithſtanding any former debate, or reſolution, taken at the board about it. The expedition being reſolved upon by that Council, the Miniſters empowered Lord Ormonde, to employ any ſhips on the coaſts of the kingdom, whilſt the army was abroad for the public ſervice: and tho' he was ordered to purſue the rebels with fire and ſword, yet in caſe he could not gain ſufficient proviſions by that means for the army, he was allowed to receive voluntary relief from ſome of the rebels, by ſparing from deſtruction ſuch houſes and places as he ſhould think fit; but no longer than whilſt the army was abroad in this expedition.

On the ſecond of March, the Marquis left Dublin, with three thouſand men, two battering cannon, and four field pieces; and having taken three or four caſtles as they paſſed along, he made a halt at Carlow for the carriages to come up, and for the ſhip to arrive at Duncannon, which the Miniſters were to ſend him with bread and ammunition. It being reſolved in the Council of war to beſiege Roſſe, he ſate down before it on the twelfth, and immediately planted a battery to make a breach. There were only two companies of foot in the place; but the rebels being encamped with four thouſand men, within three miles of it on the other ſide of the Barrow, they threw five hundred men into it that night, and on the day after, fifteen hundred more. The Marquis had left inſtructions in writing for the maſter of the ſhip, which was to bring him the proviſion and ammunition; and he was ſurpriſed to find it was not yet arrived. But the Juſtices, not approving the man whom the Marquis's agent had recommended, and appointing another who could not be ready in ſeveral days, the opportunity of a fair wind was loſt, which added to the delay; and this delay, not only permitted the enemy to ſend ſupplies into the town, which otherwiſe muſt have been taken in four and twenty hours, but greatly diſtreſſed the army, through want of proviſion and ammunition; incommoded enough otherwiſe with continual rains. In this vexatious ſituation, the Marquis ſent to Lord Esmond, governour of Duncannon, for a ſupply; who readily ſent him all that he could ſpare, with two little barks, to be employed as the General ſhould think fit. But the rebels having raiſed a battery on the other ſide of the river, which did great execution on theſe veſſels, that had annoyed the town with their ſhot, the crews not being able, on account of the wind, to bring them off, ſunk them both, and joined the army.

The Marquis, ſeeing no likelihood of his ſupply from Dublin, and his cannon having made a breach, determined on an aſſault. Sr. Fulk Huncks, and Major Morrice, had the management of that ſervice: but the beſieged being very numerous, and having ſtopped up the breach with wool packs, the aſſailants were repulſed with ſome loſs, and the Major was dangerouſly wounded. Preston, in the mean time, having advanced with an army of ſix thouſand men within two miles of Roſſe, to a paſs thro' which Lord Ormonde muſt retreat, and there being but three days proviſions left for the Engliſh, it was reſolved in a council of war to raiſe the ſiege, and to march towards the enemy. Lord Castlehaven, the Lieutenant General of the horſe, is very ſhort in his account of this engagement, which is called the battle of Roſſe: but he differs very widely from the account given by Carte from a manuſcript relation of it by Sr. F. Willoughby, Major General of the Engliſh army; the former ſaying, that Preston, not having the patience to expect the enemy, went over the paſs to them, upon which the Marquis ſeized the advantage, and gave him no time to form his army into battle, but charged ſtill as they went over; and the latter affirming, "that though the Marquis obſerved the rebels to quit their quarters, and advance towards him, yet he likewiſe obſerved to the Major General, that he imagined they intended to fight, their army being drawn up in order of battle: and when the Marquis proceeded to the attack, the enemy were before them ſtanding in battalia, in a large field ſurrounded with ditches, not far from a great bog, over one of which ditches he was obliged to paſs, in order to attack them in the field in which they were drawn up." The Major General probably drew up his relation, ſoon after the battle; Lord Castlehaven his, not till forty years after: the former enhanced the victory of his party, by repreſenting the advantagious ſituation of the enemy; the latter exculpated the defeat of his ſide, by ſhewing that the management of their General, had made it impoſſible to prevent it. So prevalent is the love of glory, and ſo frail is human nature! They both agree however, that the rebels were routed with great loſs; and that if PRESTON had not quitted the paſs, he muſt either have ſtarved the Engliſh army, or have deſtroyed them without any hazard.

Lord LISLE was the commander of the horſe in that battle, by whom the engagement was began; and mingling with that of the enemy, and ſlaſhing one another for ſome time, both the bodies went off together out of ſight, no body knew whither, leaving the foot on each ſide not yet engaged. CARTE inſinuates very ſtrongly that Lord LISLE did not do his duty; either to leſſen the General's glory in not gaining a complete victory, or to prevent the rebels from being obliged to ſue for peace. To whatever motive it was owing, that the General had no horſe to purſue and deſtroy the foot, whom he had put to flight, it is certain that a fair opportunity was thereby loſt, of giving the rebels, who were the flower of the Leinſter army, ſuch a blow as they would not have recovered for a long time. As ſoon as they had reached beyond the Barrow, PRESTON ordered the bridge to be broken down, in order to prevent any further purſuit. He had not above five hundred men killed in the action, but many of theſe were officers, and perſons of quality; and he loſt all his baggage, and ammunition. The number of the killed, and wounded, in the Engliſh army, was very inconſiderable. But had it been harraſſed in their march home, which if the bridge had not been broken down, it would have been eaſy for PRESTON's army to have done, conſidering the ſmall proviſion left, and the many ſtraights, and woods, and ſtony paſſages they had to go through, the rebels might have taken ample revenge for the loſs they had ſuffered in the battle. The Marquis of ORMONDE in his return, having burned and ſpoiled the enemies country without any oppoſition, continued his march, for want of proviſions for men and horſes, with all ſpeed to Dublin. The diſtreſs was then ſo great in that city, that the Council were obliged to expel all ſtrangers, and to ſend over to England ſeveral thouſands, whoſe maintenance there was inſupportable. They made a freſh ſearch into the ſtores of the Merchants, and took away by force all the commodities which they found, and had not been ſeized before. This was all the ſhift they could make: yet this was ſo far from relieving the neceſſities of the army, that ſeveral officers preſented a paper to the board, demanding money for their pay, and victuals for their ſoldiers, in a ſtile little ſhort of mutiny. But it is time now to look into the other provinces.

The ſtate of Munſter, at the end of the preceding year, hath been already related; and its circumſtances ſince were little mended. Lord Inchiquin, the Vice-Preſident, had received no ſupplies from England, except a regiment without any arms, which he thought were ſent only to accelerate his ruin; bringing neither money, nor proviſion, nor even the hopes of either. He had ſent agent after agent to the Parliament, in order to ſet forth the diſtreſs of the province, and to ſollicit ſuccour; yet none was ſent: nor could he poſſibly have ſubſiſted the forces under him, if the Iriſh had not ſupplied the markets, and if he had not been very induſtrious, with the help of ſome neutral people, to ſave ſome corn about Mallow, and Donneraile. But this ſupply failing, and no hopes of any from England, he applied to the Miniſters at Dublin for ſome proviſion. The Miniſters, conſidering his great diſtreſs, ordered ſix hundred barrels of ſalt herrings to be ſhipped for Munſter; and Sr. P. Percival, commiſſary of the ſtores, paid the freight and other charges. But before the ſhip could ſail, the wants of their own army encreaſed ſo much, that the Miniſters were obliged to order it to be unloaded, and the herrings to be diſtributed to the ſoldiers in and about Dublin; to the loſs of the charges that had been paid, and to the diſcontent of the Munſter army.

The Vice-Preſident, being thus left without any means of preſerving his men from ſtarving, or diſbanding, was forced to ſeize all the magazines of tobacco, belonging to the farmers of that commodity—who had nothing for it till after the reſtoration—and to ſell it to the Iriſh, for money, or cattle. This, with a ſmall ſupply of proviſions which he received from Briſtol, enabled him to hold out till the middle of February; when thinking the loſs of the province to be inevitable, and fearing the ruin of many

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thouſand Proteſtants, it was reſolved in a council of war, to cauſe the ſhips of Lord FORBES's ſquadron, in the harbour of Kinſale, to be ſtayed and drawn aſhore; that they might be ready to receive, and tranſport thoſe people to England, who muſt otherwiſe have been expoſed either to the ſword or famine. Beſides, it was intended to ſearch theſe ſhips for arms and ammunition; of both which Lord FORBES pretended he had little to ſpare, though ordered by the Parliament to furniſh the Munſter forces with them; and though a great deal of powder was wantonly laviſhed at Kinſale, as healths were drank at an entertainment, by one of the Captains, when the province was likely to be loſt for want of ammunition.

The diſtreſs of the province for proviſions at this time was ſo great, that notwithſtanding the Vice-Preſident had taken all their money from the citizens of Cork, and cauſed all the cattle, corn, and other commodities, that could be found in the counties adjacent to the garriſons, and which had never offended them but had ſupplied their markets, to be taken from the inhabitants and diſtributed to the ſoldiers, yet all this was inſufficient: and, enforced by that neceſſity which confounds all laws, and makes no diſtinction between friend and foe, he ſoon after ſeized all the effects that were left of the Merchants of Cork, Youghal, and Kinſale, and ſhipped their wool, hides, tallow, and other goods for France, that they might be ſold, or bartered for corn, to relieve the army. He gave the owners indeed certificates of the value of their effects, in order to be paid by the Engliſh Parliament, as it was uſual in ſuch neceſſitous caſes; but the Parliament refuſed to pay them. This however being his laſt reſource in Ireland, Lord INCHIQUIN once more applied to that Parliament, in a letter to the Speaker which he ſent by one of his officers; wherein he ſaid, that his army "were then upon ſo extreme an exigent, as that unleſs it pleaſe GOD to put into your hearts an effectual ſenſe of our miſeries, and to diſpoſe you to a ſpeedy courſe for our ſudden relief, I fear the next news you will ſhortly hear will be the total loſs of this province, and that our approaching ruin will prevent any further requeſt to be made herein." But his Lordſhip ſoon learnt, how little ſupply was to be expected from them: the officers who were ſent from the army in Leinſter, declared at the Council board at their return, that tho' they had attended in London above two months, yet they had never been able to prevail on the Commiſſioners for Iriſh affairs to have a meeting; and when they preſſed ſome of them for money for their ſubſiſtence, they were told by one of the principal men of that body, "that if five hundred pounds only would ſave Ireland it would not be ſpared," and by another, "that they had not leiſure to ſtep over the threſhold for Ireland." Lord INCHIQUIN therefore had no great reaſon to expect ſuch a relief, as was ſufficient for the great neceſſities of his province; and it was ſome months before he heard any thing from the Parliament.

The province of Conaght was in the ſame deplorable condition. The reader hath already ſeen the violent and imprudent conduct of Captain WILLOUGHBY, the Governour of the fort of Galway; and how much it added to the trouble and uneaſineſs of Lord CLANRICARDE, to keep things quiet between the fort and the town. But now all his influence, and his care, were not ſufficient to prevent, the mad proceedings of WILLOUGHBY on the one ſide, and the diſaffection, and reſentment, of the townſmen on the other. His Lordſhip ſaw the conſequence of an open rupture, and he did all that was in the power of man to do to preſerve the peace. But when BOURKE arrived at Galway, who was appointed by the Catholic Aſſembly their Lieutenant General in that province, Lord CLANRICARDE's power was greatly abridged, and he himſelf in no ſmall danger. BOURKE was a native of the county of Mayo, had many relations there and in the county of Galway, and having been abroad in foreign ſervice above thirty years, was much eſteemed for his experience, and ſkill in military affairs. To this was added, a great opinion of his zeal, and piety in religion; which made many adhere to him, and deſert from Lord CLANRICARDE, of thoſe whoſe firmneſs and affection his Lordſhip had before been very confident. The Prieſts too at this time, having ſuch a leader, began to exert themſelves in fulminating the cenſures of the church, againſt thoſe who refuſed the oath of aſſociation, and to join in the common cauſe. In vain were the oath of allegeance, and the duty of loyalty to the King, urged to the contrary: and all ſuch as would not be guilty of perjury or rebellion, by acting contrary to thoſe obligations, were by the titular biſhop of CLONFERT, and other eccleſiaſticks, declared guilty of a mortal ſin, and involved in the ſentence of excommunication. What with the in-

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ſluence of the Romiſh Clergy, and the mad behaviour of the Governour of the fort, the rebels were encouraged to beſiege it, under Colonel Bourke, in the beginning of May. It had been well ſupplied in the winter by Lord Clanricarde for ſome months; a ſhip had alſo brought freſh ſupplies from Dublin; and Willoughby had money, and plate, and other commodities, to traffick with among the ſhips that came there; and might have furniſhed himſelf plentifully with all neceſſaries. But inſtead of that, he was ſo ill a manager of the proviſions he had, and had laviſhed away ſo much powder in his uſeleſs furious cannonading of the town, for two or three months, that when the ſiege was formed, he had neither proviſion, nor ammunition, for more than a month.

On the fourth of May, he wrote to a Lieutenant of Lord Clanricarde's, that he had proviſions in the fort for three months at full allowance, and if neceſſity required, could make it ſerve four: yet in eight days afterwards, he wrote to his Lordſhip himſelf, "that they were much endangered in the fort by famine; and if they had not ſpeedy help by land or ſea, within a month at fartheſt, they ſhould not be able to ſubſiſt." But Lord Clanricarde had neither proviſions ſufficient, nor forces to convey them; nor was it poſſible to ſupply the fort by ſea, unleſs with a great fleet, and land forces. His Lordſhip ſent an expreſs with this account to the Miniſtry; and he entered into a treaty with Bourke, to have it ſurrendered into his own hands inſtead of thoſe of the town, as well knowing the conſequence. But their conditions with his Lordſhip were, that he ſhould join the Catholic union; and if he did not take the oath of aſſociation, he ſhould ſwear not to place any but a Catholic Governour and a garriſon of natives into the fort, approved of by their General and the Corporation, nor deliver it up without their conſent, upon any pretence whatever, till a general peace was concluded: and whilſt they were offering theſe conditions to his Lordſhip, Bourke was treating with the Governour, for the poſſeſſion of it; which in two days after was accordingly given him, and by order of the Supreme Council it was ſoon after demoliſhed.

There is ſomething very unaccountable in the behaviour of Captain Willoughby from firſt to laſt: and had he been employed to traverſe the meaſures of Lord Clanricarde, and to provoke the town and country to revolt, which his Lordſhip was taking ſo much pains to keep in obedience, he could not have acted a more proper part. Nor is it leſs ſtrange that the Lords Juſtices, ſhould never once in their anſwers to his Lordſhip, take any notice at all of his reiterated complaints, and very ſtrong remonſtrances, againſt Willoughby's conduct, nor remove him from his command. To this negligence of theirs, and to this only, muſt be imputed the loſs of the ſecond fort of importance in the kingdom. For if Lord Clanricarde had been entruſted with it, as he ought to have been, it had not then, if ever, been in the hands of the rebels. But the loſs of this place threatened the loſs of the whole province: and if the artifices or power of the Catholic Clergy could have impoſed upon or terrified Lord Clanricarde, or if the Gentlemen of the county of Galway could have been drawn from the affection they had to him, and the confidence they repoſed in his good judgment and example, which taught them to prefer allegeance to perjury, and the puniſhment of excommunication to rebellion, the loſs of the fort of Galway muſt have put the whole province into the power of the confederates. With the fort of Galway, his Lordſhip's caſtle of Oranmore ſituated on the bay, was alſo ſurrendered; as his caſtle of Clare, the chief place of ſtrength and importance that he had to curb the town and adjacent country, by the deceit and practices of a Franciſcan friar, had been ſome time before.

Many of his Lordſhip's followers having been terrified at their excluſion out of the church, unleſs they took oaths unlawful and contradictory, he publiſhed a direction, that they ſhould repair to their ſpiritual guide, and demand of him to declare in writing under his hand, and the hand of their biſhop of Clonfert, "whether, notwithſtanding their former oaths, they be bound in conſcience under pain of mortal ſin, and incurring the cenſure of excommunication if denounced, to take the oath of aſſociation; and that his anſwer be clear, and without evaſion, and for the clearer intelligence that he inſert his reaſons." To this the Biſhop publiſhed by way of reply, that notwithſtanding their oath of allegeance, they were bound under the pain of mortal ſin to take the oath of aſſociation, and in default were liable to the cenſure of excommunication fulminated againſt the refuſers of it;

“ Because the emiſſion of the oath, in itſelf both lawful and neceſſary, is commanded, upon great deliberation, by the Church, in a matter of weight, and approved by his Holineſs.” The oath of aſſociation could not be approved by the Pope, when it was firſt framed, and injoined under the penalty of excommunication: but whether it was ſo approved or not, can any man read this declaration from a Chriſtian prelate in favour of perjury and rebellion, and not be ſhocked at the impiety of ſetting up the Church above the Goſpel, and the approbation of the Pope above that of God? But this is a further confirmation of what hath been obſerved, that no oaths nor obligations are to ſtand in competition with the intereſt of that religion.

As the rebels in that part of the province grew ſtronger, Lord Clanricarde's difficulties were multiplied; and he ſaw all means of ſafety ſtill impairing, by the ſudden and unexpected departure of the Preſident, and the Engliſh commanders: the former going to defend himſelf againſt an accuſation, as it hath been mentioned, and the latter following him to ſupport it. Lord Ranelagh had been a ſecond time blocked up in Athlone; and the forces in thoſe parts were reduced to great extremities. To relieve theſe in ſome meaſure, the Council were obliged to ſpare them ſome proviſion, clothes, and ammunition; and Sr. R. Grenville, with about a thouſand men, went as a convoy with this ſupply. The rebels attempted to intercept it; but he forced his way through them, and delivered the proviſions to the Preſident. The ſoldiers there had long ſuffered under grievous hardſhips, which they had borne in expectation of ſome relief; but ſeeing all their ſuccours conſiſted in a ſmall quantity of clothing and ammunition, without corn, and without money, they were exceedingly diſcontented; and reſolved to ſtay no longer in a country, to which they ſeemed to have been ſent only to ſtarve. Sr. Mich. Ernly, with ſome other officers, and about ſix hundred of their men, took up this reſolution: and the Preſident, not caring to be cooped up any longer within the walls of a caſtle, and hoping by his repreſentations to procure ſome relief for that province againſt the rebels, determined to take the opportunity of that convoy to go to Dublin. Sr. R. Grenville in his march back, was met by a body of the rebels of above three thouſand, which he defeated, and took **Preston's** ſon, and ſeveral other officers, priſoners.

Lord **Clanricarde** had kept, tho' with difficulty, moſt of the principal Gentry of the county of Galway in his intereſt; and Lord **Mayo** had traverſed the meaſures of Lieutenant General **Bourke**, by oppoſing his command of the forces of that county: but yet the rebels raiſed a very conſiderable force, and marched under the command of that General, to reduce the caſtles in the county of Roſcommon; which, except two towns of Lord **Clanricarde's**, were all that held out againſt them in the province of Conaght. Lord **Thomond** was generally deſerted by all the Gentry of his county, who joined with thoſe of Munſter; tho' he had tried all the ways he could think of to keep them in their obedience: "but they avouched all their actions to be warranted by the King;" and ſuch, he told Lord **Clanricarde** in a letter, "was the incredulity of their countrymen, that he conceived if the King were himſelf there in perſon, to declare his deteſtation of their courſes, they would not believe it." This will give us an idea of the power of the Popiſh Clergy, and to what a length their people carried the ſubmiſſion of their conſciences and underſtandings.

In the laſt account of affairs in the province of Ulſter, at the end of the foregoing year, it was obſerved that **O Neil** was employed in raiſing, and diſciplining his army; and that **Monroe** did nothing with the Scotch and Engliſh forces under his command, but ravage the country, and carry off droves of cattle: and as they continued in the ſame inactivity with regard to the war, till the beginning of May, there is nothing more to be ſaid of that province in this place, and we muſt now turn to ſee what was the iſſue of the commiſſion above mentioned for receiving the grievances of the rebels.

Whilſt Lord **Ormonde** was on the expedition which ended in the battle of Roſſe, the Earls of **Clanricarde**, and **Roscommon**, the Lord **Moore**, and **Sr. Mau. Eustace**, Commiſſioners for the King, on the ſeventeenth of March, met at Trim with Lord **Gormanston**, and three other agents for the confederate Catholicks; from whom they received in writing a remonſtrance of their grievances, and a deſire that they might be redreſſed. Beſides a long preamble, and concluſion, this remonſtrance conſiſts of fourteen articles; and the whole takes up almoſt ten pages in folio in Carte's collection. The reader therefore, it is hoped, will not expect to find it here at full length; nor would it give him any great pleaſure, to ſee a repetition moſtly of what hath already occurred, in ſome parts or other of this work. Indeed it muſt rather fill him with indignation, to ſee men of their character, and rank, ſo entirely loſt to all ſenſe of ſhame, and honour, as to advance, in their excuſe for this rebellion, falſhoods as notorious as the rebellion itſelf was true.

In the very firſt ſentence of this remonſtrance, they tell the King, that they were " neceſſitated to take arms for the preſervation of their religion, the maintenance of his Majeſty's rights, and prerogatives, the natural and juſt defence of their lives, and eſtates, and the liberties of their country." There was ſomething ſo impudent in this aſſertion, which the King himſelf knew to be falſe in every part, as was enough to deter him from reading any further, or to prejudice him againſt all that followed. It was known to the whole world, that they were not troubled, nor queſtioned about their religion, for a conſiderable time before the inſurrection; and that there were no other opponents in Ireland, of his Majeſty's rights, and prerogatives, beſides themſelves; who had uſurped them to that degree, as to make it an act of their General aſſembly, that there ſhould be no other temporal government, or juriſdiction, but what was approved, or inſtituted by them; and other things already mentioned. As to their lives, and eſtates, they had the protection of the laws; and not a ſingle inſtance could be given, that a Papiſt, merely as ſuch, ſuffered any violence in either from a Proteſtant, that was not puniſhed, except in open rebellion, when this inſurrection broke out. The King had ſaid in his commiſſion above mentioned, of which the confederate Catholicks had a copy, that he did extremely deteſt the odious rebellion, which they had, without ground, or colour, raiſed againſt him, his Crown, and dignity: and in their preamble they politely tell him, that they never entertained any rebellious thought againſt either, and inſiſt upon their having been always his moſt faithful

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and loyal ſubjects. In ſhort, almoſt all the truth in this long remonſtrance, either concerned the Proteſtants as well as the Papiſts in Ireland, and therefore was no ſufficient ground for the inſurrection of the latter, or elſe relates to facts poſterior to it, which they would make the King believe were the cauſes of their rebellion. It is difficult to ſay, whether there is more weakneſs, or falſhood, in this long laboured inſtrument: there is much of both; and it ſeems indeed to verify the character which hath been given of it, " that the Iriſh firſt reſolved to rebel, and then ſet their Lawyers and Divines to work, in order to fiſh for arguments to juſtify or excuſe it." When the Marquis of Ormonde returned from the battle of Roſſe, he received this remonſtrance from the other Commiſſioners, which he immediately ſent to the King; tho' he thought the propoſitions made in it unreaſonable, and contrary to his Majeſty's ſervice.

The Lords Juſtices, and their party, had taken the advantage of the Marquis's abſence on that expedition, to draw up a long letter to the King; with an intention to diſſuade him from a peace with the rebels, which they apprehended would be the conſequence of his ſending the commiſſion above mentioned. It muſt be confeſſed that there is more truth, and artifice, in this letter, than in the remonſtrance, the length of which is nearly equal: but the rage of reſentment, and the want of candour, and benevolence, are too viſible and ſtrong in both. Such a letter as this, was propoſed in Council by the Juſtices, immediately on receiving the King's commiſſion, but they found only two of the Members of their opinion; eleven others being againſt it, or ſilent at leaſt upon it. But Lord Ormonde being abſent with the army, tho' it was two months after that debate, the Miniſters reſumed it, and produced the letter ready drawn; which, with a little oppoſition from ſome of the Members of the Council, was agreed to, and ſent. The work of extirpation had by this time appeared ſo very difficult, that the term began to be worn out; and the prime authors of that ſcheme were aſhamed of acknowledging ſuch an intention. It was expreſly diſclaimed in this letter, tho' there were pretty ſtrong inſinuations leading to the ſame point; and they affirmed in ſo many words, " that there can be no way to bring on a ſafe and laſting peace, till the ſword have abated theſe rebels, in number, and power."

The Marquis of Ormonde being informed of this letter, of which he did not approve, propoſed in Council at his return, to ſend a true repreſentation to the King, of the miſerable condition, and the wants of the army; which, without a ſpeedy ſupply, muſt in a few months diſband, or periſh. The Miniſters rejected this motion; though it was of the greateſt importance to the King's ſervice. But Lord Ormonde being determined that the King ſhould not be kept in the dark, in a matter which it was highly requiſite for him to know, called ſuch of the Council to him, then in town, as he thought faithful to his Majeſty, and they joined in a letter to him on the firſt of April: in which, having ſet before him their real ſtate, they concluded with an advice, "that if conſiderable ſupplies of money, munition, and victuals, were not ſent to them within a month or two, or if his Majeſty did not in the mean time give directions what to do, in caſe they failed of that ſupply, his army there, themſelves, and the reſt of the Proteſtants of that kingdom ſhould periſh and be conſumed." This letter contained a much more favourable account of the diſtreſſes of the State, which grew nearer to deſtruction every day, and of the extremities of the army which were ſtill encreaſing, than the Miniſters themſelves gave of either, in their letters to the Parliament, at that time: And finding the Lord Ormonde, and ſome of the Council, had ſent ſuch a repreſentation to the King, in three days after, they ſent the ſame account to his Majeſty, which they had given then to the Speaker of the Engliſh Parliament. To give them their due, they had not been wanting in very frequent and ſtrong remonſtrances to that body, of the extremities to which they had been reduced, and the want in which they ſtood of the moſt ſpeedy plentiful ſupplies. But all their letters, importunities, and prayers, produced no other return, than what ſhewed that the Parliament were determined to be at no further expence in reducing the Iriſh rebels.

The Marquis of Ormonde had the greateſt difficulty imaginable, to keep the Officers of the army from going to England; and it would have been impoſſible to do any ſervice, or to prevent the neceſſitous Soldiers from committing diſorders, when thoſe that ſhould govern them were gone, or even detained with ſo much reluctance. In order to engage them to march on the expedition to Roſſe, the Miniſters had promiſed to do them juſtice;

but thoſe promiſes had been attended with no effect. This treatment had made them outragious; and the Parliament meeting at Dublin on the twentieth of April, they drew up a petition to the Houſe of Lords, which was preſented by Lord Lambert. Having repreſented that they were employed in ſuppreſſing the rebellion of that kingdom, by commiſſion from the King, with the agreement and eſtabliſhment of the Engliſh Parliament, and though they had endured more penury than could be expected from them, with unwearied patience, yet their hopes of relief from them, and from the State of Ireland, had been fruitleſs; and at the laſt gaſp they had recourſe therefore to the care and juſtice of that houſe. They proceed then to complain, that though ſeveral ſums of money had been ſent over expreſly for the uſe of the army, yet on a fair examination it will appear, that they have not been iſſued, according to the intentions of the King, and the Parliament of England; and that a great ſum may yet be found in the hands of reſponſible men. In the next place they complain, that the ſmall payments that have been made to the army, have been in a coin which hath defrauded them of a great deal, through want of value, and want of weight; and that the Council board had refuſed to examine Mr. Loftus about it. They ſay further, " that there were ſome of his Majeſty's rights applied to the uſe of private perſons, as well as divers cuſtodiums round the city; the benefits of which might be applied to the uſe of the army. They therefore entreat their Lordſhips, to call the Vice-Treaſurer and his agents, to give an account of all the money ſent out of England, and iſſued there, ſince the rebellion firſt began; and out of the eſtates of the perſons offending, to give a preſent relief to the army, which groans under the burden of theſe wrongs, and their extreme wants; and for which, if there could not be a ſubſiſtence in that kingdom, they ſhould be forced to quit it, and abandon the ſervice." This petition was ſigned by all the Colonels of regiments then in Dublin, except Lord Lisle, and Lord Lambert who preſented it, and by all the other conſiderable Officers of the army.

The Houſe had received a complaint from them about the coin, in the Auguſt ſeſſion, and had addreſſed the Adminiſtration to give them relief; but none had yet been given them. The Miniſters indeed had then lately promiſed the Officers, to yield to a legal hearing of their complaints contained in their petition: but when they found that it was intended to apply to Parliament, they reſolved to prorogue it. Therefore when the Houſe was entering upon the conſideration of the petition, the Chancellor informed them, that he had received a commiſſion from the Lords Juſtices, to prorogue the ſeſſion of Parliament to November. The Lords, conceiving the petition to be of great importance, in which the ſubſiſtence of the army, and the ſafety of the kingdom was concerned, ordered the Lords Roscommon, and Lambert, as a committee of the Houſe, to repair to the Juſtices, and deſire them to ſuſpend the execution of that commiſſion; that they might conſider the particulars whereof complaint was made. The Juſtices anſwered that they would not ſuſpend the prorogation; having iſſued out the commiſſion upon important reaſons, moving the whole Council to that reſolution. But ſeveral Peers then in the Houſe, who were Privy-Councillors, affirming that they were ſtrangers to any ſuch reaſons, it was thought fit, conſidering the neceſſity of giving ſatisfaction to the army at that time, to addreſs the Juſtices and Council for thoſe reaſons: And the Juſtices alone, to whom this petition had been communicated, refuſed to ſuſpend the execution of the commiſſion, or to gratify the Houſe with the reaſons for the prorogation. The Lords were very reaſonably diſguſted at this treatment: and it was ordered, that the Lord Chancellor ſhould write a letter to the Secretary of State, accompanying the petition of the Officers, ſhewing the motives that induced the Houſe to deſire time to take it into conſideration, the endeavours they had uſed to gain it, and the neceſſity of giving ſpeedy relief in the matters contained in the ſaid petition: and the Lords Ormonde, Roscommon, and Lambert, were directed to peruſe, and approve the letter. As ſoon as this order was made, the Parliament was prorogued. The letter however was drawn, approved of, and ſent; and with it a petition from the Officers to the King, complaining that his Miniſters "had made his power the refuge of the injuries done to the army, in proroguing the Parliament for no other reaſon, as they conceived, than for the protection of ſuch perſons, as had been the chief inſtruments of the ruin, and inſupportable miſeries, under which the army, and his loyal ſubjects in Ireland, groaned." The King was much ſurpriſed and offended at the prorogation, of which the Miniſters had not given him any account;

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and having ordered the Secretary to write to Lord Ormonde about it, he iſſued out a commiſſion to enquire into the abuſes that were complained of.

This arbitrary prorogation was one of the laſt acts of Sr. W. Parsons, in the office of Lord Juſtice: and I preſume the reader will be of opinion, that he ought to have been diſmiſſed long before. Though the King did not know of all his unfaithful practices in the Adminiſtration, yet his Majeſty knew enough to convince him, that Parsons was more the Miniſter of the Engliſh Parliament, than his Miniſter; and that inſtead of healing the breach with the rebels, by his violent meaſures he had made it wider. In ſhort, he knew that Lord Ormonde, in whom he had placed an abſolute confidence, had been frequently controuled by this Lord Juſtice, both at the Council, and in the command of the army. Even the laſt circumſtance alone, if the Councils of this King had not been under an infatuation, ſhould have determined him to diſplace a man, who made ſo ill an uſe of his power. The Marquis of Ormonde had given frequent, and plain intimations of this abuſe, though he had not ſaid half of what he knew: And if there is any fault to be found in the conduct of that Nobleman, throughout the whole period of which I am writing, it was his ſubmitting too long to the inſolence and infidelity of this Miniſter. His Lordſhip had ſo much, and ſo deſervedly, the King's ear in every thing, that he could not doubt of his influence with his Majeſty: and the King's ſervice, his own dignity, and the welfare of his country, made it his duty to procure the diſmiſſion of a Miniſter, whoſe meaſures were oppoſite to them all.

The Marquis of Ormonde was a man of ſuch ſhining parts, ſo many exemplary virtues, and of ſuch uncommon, and diſtinguiſhed merit in his public character, that it is with extreme reluctance that I accuſe him of any fault. Let me palliate this however with obſerving, that perfection is not the lot of mortals; and that even this fault perhaps was owing more to the influence of his virtue, than to any neglect of his duty, or a want of ability to underſtand it. Of all the King's ſervants in that country, the Marquis, as having more of his Majeſty's favour, more authority, and a higher rank than the reſt, was moſt the object of the jealouſy, and the ſpite of Sr. W. Parsons; and was more frequently, and perſonally affronted by him. From a true greatneſs of mind therefore, Lord Ormonde might be induced not to become the inſtrument of this man's diſgrace. Such lenity and forbearance in private life, where one's ſelf alone is concerned, is a moſt amiable temper of mind, and the chief characteriſtick of the Chriſtian Spirit: and in calm and quiet times, even in affairs which relate to the publick, when the injury is not very great, if ſuch a temper is not laudable, it is ſcarcely culpable. But in times like thoſe then in Ireland, where the power of a chief Miniſter had been the ſource of ſo much deſolation, and more was every day to be feared, there lenity and forbearance were no virtues: a bad man eſcaped diſgrace, and the public injuries were not redreſſed.

Even when Parsons was turned out, his collegue Borlase was continued, and was firſt in the commiſſion with Sr. H. Titchborn, as Lords Juſtices; who were ſworn into that office, and had the ſword delivered them, on the firſt of May. It is ſaid in excuſe for this meaſure, that Borlase was thought to be an inſignificant man, who had ſubmitted blindly to the directions of the other. But I preſume to think this no excuſe at all. The then circumſtances of that kingdom, made an inſignificant Miniſter, a very improper one: the times required an active, and an able man; and his blind ſubmiſſion to meaſures, prejudicial to his Majeſty's ſervice, and pernicious to his country, ſhould have been attended with puniſhment, and not promotion. There were faithful, and able men enow then to be found—more faithful, and more able than Borlase—without employing him, or without taking away Sr. H. Titchborn from the army; in which he had done very ſignal ſervices, and which ſtood in great need then of ſuch commanders. There was too good an excuſe however at this time, for the weak and ill-judged counſels of the Engliſh Court: the King ſhould have left the whole buſineſs of Ireland, as he was ſoon after obliged to do, in a great meaſure, to the Marquis of Ormonde; who was thoroughly acquainted with the affairs, and people of Ireland, whoſe eſtate lay in it, who made his loyalty a part of his religion, and than whom there was not an honeſter, nor an abler man of his time. So few ſuch were then to be ſound—I wiſh there were many now—that it muſt be owned I dwell with pleaſure upon his character: and if the reader hath not the ſame pleaſure, the reaſon is too invidious to be pointed out. But in an age of ſelfiſhneſs, and inattention, like the preſent, there is an utility, as well as a pleaſure, in holding out ſuch examples, to reform, and teach it.

The Gentlemen of the Pale, who had ſubmitted to the Adminiſtration at Dublin, or to Lord Ormonde in the field, though they had never been concerned in any hoſtile act, had been now confined above a year in priſon, and indicted of high treaſon. It will be no impeachment of our candour to ſuppoſe, that there was too much hurry in finding ſuch indictments, when we know that above a thouſand were found in two days time; and that there was not the faireſt and moſt unſuſpected evidence for the finding them, when we are told by the Marquis of Ormonde, that a letter was red in Council, from a perſon "who claimed a merit in getting ſome hundreds of Gentlemen indicted, having laid out ſums of money to procure witneſſes to give evidence for the finding theſe indictments." But be this as it might. The priſoners above-mentioned, to the number of fourteen, petitioned both the King, and Parliament of England, that they might be ſet at liberty, and freed from the danger of their lives and eſtates; having never committed any hoſtility, nor had their hands in the blood, or ſpoil of any. Theſe petitions they ſent to the Marquis of Ormonde to be tranſmitted; and relying upon his honour, to atteſt the truth, and to mediate in their behalf. His Lordſhip did not fail them in any reſpect; and though his conduct had been ſo unexceptionable, that he ſtood outwardly at leaſt as yet very fair with moſt of the Engliſh Parliament, yet his recommendation of theſe Gentlemen was without effect, and it was not till four months afterwards, that they were admitted to bail.

The King having conceived no hopes of a general ſubmiſſion, from the extravagant propoſitions in the remonſtrance, delivered by the rebels at Trim, and conſidering the condition of his affairs then, as well here as in Ireland, about the latter end of April, ſent a commiſſion to Lord Ormonde, to treat and agree with the confederate Catholicks, upon a ceſſation of arms for one year. But before we enter upon his Lordſhip's proceedings in that buſineſs, I ſhall give the reader a view of the ſtate of the ſeveral provinces; in order to enable him to form a judgment, whether there was any neceſſity for ſuch a ceſſation, when it was concluded, as the King and his friends aſſerted, or whether it was agreed on, as his enemies repreſented, to ſtrengthen the King's hands in his war againſt the Parliament. The reader muſt take notice however, that the honour of the King in ſending this commiſſion, depends on the ſituation of things at that time, and of which a view hath been given already: if he thinks this was diſtreſsful enough to require ſuch a ceſſation, as the Parliament had neglected ſending any relief, the King will be juſtified in taking this ſtep. The view that is now to be given, is in order to judge of the expedience or inexpedience of the ceſſation when it was concluded, which was near ſix months after the date of the commiſſion; and will rather vindicate the honour, or confirm the diſgrace, of Lord **Ormonde**, and his friends, than of the King.

The miſerable condition of affairs then at Dublin, and the extremity to which the army there had been reduced, have been already mentioned; though not in that forcible and pathetic manner, in which they were ſet forth in the letter of the Lords Juſtices to the *Engliſh* Parliament. In the province of Leinſter, which was under their own care, **Preston** was not ſo defeated at the battle of Roſſe, but that he was able ſoon to rally his forces, and to ſit down before Ballynekill, with four hundred foot, and five hundred horſe. It was a caſtle of conſiderable ſtrength, within eight miles of Kilkenny; and the garriſon annoyed the enemy very much, with their frequent excurſions to the walls of that city. The inhabitants, being uneaſy at their continual loſſes, preſſed the ſiege might be undertaken; and offered a plentiful ſupply of bread. Colonel **Crawford** was ſent from Dublin, with about fifteen hundred men, to endeavour to raiſe the ſiege. This is **Carte**'s account; but Lord **Castlehaven** ſays, that he was beſieging a caſtle of Lord **Clamnaleer**, and that his Lordſhip himſelf was ſent by **Preston** to diſlodge him; but they both agree that the Colonel was grievouſly wounded in his retreat, and that Ballynekill was ſurrendered. A ſmall quantity of proviſions being ſecured, **Sr. Mich. Ernly** was ſent afterwards on the ſame ſervice, with a ſtronger party; but found the place had been given up, and **Preston** marched with his army to Weſtmeath. Lord **Ormonde**, upon receiving advice of this, ſent a reinforcement to **Ernly**; and ordered him, in caſe **Preston** beſieged any garriſon, to watch his beſt opportunity to diſtreſs him, with as little hazard as poſſible: but if he ſhould retire, **Ernly** was to prepare for the taking of Ballyſonan; for which the Marquis promiſed to ſend him ammunition, and all other neceſſaries. However upon examining the ſtores, there was ſo little powder left, and it being conſidered that there was not then a great deal of forage on the ground for the horſe, the orders for the attack were countermanded, till they had received a ſupply of powder, and the graſs was more grown. The orders were then renewed; and an addition made to them, to keep the army abroad as long as poſſible. But inſtead of this, **Ernly** in a week's time brought them back to Dublin; alledging that he could not undertake ſuch ſervices with ſoldiers in ſuch a condition; many of them without ſhoes, the others ſo diſabled with fatigues that they could not march in their ranks, and all, from their diſtreſſes, were not to be commanded. Another part of the army there had been ſent out under Lord **Moore**; but they had met with ſo little ſucceſs in getting prey for their ſubſiſtence, that he was obliged to return ſoon into garriſon, for want of forage, and bread. Lord **Lambert** had marched, at the end of May, for the ſame purpoſe into Wicklow; and having traverſed thirty miles of the country, returned with ſeven hundred cows, and fifteen hundred ſheep. Colonel **Willoughby** made another inroad into the ſame county, with good ſucceſs: but theſe actions diſtreſſed friends as well as enemies; and ſerved only to keep the army in and about Dublin a little longer alive, and to defer their diſbanding for want of food.

The ſtate of the province of Munſter to the end of April, hath been already given. In the beginning of May, Lord **Inchiquin** drew his forces out of the garriſons, where they were on the point of ſtarving, to ſee if he could get ſubſiſtence for them in the field. Fourteen hundred were ſent into the county of Kerry, where they ſubſiſted very well, and made great preys of cattle. **Sr. C. Vavasour** was ſent with a like number into the county of Waterford; whilſt Lord **Inchiquin** himſelf, in order to divert the enemy from attacking thoſe detachments, made a feint of beſieging

Killmallock, a place of great conſequence in the county of Limerick. Sr. Charles, diſdaining to act with his army the party only of freebooters, attacked, and took ſeveral caſtles. From the laſt which ſurrendered, the garriſon were ſent away under a convoy; but by the diſorderlineſs of an unpaid ſoldiery, they were almoſt all of them plundered, or murdered on the way. The quarter that had been given being thus wickedly violated, Sr. Charles reſolved to hang the officer who commanded the party: but he was attacked in his march by Lord Castlehaven, in the middle of June, with two hundred and fifty horſe, almoſt half of them Gentlemen; who charged the Engliſh in a plain with ſo much reſolution, and being favoured by the rain, that their horſe fled on the firſt attack, and breaking in upon the foot, the whole body was routed, ſix hundred men were killed on the ſpot, Sr. Charles, and many other Officers made priſoners, and their cannon, baggage, and ſeven hundred arms were taken. This was the greateſt defeat the Engliſh had ſuſtained during the war, and the firſt time their horſe had ever fled; to whoſe cowardice, and not to any want of conduct in the commander, the defeat was owing: but it was a great diſcouragement to the army in that province, that were before diſcouraged enough by the wants they were reduced to, and by the utter neglect of the Engliſh Parliament.

The Scotch forces in Ulſter, had done nothing becoming an army, for ſeveral months: but in May, General Monroe thought proper to ſtir, and with great ſecrecy, and expedition, marched into the county of Ardmagh; in order to ſurpriſe O Neil in his quarters. O Neil himſelf was the firſt that diſcovered them, as he was hunting, at two miles diſtance; and retiring immediately to his forces, which were not above four hundred, after an hour's diſpute with Monroe's army, in a lane incloſed with hedges, leading to Charlemont, very dexterouſly made his retreat thither without any loſs. The Scotch General ſeized the paſſes about that fortreſs, with an intention to make what prey he could in the country; but one of his parties being defeated the next day, with the loſs of a prey they had taken, he returned with all his forces into Antrim. On his return thither, Lord Montgomery, and Colonel Chichester, with two thouſand foot, and two hundred and fifty horſe, made another irruption into Ardmagh; and being joined by Lord Moore from Dundalk, whoſe garriſon was almoſt ſtarving, they waſted all that county; and ranging over Monaghan, and Cavan, without ſeeing an enemy for three weeks together, they took conſiderable preys of cattle. O Neil, knowing they could not undertake a ſiege, reſolved to avoid, rather than to oppoſe them: and driving all the cattle away that he could, and eſcorting the women and children towards the county of Leitrim, he retreated thither with his forces till he could get an army together ſufficient to face the enemy. But in his march, he was attacked by Sr. R. Stewart on the borders of Fermanagh, with about four thouſand men. The encounter of the horſe was extremely fierce for ſome time; in which O Neil himſelf was in great danger: nor was that of the foot leſs hot for half an hour, till the ſecond diviſion of the Engliſh could come to engage; and then the Iriſh retired in great diſorder, both horſe and foot running away. Good execution was done in the purſuit for ſeveral miles: and the rebels ſuffered a greater loſs in this action, than they had ever done before in Ulſter; moſt of their arms being taken, and the greateſt part of the foreign Officers, who came over with O Neil, being killed or taken priſoners. But though the loſs on the ſide of the Engliſh was very inconſiderable, yet Sr. R. Stewart was in no condition to do any thing more, than to make preys of cattle, to waſte the country, and return to his quarters. O Neil, after his defeat, retreated to Charlemont, but in a few days purſued his intended march into Leitrim; where he recruited his forces, and received ſuch a ſupply of arms and ammunition from the Supreme Council, as enabled him in a ſhort time to appear as ſtrong in the field as ever.

We left the rebels in Conaght, in poſſeſſion of all the towns and caſtles in that province, except two of Lord Clanricarde's, and the caſtles in the county of Roſcommon. Soon after Midſummer, having got Preston's engineer, and the cannon of the fort of Galway, they laid ſiege to Caſtle-Coote, commanded by Sr. Charles's brother, which their General Bourke expected would be an eaſy conqueſt. But he was entirely diſappointed, notwithſtanding he attacked it with a numerous army, and with great ſkill, and courage. The garriſon in the caſtle defended themſelves with the utmoſt bravery, and reſolution; and being well ſupported by the neighbouring garriſons, they repulſed the rebels ſeveral times, with great advantage, till the treaty of ceſſation put an end to the diſpute. Having taken this view of the provinces till the time of harveſt, we muſt return again to Dublin; the centre of all public buſineſs relating to the rebellion.

The new Miniſtry were very ſenſible of the diſtreſſed condition of the whole kingdom: and though they had applied again, in the middle of May, to the Engliſh Parliament for relief, yet fearing they might be as unſucceſsful as they had been before, they ſent Sr. Tho. Wharton, a man very acceptable to them, to ſollicit them more powerfully than they could do by letter. That I may finiſh his embaſſy at once, though out of time, I muſt inform the reader, that after a continual application for twenty weeks, the whole relief that he could procure, was a ſmall ſupply of proviſions; and all the promiſes he could obtain in future, was a thouſand pounds in money. As ſoon as Sr. Thomas was ſent away from Dublin, no great hopes having been formed of ſpeedy ſuccour from England, the Council endeavoured to provide as well as they could for themſelves. To this end they publiſhed a proclamation to reſtore the confidence of the Merchants; who, by having had their goods ſeized by force without payment, had been diſcouraged from any traffick; aſſuring them on the word of the State, that they ſhould receive ready money for all the proviſions and ammunition they ſhould bring to Dublin. But, in order to raiſe the money to fulfil this contract, they were obliged to have recourſe to an expedient, not known in theſe dominions till the Engliſh Parliament had then ſet it on foot, to carry on their war againſt the King; which was an EXCISE.

One cannot mention this ſubject without being put in mind of the great diſſentions it hath occaſioned here, and ſtopping a little to conſider it. Abundance of pains hath been taken to enflame the paſſions, and to impoſe on the underſtandings of the people of England upon this method of taxation; and a man muſt be wholly regardleſs of popular clamour, that ſhall dare to avow his approbation of it in this country, where it is ſaid to be inconſiſtent with our liberty. But a wiſe man will never ſuffer his underſtanding to be run away with by the ſound of words: we have lived to ſee the time, when this word LIBERTY is moſt egregiouſly and ſcandalouſly abuſed: and if we go on at the rate we have done for ſome time paſt, it doth

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not require a great deal of ſagacity to foreſee, that our Liberty will prove our Ruin. Every good Engliſhman is a great friend to juſt and honeſt Liberty; but there are bounds to be obſerved, beyond which it becomes Licentiouſneſs. All Government is more or leſs a reſtraint upon Liberty; but unleſs we recur to a ſtate of Nature, that reſtraint muſt be ſubmitted to. No Government can be ſupported without expence; and whoſoever receives the benefit and protection of Government, ſhould, according to that benefit, and his own ability, contribute to ſuch expence. The more equal the taxation to it is, the more reaſonable it becomes; and in this ſenſe no taxation is preferable, none is ſo eligible as an Exciſe. For if all, or the greateſt part, however, of our Cuſtoms were converted into Exciſes, there is no doubt but it would be beneficial in general to our commerce, as well as leſs inconvenient and expenſive to the Merchant. There is no reaſon therefore why we ſhould be frightened by the word EXCISE, from changing the method of raiſing the taxes we now pay, for one which is more convenient to the trading part of the nation. It is the very method by which moſt of the taxes are raiſed in Holland, where trade is underſtood as well, if not better, than in any country in Europe, and where I preſume it will be allowed that the people are as jealous of their liberties as any people ought to be. But our misfortune is, that every individual here, in every rank of life, would make all things center in themſelves: and yet no individual can be happy abſtracted from the general good of the whole nation. To think otherwiſe than this, is one of the greateſt deceptions imaginable: and yet it is this narrow ſelfiſh mode of thinking, that in the end, if it is perſevered in, will make us a wretched people. An Exciſe is only a word for a tax raiſed in a particular manner: and if it doth not give liberty to an Engliſh ſubject to plunder and defraud the publick of its revenue, hath an honeſt man any room to complain of this reſtraint upon Engliſh Liberty?

When ſo much noiſe hath been made againſt it in this country, it may be thought madneſs in any one perhaps to aſſert this doctrine: but the madneſs lies in thoſe who are miſled by words, without ſoberly ſtopping to conſider their ſenſe, or the intention of thoſe who make a buſtle with them: and in this reſpect we have ſeen our countrymen made very mad, with the words Church, Exciſe, Militia, and even Patriot. But though the writer of this hiſtory is no enemy to an Exciſe, yet he is ſo true a friend to Liberty as to diſapprove of the mode of regulation of it now in uſe; in which alone it appears to be inconſiſtent with the proper freedom of an Engliſh ſubject: and in order to reconcile the reader to this meaſure, or at leaſt to engage his candour, the following is an alteration of it, which is ſubmitted to his conſideration. Let the commiſſion of appeals be quite aboliſhed; and let all diſputes about Exciſe, within the bills of mortality, be ſettled as ſmall debts are, by the Courts of Conſcience, with an appeal to three of the Judges, one from each Court, in a ſummary way without expence; and from the Juſtices in the country, where there are no ſuch Courts, to the Judge of Aſſize. An Exciſe under this regulation, it muſt be owned, is no greater reſtraint upon Engliſh liberty, than in the circumſtances we are in ſhould be ſubmitted to without repining: and the fault would then only be, in exciſing the neceſſaries, and not confining it to the luxuries of life. The great importance of the ſubject, it is to be hoped, will warrant this digreſſion; and I ſhall now return to the hiſtory.

Had this method of raiſing money for the occaſions of the State in Ireland been more unjuſtifiable than it was, yet the neceſſity was ſo extreme, that all law, and order, was obliged to be overruled, in other caſes, as well as this. The worſt of it was, that tho' the duty was ſo high, as to amount to half the value of the commodity, yet thro' the poverty of the city of Dublin, where it was ſet on foot, and where trade had been ſo much ruined, the money raiſed by it was inconſiderable, and the wants of the army were ſtill preſſing. In a ſhort time after the turning out of Sr. W. Parsons, one day at a full Council, when ſixteen Members were preſent, Sr. F. Butler, and Major Warren, brought an accuſation againſt him of high crimes and miſdemeanors; and requeſted that he might be ſecluded, and his papers, and goods ſecured. A great debate aroſe upon this application: ſome of the Council were for ſecuring his perſon, of which number was his former colleague, one only for ſeizing his goods, others for taking ſureties of him; but the majority inclined to give him his liberty, without any ſecurity, and his papers were left untouched. It hath been obſerved that Lord Ormonde had received a commiſſion from the King, to treat of a ceſſation with the rebels. After obſerving the great extremities, to which the army, and his good ſubjects in Ireland were reduced, thro' the neglect of the two Houſes of Parliament here, the King informs him, that he had reſumed the care of them again to himſelf; and therefore commends him, with all ſecrecy and expedition, to treat with thoſe that had taken up arms, and to agree with them for a ceſſation; leaving the terms of ſuch treaty entirely to his Lordſhip: his Majeſty not being well informed—as he ſaid—of the true ſtate of his own, or their army, or of the condition of the country, or any other thing whereon to fix a judgment. In a letter from the King himſelf to the Marquis, which accompanied this commiſſion, his Majeſty deſired him earneſtly to execute this command; and, as ſoon as that is done, to bring over the Iriſh army to Cheſter.

If a commiſſion for ſuch a treaty only had been ſent, without the King's acknowledgment of his ignorance of the ſtate of things, and without any order for the army there to be ſent to England, it might have been ſuppoſed to take its riſe only from the ill condition of affairs there, which made it abſolutely neceſſary. But this the reader ſees was not the caſe; and one of the King's motives was evidently to have the aſſiſtance of that army, in order to ſtrengthen himſelf here againſt the Parliament. Whether the King was more blameable in this reſpect than the Parliament, who had made uſe of the money, and the troops raiſed for Ireland, to carry on the war againſt the King, ſhall be left to the reader's determination. Notwithſtanding Lord ORMONDE had received the commiſſion, and the letter above mentioned, yet he thought it an indignity to the King, that the firſt overture for a ceſſation ſhould come from him. Lord TAAFE, a Roman Catholick, who had been in the army here a volunteer, was ſent over by his Majeſty at this time, in order to induce the rebels to accept of reaſonable conditions. To him therefore Lord ORMONDE granted a paſs to the General Aſſembly, then about to meet at Kilkenny, and joined with him in it Colonel J. BARRY; a Catholick alſo, but an intimate friend of the Marquis's, who had ſerved under him in all his expeditions, was a man of very good underſtanding, and much beloved by all who knew him.

The rebels could not, conſiſtently with their former meaſures, refuſe to move for a ceſſation; but yet this negotiation met with many difficulties.

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There were ſo many people concerned, and theſe had ſo many different views, and ſentiments, many of them incapable of judging of their true intereſt, others full of diſtruſt and ſeeing no further than the outſide of things, and all of them too much influenced by ambitious covetous eccleſiaſticks, that it was not without many interruptions and long debates, that it was carried to agree to a treaty for a ceſſation with Lord ORMONDE. As ſoon as the Marquis knew this, he ſent to Colonel BARRY to inform the Aſſembly, that in order for him to conſent to a treaty, it muſt be ſettled as a prelimenary, that they ſhould contribute a proportion to the ſupply of the royal army; ſince by their diſturbance his Majeſty had been deprived of his ſubſidies, and revenue, which would have ſupported it. This was a condition ſo neceſſary to the ſubſiſtence of the forces during a ceſſation, that if the Aſſembly rejected it, he ordered the Colonel to leave the place, and return to Dublin. This prelimenary occaſioned many other debates: but at laſt the general condition was agreed to, leaving the particular ſum to be ſettled between the Marquis and their agents; to whom they gave a commiſſion with full powers, about the middle of June.

The Marquis, who had communicated this buſineſs from the firſt to SR. H. TITCHBORN, and his friends in the Council, when he found the rebels had agreed to a treaty, acquainted the whole board with his commiſſion. Thoſe amongſt them who had been attached to the republican party in England, expreſſed their diſlike of it: but none of them had offered to ſuggeſt a method of ſubſiſting the army, and carrying on the war: and as the Marquis, who was extremely jealous of his honour, was determined that his conduct in ſo nice and important a point ſhould be clear of all reproach, he delivered in writing at the Council board a motion to the following effect, "that if any of the Members were of opinion a ceſſation was either diſhonourable to the King, unſafe to the Proteſtants, or dangerous to his Majeſty's armies, that they would ſignify as much by their letters to him, and propoſe ſome other more certain, honourable, and available way, for the preſervation of the kingdom, the ſafety of the Proteſtants, and the ſubſiſtence of the armies; in which caſe he undertook to proceed no farther in the ceſſation, but would immediately, at his own peril, break off the treaty." His Lordſhip deſired this motion might be entered in the

Council books; the order for which was ſigned by **Parsons**, and the others that were averſe to the ceſſation. But the Marquis, fearing this was not ſufficient to ſilence the clamour that he foreſaw would be made about it, the next day made another motion; "that if ten thouſand pounds could be raiſed, the one half in money, and the other in victuals, to be brought in within a fortnight, he would in that caſe proceed in the war, endeavour to take Wexford, and do nothing in the intended treaty for a ceſſation." Upon this the Lord Mayor, and the moſt ſubſtantial citizens of Dublin, were ſummoned to attend; who being examined about ſuch a ſupply, it was found to be impoſſible to procure it. This motion was alſo entered in the books, and ſigned by a full board: and as neither of theſe motions had produced any effect, nor any other method was propoſed of ſubſiſting the army, and ſaving the kingdom from deſolation, the Marquis ſet out the next morning, to meet the Iriſh agents at Caſtle-Martin in the county of Kildare; accompanied by ſome of the Council, and the chief officers in the army, to aſſiſt him in the treaty. We will alſo take our leave of Dublin for the preſent; and caſt an eye upon England, for the tranſactions that were carrying on there, relating to the war in Ireland.

Theſe tranſactions have been traced to the cloſe of the laſt year; and the firſt thing that we meet with in this, was the commiſſion ſent by the King to conclude the ceſſation above mentioned. If Lord **Clarendon** hath repreſented this affair, in a light too favourable on the ſide of the King, which he certainly hath, by aſcribing it to the negotiations of the Parliament with the Scots, and their reſolution to levy an army for the aſſiſtance of the two houſes—which negotiations were not till long after—it is as certain that **Rapin**, who hath criticiſed upon this, is not free from cenſure. For tho' it is true, that one deſign of the King in making a truce with the Iriſh rebels, was to employ the Engliſh forces in that kingdom againſt the Parliament here, yet it doth not appear that this was his only deſign; nor is it true—what this Hiſtorian hath added—" that in order to avoid the reproach which might be caſt on him for making this truce, he reſolved to manage ſo, as that it ſhould appear to be done by the Lords Juſtices, and the reſt of the Council. The deſign was not ſo much as communicated to the Marquis of **Ormonde**, till the commiſſion was ſent to him to conclude ſuch a treaty; and tho' the King wrote a letter of the ſame date with it to the Lords Juſtices, it was only to acquaint them, that he had ſent ſuch a commiſſion to his Lordſhip, and to order them to give their moſt effectual aſſiſtance to advance the ceſſation.

In a few days after the King had ſent this commiſſion, he received a letter from the Iriſh Miniſtry, which he ſent to the two Houſes; at which they were not a little diſcompoſed. For in this letter the Juſtices inform his Majeſty, "that his army there were in unſpeakable extremities of want of all things neceſſary, for the ſupport of their perſons, or maintenance of the war; and that there were no viſible means, by ſea or land, of their being able to preſerve that kingdom, and to deliver his good ſubjects there from utter deſtruction. Notwithſtanding their repeated advertiſements ſent into England of their diſtreſs, they had received no ſupplies of money from the Engliſh Parliament for ſix months, nor any other proviſions than a mean inconſiderable quantity, ſufficient only for the army in and about Dublin for eight days." The Parliament thought it neceſſary to do ſomething, in order to wipe off the juſt reproaches which were caſt upon them in this letter: and having appointed a committee to think of ways to raiſe money for Ireland—as they had made uſe of the adventurers money for their own purpoſes—they reſolved it ſhould be raiſed by voluntary contributions.

Either the Parliament themſelves, or the Publick, not being thoroughly ſatisfied with the legality of their ordinances, they had ſent a bill to the King, entitled "an act for the ſpeedy payment of moneys, ſubſcribed towards reducing the rebels in Ireland, which yet remained unpaid." To this his Majeſty anſwered, "that though he might well deny to conſent to any new act of Parliament, when the Majority of both Houſes were driven away by violence, and He himſelf not ſuffered to be preſent, yet ſuch was his compaſſion of ſoul towards his poor Proteſtant ſubjects of that kingdom, he would gladly entertain any expedient, whereby the condition of it might be relieved, and the diſtractions of this in no danger to be increaſed. He deſired therefore to know firſt, how the vaſt ſums of money, already raiſed for the relief of Ireland, and which ought not to be employed to any other

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other purpoſe, had been expended. He deſired further to be made ſure, that the money, which, by his conſent to this act, was to be raiſed for the ſupport of the army there, ſhould not be diverted to any other purpoſe." Some obſervations were alſo made on ſeveral clauſes of this bill; "and if the two Houſes would give his Majeſty ſatisfaction in all thoſe particulars, then all the world, he ſaid, ſhould know, how ſenſible he was of the miſery of Ireland, and how deſirous to embrace any way for its relief." The two Houſes, not being able to give the King the ſatisfaction he deſired, conſiſtently with their own intentions of miſapplying this money, were caught in the ſnare they had laid for his Majeſty; and their giving no anſwer at all, to demands ſo reaſonable, brought that diſcredit upon the Parliament, which they meant to throw upon the King, if he refuſed to paſs the act.

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Finding this ſcheme defeated, they publiſhed a declaration, ſetting forth "their compaſſionate ſenſe of the miſeries of the army, and their Proteſtant brethren in Ireland, and recommending their relief by way of adventure, loan, or weekly contribution, in ſuch manner as they ſhould approve; of which both Houſes intended to ſhew a good example." But this declaration being without effect, in a month after, they iſſued an ordinance for the encouragement of adventurers to make new ſubſcriptions, for towns, cities, and lands in Ireland. In ten days after—the twenty fifth of July—they publiſhed another declaration, "concerning the riſe and progreſs of the grand rebellion in Ireland, with ſeveral examinations of perſons of quality, and other paſſages of conſequence;" and this declaration was ordered to be red in the ſeveral churches and chapels, on the next faſt day after it was received. When the reader knows that that paper takes up above twenty pages in cloſe print in folio of Husband's collections, he will not be ſurpriſed that it is not recited here. It is aſtoniſhing to poſterity, to what a length of malice, and want of candour, the diſeaſe of thoſe times did lead men. Nothing leſs than this ſurely could induce ſo great a body of men, to publiſh ſuch a tedious narrative; wherein many things were greatly exaggerated, others abſolutely falſe, and a good deal of what was ſtrictly true very little to the purpoſe. But the chief managers and conductors of the counſels of the Parliament—ſays Lord Clarendon—

"found it neceſſary to aver many things of fact upon their own knowledge, by which they ſaw the underſtanding of men liable to be captivated, which in truth were not ſo; as he himſelf found by ſome ſober men, at ſuch times as there was occaſion of intercourſe with them, that they did upon ſuch aſſurance believe the King had done ſomewhat in that buſineſs of Ireland—ſome having avowed that they had ſeen his hand to ſuch and ſuch letters and inſtructions—which, upon as much knowledge as any man can morally have of a negative, his Lordſhip was ſure the King never did." Nevertheleſs there were ſome facts relating to the Papiſts in this declaration, to which the King made no reply: too true to be denied, and too reprehenſible to be excuſed. Nothing more having paſſed in England this ſummer, concerning the Iriſh war, we muſt now return to Dublin, in order to give an account of the Marquis of ORMONDE's proceedings in the treaty with the rebels for a ceſſation.

The King, in his commiſſion to him, had ordered it to be managed with all ſecrecy; but it was one of the common circumſtances attending the councils of this Monarch—uncommon to every other—that nothing was kept a ſecret in them; and Lord ORMONDE wrote him word, "that by the time his Majeſty's letters about it reached him, the city of Dublin was full of that buſineſs, and it was the common diſcourſe of every one." It required all his Lordſhip's good management to prevent very diſagreeable conſequences, in the Council, and the army, from this imprudence or treachery of his Majeſty's Court. On the twenty third of June, the Commiſſioners from the rebels preſented themſelves to the Marquis, in his tent near Caſtle-Martin, having ſome of the Council and ſeveral officers of the army with him; his Lordſhip ſitting in his chair covered, and the Iriſh Commiſſioners ſtanding bare headed before him. They delivered their propoſitions in writing; and the Marquis preſſed to know, what ſupply they would give to his Majeſty for the maintenance of his army: but they abſolutely refuſed to treat of that particular, till the ceſſation was agreed upon. His Lordſhip took three or four days to conſider of their propoſitions; and then returned them an anſwer. To ſome of theſe he conſented with reſtrictions, to others he declined giving any anſwer at that time, and the

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reſt he flatly refuſed. As this treaty was ineffectual, it doth not ſeem neceſſary to trouble the reader with theſe particulars. The Commiſſioners, two days after receiving his Lordſhip's anſwer, pretending that it required a ſerious conſideration, deſired the meeting might be adjourned for a fortnight; when they would wait upon him, and endeavour to bring the treaty to a concluſion. When that day came, they made no reply to the alterations the Marquis had made in their propoſitions; but though his demand of a ſupply was not warranted by the King's letters, and ſo no anſwer, they ſaid, was neceſſary, "yet to ſhew their duty and affections, on the concluſion of the ceſſation they would grant ſuch a ſupply as ſhould be then agreed on."

The Marquis being extremely diſſatisfied with this anſwer, reſolved to break off the treaty, and try the fate of a battle, if he could, with PRESTON. Accordingly the next day, he wrote to Lord GORMANSTON, "that the neceſſity of his attendance otherwiſe on the public ſervice, did not permit his meeting with them at that time; but as ſoon as the occaſion was over, he would appoint another day to proceed on the treaty, of which they ſhould have timely notice." The truth was, the rebels were ſo elated with the proſperous ſituation of their affairs, upon finding themſelves in a condition to ſecure the harveſt, that they thought of ſtarving the Proteſtants into their own terms; and with this view, PRESTON was marched into the King's county with a great army, and O NEIL was advanced into Weſt-Meath. The Commiſſioners took upon them to reſent this delay of the treaty, and to demand what the ſervice was that occaſioned it; arrogantly threatening to add it to their other grievances. The Marquis replied, "that he was not to acquaint them with any of the King's ſervices, being accountable for them only to his Majeſty and the State, to whom he doubted not he ſhould acquit himſelf as became him; that however they might gueſs at one of the reaſons of his delay, when they knew that PRESTON had had the boldneſs to advance with his army ſo near the place of meeting; and that when the occaſions of the King's ſervice were over, he would appoint another time to reſume the treaty." As ſoon as Lord ORMONDE returned to Dublin, he did all that he could to procure proviſions,

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in order to enable the army to march. MONCK was prevailed upon, with great difficulty, to command the party againſt PRESTON; who lay with ſeven thouſand foot, and ſeven hundred horſe, within two miles of Caſtle-Jordan. MONCK, having only two thouſand foot, and half the number of the rebels horſe, finding no cattle in the field, and wanting ſupplies of bread and ſhoes, returned to Dublin in ten days; without giving the enemy any diſturbance in his conqueſt of that county. Upon this, the Marquis ſummoning all the forces he could raiſe, and making up a body of five thouſand, in a few days after, marched at the head of them himſelf, and ſoon retook ſome of the caſtles that PRESTON had got poſſeſſion of. But as that General ſtill retired before him, and would not hazard a battle, and the royal army was ready to ſtarve for want of proviſions, about the latter end of July, the Marquis brought it back again to Dublin; convinced by this experiment, that there was no other way to preſerve the forces, and the Proteſtant ſubjects, but by a ceſſation.

On the firſt of Auguſt, the Lords Juſtices received an order from the King, to ſecure the perſons of SR. W. PARSONS, SR. J. TEMPLE, SR. AD. LOFTUS, and SR. R. MEREDITH, on an accuſation brought againſt them in England, by the Lords DILLON, and WILMOT, SR. FA. FORTESCUE, and BRIAN and D. O NEIL. Another order came alſo to iſſue out a commiſſion, empowering the Lord Chancellor, the Marquis of ORMONDE, the Earl of ROSCOMMON, and SR. MAU. EUSTACE, to examine into the articles of accuſation, and to make a report of them to the King. Beſides the buſineſs of JEROME, and of the Parliament commiſſioners already mentioned, it was charged upon them all in general, that they had abuſed his Majeſty's truſt in their ſeveral offices and employments; that they had endeavoured to draw the army from his obedience, and to ſide with the Engliſh Parliament, which they by all means countenanced and upheld againſt him; that they had taken and publiſhed ſcandalous examinations, with intent to aſperſe the King as authoriſing the rebellion; and had at ſeveral times uttered diſhonourable ſpeeches about him. Againſt PARSONS in particular it was objected, that he had often repeated the report, with an appearance of great pleaſure, that his Majeſty was killed at the battle of

Edge-hill: againſt Loftus, that he had defrauded the army of their pay by changing the coin: and againſt Temple, that he had written two ſcandalous letters to the Parliament commiſſioners, which had been made uſe of in England to aſperſe the King. It was urged further againſt them all, that they had committed a man to the caſtle, and impriſoned him ſeveral weeks, for ſaying only that the Earl of Essex was a traitor, and juſtifying his words by the King's proclamation. Other matter than was contained in this accuſation, or than hath yet appeared in this hiſtory, was to be found againſt them then at Dublin. The commiſſioners, who had been appointed to enquire into the grievances of the army, made a report againſt the cuſtodium of the mills of Kilmainham by Sr. J. Temple; who had made a prodigious gain by the toll of all the corn that was ground there for the forces, in and about Dublin, to the very great prejudice of that army. In ſeveral letters to England, intercepted at that time, both he and Parsons inveighed againſt the ceſſation, with many unbecoming reflections upon the Council, and falſe repreſentations of the ſtate of Ireland. Theſe might ſerve to prejudice the Engliſh, who knew no better, and to furniſh the Parliament with pretences to declare againſt an event which affected their private ſyſtem; and with this view no doubt they were all written. But whatever was the demerit of theſe men, when the examinations were ſent into England, taken by virtue of the commiſſion above mentioned, the King's learned Counſel in the law were of opinion, that though the proofs were very ſufficient to convict them of high miſdemeanors, yet not of capital crimes; and therefore an order was received to admit them to bail.

Whilſt theſe examinations were carrying on, the Juſtices received a warrant from the King, to iſſue out a commiſſion under the great ſeal of Ireland, in order to authorize the Marquis of Ormonde to treat and conclude a ceſſation of arms, for one year, upon ſuch articles as he ſhould judge neceſſary, or otherwiſe to break off ſuch treaty: and in caſe it were already concluded, to paſs letters patents for the confirmation of it, and for juſtifying and indemnifying the Marquis, and all other perſons attending and aſſiſting in it, from all manner of trouble, vexation, or damage on that account. In obedience to this order, notice was ſent to the Commiſſioners of the rebels, to meet the Marquis of ORMONDE, on the ſeventeenth of Auguſt, at Sigginſtown near Naas, to renew the treaty. But Lord GORMANSTON dying a few days before, Lord MUSKERY being in Munſter, and only three of the Commiſſioners remaining at Kilkenny, the meeting was deſired to be put off to the end of the month, that they might be all together. This was a very inconvenient delay, on account of the diſtreſs of the King's forces, particularly of thoſe under Lord INCHIQUIN; who preſſed the Marquis to haſten the meeting, "which he durſt undertake, would conduce to the preſervation of a part of the kingdom, if not the whole: ſo that if the Marquis did not know ſome reaſon of more weight than the loſs of the army in Munſter, and the province depending on it, he deſired his advice to be followed." Wherefore the Council ſent him authority, to conclude a particular ceſſation, till the general one could be ſettled; to which Lord MUSKERY, and the other rebel Officers there, agreed.

But new difficulties were now ariſen in the way of the treaty. Lord CASTLEHAVEN had taken ſeveral caſtles in the county of Carlow, and the Queen's county; PRESTON was advanced into Meath, and O NEIL into Weſt-meath; both employed in getting in the harveſt. Lord MOORE was ſent againſt the former, but could neither ſubſiſt his army, nor ſecure the harveſt for want of ammunition. The ſoldiers were in all places ready to mutiny; and ſo diſorderly through defect of pay, that the country people, who uſed to live under their protection, fled away for fear of being ill treated. The garriſons of Drogheda, Dundalk, and the neighbouring caſtles, were ready to be deſerted through want; O NEIL having carried away all the corn of the countries intended for their ſubſiſtence. The State had not ſtrength to oppoſe ſuch a numerous army, which could eaſily too be joined by PRESTON. They ſent into Ulſter to MONROE for his aſſiſtance; but he denied to march himſelf, or to ſend them any ſuccour. This obliged them to recal MONCK from Wicklow, with intent that he ſhould go with Lord MOORE to oppoſe O NEIL. In a vain attack againſt one of his parties, his Lordſhip was killed by a cannon ball; and the army the next day, for want of bread, returned to Dublin. During their abſence, PRESTON made incurſions within two miles of the city;, and Lord CASTLEHAVEN took the places which MONCK had quitted, and reduced all the caſtles between the Barrow and the Liffy.

Theſe advantages however, on the ſide of the rebels, were not the only difficulties which ſtood in the way of the ceſſation. About the middle of July, Father SCARAMP, a Miniſter from the Pope, arrived with large ſupplies of money, and ammunition, at Kilkenny. With theſe he brought letters from his Holineſs, to the Generals of the provinces, the Supreme Council, and the Prelates; and what was more valuable than theſe, a bull, in which he granted a general jubilee, and an abſolution to all, who were concerned in that inſurrection for religion, of all crimes, and ſins, how enormous or damnable ſoever. There are copies of all theſe letters, and of the Pope's Bull, in the Memoirs of RINUCCINI, his Holineſs's Nuncio afterwards in Ireland, mentioned in the Preface: but there is nothing curious or material enough in them to deſerve a place. They are ſuch as the reader may eaſily enough imagine from a Pope of Rome upon ſuch a ſubject: and the Bull is in the uſual form of all abſolutions of that nature.—Strange that men of ſenſe can ſuffer their underſtandings to be ſo far captivated, as to believe that it is in the power of any man, or of any number of men whatever, to turn guilt into innocence with a word, and to put the ſinner and the ſaint upon an equal level!—The coming of this Miniſter gave new life to the oppoſition of the clergy, and old Iriſh, to the ceſſation; of which he aſſured them the Court of Rome would not approve, without the free and ſplendid exerciſe of their religion, and the confinement of all places of truſt, and power, to the Catholicks. This party inſiſted ſtrongly on the great diſtreſſes of the Engliſh, the flouriſhing condition of their own affairs, their proſpect of greater ſucceſſes, and of the aſſiſtance of foreign princes which would be loſt by a ceſſation: They remonſtrated againſt giving the King any ſupply, that ſhould maintain an army which would be employed againſt them; and moved that the treaty might be deferred, at leaſt till the Pope had been conſulted, and given his direction in it. Theſe were the ſentiments of men bigotted to the catholic religion, or who had nothing to get, but a great deal to loſe, by a peace with the King. But the men of ſenſe and moderation, who ſaw the plain abſurdity of ſtanding out againſt the King, after ſo many proteſtations of loyalty, and that they could no longer ſubſiſt than whilſt his difference laſted with the Parliament, they conſidered that an accommodation was neceſſary, in order to wipe off the calumny raiſed againſt them, and that the ſupply would be compenſated by ſaving the country from the ravages of war: and by the joint endeavours of the Lords Clanricarde, Castlehaven, Muskery, Taafe, and other leading men, who had poſſeſſions and eſtates to loſe, and nothing to get, by the rebellion, they carried it to renew the treaty for a ceſſation, in hopes it would produce a peace. But on this occaſion the ancient animoſities were revived, between the old Engliſh, who were for maintaining the Engliſh government, and the native Iriſh, who joined with the Clergy in oppoſing any accommodation, but ſuch as would leave them maſters of the kingdom.

On the twenty-ſixth of Auguſt, the Commiſſioners met the Marquis of Ormonde, and the Council, and Officers whom he had aſſociated with him. His Lordſhip ſounded the Catholicks upon a temporary ceſſation during the treaty, to which they were not inclined: but more time being taken up in diſputes about quarters than they expected, they propoſed a particular ceſſation for the provinces of Leinſter, which was rejected; and that refuſal enabled them to extend their quarters in it very conſiderably, to the great annoyance of the Proteſtant ſubjects. The articles of ceſſation, and limitation of quarters, are too long, and immaterial, to be inſerted here: the ſupply they granted to the King was thirty thouſand pounds, to be paid half in money, aud half in beeves, in five ſeveral payments, before the end of May; and eight hundred pounds, within two months after the ceſſation, in lieu of corn due to ſome Engliſh garriſons. When all the articles were ſettled, the Marquis laid them before ſuch of the Council and General Officers as were with him: and they "conſidering the inſupportable wants and miſeries of the army, the great diſtreſs of many of his Majeſty's principal forts, the imminent danger of the whole kingdom, and the impoſſibility of proſecuting the war without ſuch large ſupplies of which they had no hope, did for thoſe reaſons conceive it neceſſary for his Majeſty's

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honour and ſervice, that the ceſſation ſhould be agreed to upon the articles then drawn up and perfected." This opinion being ſubſcribed by them, to the number of ſeventeen, the Marquis of Ormonde, on the fifteenth of September, ſigned the inſtrument of ceſſation with the Catholic Commiſſioners; which, being ratified by the Lords Juſtices and Council, was notified by a public proclamation in every part of the kingdom. A reſpite being thus given to all hoſtilities for a twelvemonth, it will be proper to relieve the reader by putting a period to this book.

THE HISTORY OF THE REBELLION and CIVIL-WAR IN IRELAND.

BOOK V.

WHETHER the ceſſation made with the rebels in Ireland for a year, was really neceſſary for the preſervation of his Majeſty's Proteſtant ſubjects and his intereſt in that kingdom, or whether it was made with no other view, than to enable the King to bring over that army to ſubdue the Parliament in England, is a queſtion, which, agitated as much as it was at that time, the reader, who hath no ſelf intereſt nor prejudice to corrupt his judgment, will from the preceding account be able to determine very clearly. Without this account, even the great clamour againſt it by the two oppoſite factions, who had each their particular intereſts with which it claſhed, ſhews the meaſure to have been a right

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COX.
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one. The Romiſh Clergy, the old Iriſh, and the neceſſitous Engliſh Papiſts there, who could get nothing but by the confuſions of the kingdom, theſe on one ſide were vehement againſt the ceſſation; as what broke the union of the confederates, divided them into parties, ſtopped the career of their ſucceſſes, and would cool the zeal of foreign powers in ſupporting what they had believed to be a war of religion. On the other ſide, thoſe who had entertained views of encreaſing, or raiſing a fortune, upon the ruin of others, and the Engliſh Parliament-party, whoſe intereſt it was to improve and continue this rebellion, in order to prevent the King's receiving any aid from Ireland, theſe exclaimed againſt the ceſſation, as what would lay a foundation for a peace with the rebels; "with whom it was beſt to be in perpetual defiance." Now if the conſequences thus urged on both ſides, or on either of them, were likely to follow from the ceſſation, I preſume to ſay that it was a ſtep from thence alone very defenſible. But neceſſity is a motive not to be reſiſted; and the Marquis of Ormonde had this unanſwerable plea.

That the King, who had another motive, which was that he might avail himſelf of the Iriſh army, was glad there was ſuch a plea to make, is very probable; becauſe he certainly did intend to make a peace with the Iriſh rebels, before any ſuch neceſſity took place; not however out of any favour, or to ſhew countenance to them—as ſome of his enemies ſuggeſted, and others believed—but to ſtrengthen himſelf againſt the Parliament with the Iriſh army. Neither do I mean that there was no neceſſity to be pleaded, at the latter end of April, when he ſent his firſt public order for a treaty of ceſſation. But in Carte's appendix, there is a private letter from the King, dated on the twelfth of January—before he knew that the armies were formed under O Neil, and Preston, and when very few of the caſtles and none of the towns were in their hands, except Kilkenny—in which his Majeſty gives the Marquis of Ormonde inſtructions, to treat of a peace with the Iriſh rebels. In another letter of the ſecond of February, he "earneſtly deſires his Lordſhip to ſend him word with all ſpeed the particulars of this buſineſs, as how, when, and in what meaſure it will be done; aſſuring him it ſhould not be hindered by the arrival of a more powerful head:" and in a letter of the eighth of February, he "commands him to ſlacken nothing in that buſineſs, whatſoever the Juſtices may ſay, or do; not that he doubts the Marquis's diligence in obeying his commands, but that he finds, towards the concluſion of his Lordſhip's letter, that the Juſtices intend to deſire ſome ſtop of the execution of that commiſſion, and he knows that he need not bid his Lordſhip hinder, as much as he might, the concurrence of his Majeſty's Proteſtant ſubjects in that deſire." From hence it is plain that the King, "though he was not ignorant how tender an argument the buſineſs of Ireland was, and how prepared men were to pervert what he did or ſaid in it," did not — as Lord Clarendon ſays he did — "proceed with that caution, that whatſoever was done in it ſhould be by the Council of that State, who were underſtood to be moſt ſkilful in thoſe affairs." But this tranſaction was a ſecret between the King and the Marquis of Ormonde; who appears to have had more regard to his Majeſty's honour in this whole buſineſs of Ireland, than from this time the King himſelf had.

The ceſſation being concluded, the Marquis's next buſineſs was to conſider of the number of forces that were neceſſary to be kept in Ireland, and the means of their ſubſiſtence, and then to tranſport the reſt of that army into England to aſſiſt the King. It was left entirely to his Lordſhip, whether to remain in his poſt at Dublin, or to go over as Commander of thoſe forces; neither his Majeſty, nor his Council, being able to determine which of thoſe meaſures were beſt: but his Lordſhip waving the choice, it was reſolved at laſt that he ſhould remain in Ireland. Several difficulties aroſe in the buſineſs of tranſporting the army, for want of veſſels to carry the men, and of money to ſupply the Officers that were to command them: the Iriſh, who were to have made the firſt payment of five thouſand pounds in the middle of October, not having paid two thouſand in the beginning of November, when ſome ſhips arrived from Briſtol to tranſport the army. But the Marquis employed his credit in procuring ſome money, that the embarkation might not be hindered. He was not only very careful in the choice of the Officers to be ſent over with this army, that they might be well affected to the King, but he framed a proteſtation to be taken by the whole army, before they went out of the harbour, of which he himſelf was an example; "that they would defend the religion eſtabliſhed in the

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Church of England, the King's perſon and prerogative againſt all the forces raiſed againſt him, and that they would not communicate any thing that ſhould prejudice his deſigns in the conduct of his army."

The ſoldiers were glad to leave a country where they had been in continual danger of ſtarving, and chearfully took the proteſtation: neither did any of the Officers refuſe it, but Crawford a Scotchman who pretended conſcience, and Colonel Monck; whoſe reaſons ſo far ſatisfied the Marquis, that he gave him a paſs to go into England, with a reſtriction of being detained, with all civility, for ſome time in cuſtody. The firſt embarkation was not much above two thouſand effective men: and it was the middle of November before they ſailed from the bay of Dublin. In the beginning of December, the Marquis ſent over fifteen hundred more; and at the end of that month, four troops of horſe, and nine hundred foot. It is not the buſineſs of this hiſtory to accompany theſe forces and recount their actions in England: and therefore I ſhall only ſay, that after ſome ſucceſſes, which gave them a mean opinion of the enemy, they were attacked in Cheſhire by Fairfax; where above twelve hundred common ſoldiers, and almoſt all their principal Officers, were taken priſoners, with the loſs of all the baggage, artillery, and ammunition of the army.

The Iriſh had pretended, in their remonſtrance at Trim, that they were ready to ſend ten thouſand men to be employed in defending the rights and prerogative of the King; and ſeveral Catholic Noblemen, and Gentlemen of that nation, then in England, undertook to bring over ſome Iriſh regiments for his ſervice. But none of theſe propoſitions took any effect; not from the King's unwillingneſs to employ the Iriſh Papiſts in his army, but from the unwillingneſs of the Supreme Council to ſend over ſmall parties under private perſons, which they thought would not be looked upon by the King as an obligation from the body of Catholicks; and they were determined to make their own advantages from his diſtreſſes. This was the real motive, notwithſtanding all their profeſſions of loyalty and allegeance, from whence ſprings all their double dealings, their tricks, and their obſtinacy, till his Majeſty's affairs were ruined, and their own party was involved in that deſtruction. I have ſaid that the King was not unwilling to employ Iriſh Papiſts in his army; becauſe ſeveral ſuch, as Officers and Volunteers eſpecially, were ſo employed; and becauſe the Marquis of ORMONDE, after the ceſſation, ſollicited the Supreme Council very ſtrongly, by his Majeſty's orders, not to protract their aſſiſtance. It is ſaid in excuſe for this, that the Parliament had a troop of Walloon horſe in their ſervice, who had their Romiſh Prieſts with them to ſay maſs wherever they marched; and therefore the King might certainly, with as little offence, employ a body of his own Catholic ſubjects. MR. Secretary NICHOLAS affirms, in a letter to Lord ORMONDE, in Auguſt, that this circumſtance of the "Walloon troop of Papiſts is a moſt certain truth;" which is all the authority that I can find for that improbable fact. It is true, however, that ſeveral of the rebel Iriſh Papiſts were liſted by the Scots, and ſent with their army into England for the ſervice of the Parliament; as we ſhall preſently ſee.

Lord INCHIQUIN had not ſo many difficulties to encounter in the province of Munſter, as the Marquis of ORMONDE had, in tranſporting the forces under him into England; on account of the number of ſea ports, and trading towns, with which his province abounded, and the ſea there being open. The want of proviſions however, and money to ſupply his Officers, was full as great; and though he ſent two regiments in the middle of October, it was near Chriſtmas before he could ſend over the three regiments more, that were to be ſpared from the Munſter army. Very little advantage accrued to the King from any of the forces brought from Ireland: and conſidering the ſuſpicions which he lay under with moſt of the people, about favouring the Iriſh Papiſts, it is certain that the weakening of the army there, notwithſtanding a ceſſation, which it was thought they would not obſerve, did him a great diſſervice.

It is very certain alſo that the ceſſation was not obſerved, on either ſide, as it ought to have been. The Scots in Ulſter, who acknowledged no other authority over their army than their General's, refuſed to obey it till they knew his pleaſure; and would admit it no further than as they thought it beneficial to the views of the Engliſh Parliament. On the other hand, the Iriſh Catholicks neglected to make their payments for ſupport of the

King's army, according to their agreement; and committed divers acts of hoſtility, upon the cattle and houſes of ſome of the Proteſtants. Great ſums of money were alſo extorted from them, for licence to paſs through the Iriſh quarters; and what was worſt of all, they publiſhed a prohibition to all their party not to ſell proviſions to the Engliſh for their money. Many of the garriſons were obliged to be abandoned by this contrivance; the county Councils in Conaght having iſſued out warrants, with intent to ſeize the goods and eſtates of ſuch Catholicks, as ſhould buy, or ſell, or uſe any traffick with the Engliſh. Lord INCHIQUIN ſent a remonſtrance to the Juſtices, charging the confederates with a breach of the ceſſation in Munſter, in no leſs than eleven articles: "which had begotten ſo many complaints from the poor Engliſh, and ſuch vexation of ſpirit, as made them weary of their lives, and him of the ſad and perplexed condition to which theſe affronts and difficulties had reduced him."

M. S. The reader hath been informed in the third book, that two commiſſions under the great ſeal were iſſued out by the Juſtices, to the Dean of Kilmore, and ſeven other clergymen; one within two months after the breaking out of the rebellion, and the other in the January following: the firſt of theſe was to enquire into all the robberies that had been committed, with the particulars of the value, time, and place, and of all traiterous and diſloyal ſpeeches: the other to enquire what lands had been ſeized, and what murders committed by the rebels, what numbers of Britiſh people had periſhed in their flight from them, and how many had turned Papiſts ſince the twenty-ſecond of October. In the June following, another commiſſion — not mentioned by any hiſtorian —— paſſed the great ſeal, in the ſame words with the laſt, and directed to the ſame perſons except one: the reaſon of which I take to be, that one of the commiſſioners was then dead, and another named in his room. A copy of this commiſſion is at the head of the manuſcript in my poſſeſſion, already mentioned; a duplicate of which book is among the Harleian manuſcripts in the Muſeum. It hath alſo been taken notice of, that the examinations, by virtue of theſe commiſſions, are in two and thirty large volumes in folio depoſited in the College library at Dublin; beſides one which contains the examinations that were taken by Archdeacon BYSS for the province of Munſter; and which

Borlase—among his other falſhoods—ſays, was ſmothered with great artifice. In theſe books, beſides the original examinations ſigned by the Commiſſioners, there are ſeveral copies of others, ſaid to be taken before them, which are therefore of no authority; and there are many taken ten years after, before Juſtices of peace appointed by the Commiſſioners of the Engliſh Parliament. As a great ſtreſs hath been laid upon this collection, in print, and converſation, among the Proteſtants of that kingdom, and the whole evidence of the maſſacre turns upon it, I took a great deal of pains, and ſpent a great deal of time, in examining theſe books: and I am ſorry to ſay, that they have been made the foundation of much more clamour and reſentment, than can be warranted by truth and reaſon.

M. S. There is one circumſtance in theſe books—not taken notice of as I perceived by any body before me—that though all the examinations ſigned by the Commiſſioners are ſaid to be upon oath, yet in infinitely the greateſt number of them, the words "being duly sworn" have the pen drawn through them, with the ſame ink with which the examinations are written; and in ſeveral of thoſe where ſuch words remain, many parts of the examinations are croſſed out. This is a circumſtance which ſhews, that the bulk of this immenſe collection is parole evidence, and upon report of common fame: and what ſort of evidence that is, may be eaſily learnt by thoſe who are converſant with the common people of any country; eſpecially when their imaginations are terrified with cruelties, and their paſſions heated by ſufferings. Of what credit are even depoſitions worthy—and ſeveral ſuch there are—that many of the Proteſtants that were drowned, were often ſeen in erect poſtures in the river, and ſhrieking out "Revenge," to the terror of the whole country, even of the murderers themſelves? But what will put the matter out of all doubt with impartial people, that no other examinations in theſe volumes are to be depended on, than what are ſworn, is that no other are to be found in the manuſcript collection in my poſſeſſion, and its duplicate in the Muſeum; ſigned with the ſame ſignatures of the Commiſſioners, which I ſaw ſo often repeated in thoſe two and thirty volumes, and which is therefore as much an original as that collection. The commiſſion was finiſhed in July this year; but there was one examination added in October; and on the eighth of November they atteſted,

teſted, "that they have examined and compared the above extracts with the original examinations with which they find them to agree." Here then it is only that we can expect the moſt authentic account of the Iriſh Maſſacre; and I conceive the reaſon for making a duplicate of this collection, was to ſend one copy to the King and Council, and the other to the Engliſh Parliament.

Having thus eſtabliſhed the authority from which I write of this tragical event, I muſt now endeavour to aſcertain from it, as near as may be, the number of Britiſh and Proteſtants that were deſtroyed, OUT OF WAR, by the Iriſh in this rebellion. Though it is impoſſible, even from this authentic evidence of the murders, to come at any certainty and exactneſs as to their number, from the uncertainty itſelf of ſome of the accounts that are given in, yet it is eaſy enough from hence to demonſtrate, the falſhood of the relation of every Proteſtant hiſtorian of this rebellion. Indeed to any one who conſiders how thinly Ireland was at that time peopled by Proteſtants, and the province of Ulſter particularly, where was the chief ſcene of the Maſſacre, thoſe relations, upon the face of them, appear incredible. It is very obſervable that Lord CLARENDON, when he mentions this Maſſacre in his hiſtory of the rebellion in England, ſays "that there were forty or fifty thouſand of the Engliſh Proteſtants murdered, before they ſuſpected themſelves to be in any danger, or could provide for their defence." But in his vindication of the Marquis of ORMONDE, written at Cologne, if not under the inſpection, yet with the help of memoirs given him by the Marquis, he wiſely avoids naming any number; and ſays "that in the ſpace of leſs than ten days, the Iriſh murdered an incredible number of Proteſtants, without diſtinction of age, or ſex; and that many thouſands periſhed by cold, and hunger." Had no writer gone beyond this laſt account, which may be called the Marquis of ORMONDE's—the beſt judge in the world of that event—I preſume it would never have occaſioned any diſpute. But when this number hath been extended by ſome to "above an hundred and fifty thouſand," by others to two, and even to "three hundred thouſand," at a time when there were not ſo many more Britiſh in the whole kingdom, it made the relation impoſſible to be credited by men of ſenſe. Lord CASTLEHAVEN hath aſſured us, that SR. J. TEMPLE mentioned hundreds,

dreds, as then murdered, that lived many years after; nay, ſome were even alive when he wrote his memoirs: and his Lordſhip obſerves further, that not a tenth part of the Britiſh natives reported to have been thus murdered, lived then in that kingdom out of cities and walled towns, in which no ſuch maſſacre was committed. Father Walsh, who is allowed to have been "honeſt and loyal," hath affirmed that after a regular and exact enquiry, he computed the number might be about eight thouſand.

M. S. But ſetting aſide all opinions and calculations in this affair — which, beſides their uncertainty, are without any preciſion as to the ſpace of time in which the murders were committed — the evidence from the depoſitions in the manuſcript above-mentioned ſtands thus. The number of people killed, upon poſitive evidence collected in two years after the inſurrection broke out, adding them all together, amounts only to two thouſand one hundred and nine; on the report of other Proteſtants, one thouſand ſix hundred and nineteen more; and on the report of ſome of the rebels themſelves, a further number of three hundred; the whole making FOUR THOUSAND and TWENTY-EIGHT. Beſides theſe Murders, there is in the ſame collection, evidence, on the report of others, of EIGHT THOUSARD killed by ill uſage: and if we ſhould allow that the cruelties of the Iriſh, out of war, extended to theſe numbers — which, conſidering the nature of ſeveral of the depoſitions, I think in my conſcience we cannot — yet to be impartial we muſt allow, that there is no pretence for laying a greater number to their charge. This account is alſo corroborated by a letter, which I copied out of the Council books at Dublin, written on the fifth of May ſixteen hundred and fifty-two — ten years after the beginning of the rebellion —— from the Parliament-commiſſioners in Ireland, to the Engliſh Parliament. After exciting them to further ſeverity againſt the Iriſh, as being afraid "their behaviour towards this people may never ſufficiently avenge their murders and maſſacres, and leſt the Parliament might ſhortly be in purſuance of a ſpeedy ſettlement of this nation, and thereby ſome tender conceſſions might be concluded," the Commiſſioners tell them that it appears, "beſides eight hundred forty-eight families, there were killed, hanged, burned, and drowned, SIX THOUSAND and SIXTY-TWO.

Charles I.
A. 1643.

The number given in theſe accounts—ſmall as it is, compared with what hath been given by other Proteſtant writers—yet is ſurely great enough to give a horrible idea of the fierce and ſavage cruelty which was at that time exerciſed by the Iriſh. But in abatement of theſe examinations it muſt be obſerved, beſides what I have already hinted appears upon the face of them, that ſoon after the reſtoration, when the claims in favour of innocents were canvaſſed, and the Houſe of Commons deſired that none of thoſe whoſe names could be found in that collection might be heard relating to ſuch claims, the Duke of Ormonde, then Lord Lieutenant and no friend to the Iriſh for good reaſons, rejected the propoſal. His Grace, it is probable, knew too much of thoſe examinations, or the methods uſed in procuring them, to give them ſuch a ſtamp of authority; or otherwiſe, it would have been the cleareſt and ſhorteſt proof of the guilt of ſuch as were named in them. The truth is, the ſoldiers and common people were very ſavage on both ſides: and one would hope for the ſake of humanity, that the enemies of each ſide have greatly aggravated the others cruelty. I have however been of opinion, ſince my knowledge of this part of Iriſh hiſtory, that theſe extravagant reports have been owing alſo to the friends of each ſide; who have been bigotted enough to think, that they did God ſervice in ſuch barbarities, and have therefore aſſumed a merit to their party beyond the meaſures of truth.

Hence it was, no doubt, that the Prieſts made a report, when Dr. Maxwell was priſoner amongſt them—as he ſaid in his depoſition—that the perſons ſlaughtered in the firſt ſix months, amounted to one Hundred Fifty four Thouſand: and to this wicked zeal, and not to the reality of the fact, I hope, is to be attributed, Dr. Borlase's account of the ſervices performed by Sr. W. Cole's regiment in the firſt year of the rebellion, and almoſt all in the province of Ulſter. He ſays, that beſides two thouſand four hundred and ſeventeen rebels killed in ſeveral engagements, there were "ſtarved and famiſhed of the vulgar ſort, whoſe goods were ſeized on by this regiment, SEVEN THOUSAND." If this is true, the Iriſh, though the firſt aggreſſors, have but too much reaſon to recriminate: and both ſides will do well to guard againſt or to extinguiſh thoſe unchriſtian animoſities, which led the way to every ſpecies of barbarity, and ended in deſolation, peſtilence,

lence, and famine. Whether the account which I have given above of this great event in the Iriſh hiſtory, will ſatisfy the reader of either party, I don't know: but I have taken great care and pains in the enquiry, and I write, not to pleaſe, but to inform; not to irritate parties, but to unite them in the exerciſe of civil ſocial duties.

About the time when this collection of the Iriſh cruelties was atteſted by the Commiſſioners, the Lords Juſtices and Council received a reprimand from the Engliſh Parliament, for declaring in the preamble of an act of ſtate, "that their preſent difficulties were occaſioned through the failure of the Houſes of Parliament in England, who undertook the charge of this war." After threatning the Miniſtry there for executing the King's orders, the Speakers conclude their letter with telling them, "that they are forbidden to inform them what ſupplies of money, victuals, ammunition, and other neceſſaries, are in good forwardneſs to be ſent over, and by whoſe inceſſant care, leſt they ſhould ſeem to anſwer that ſcandal by excuſe, which deſerves an high reſentment." To this letter, the Juſtices and fourteen Privy-Councillors returned an anſwer; in which they recapitulated the ſeveral applications made from that board to the Engliſh Parliament for relief, and the ſupplies that had been ſent them; by which the truth of their declaration in the preamble was manifeſted in ſo ſtrong a light, that neither of the Houſes thought fit to expoſe themſelves by offering at any reply. They knew indeed that it was too true; and they muſt alſo know, that there was a neceſſity—not a feigned, but eminent, real, and extreme neceſſity, ſaid SR. P. PERCIVAL—for the ceſſation; but yet they thought it for their intereſt to clamour againſt it in a declaration, and to proteſt againſt all peace with the rebels upon any terms; a meaſure which muſt have entailed perpetual war upon that kingdom till it was in a manner depopulated: for the Proteſtants then, by PETTY's calculation, were to the Papiſts as two only to eleven. But it was neceſſary to impoſe on the people of England, with a ſhew of zeal for the Proteſtant religion; and they found their account in it very effectually.

It was no leſs neceſſary for the King to undeceive the people, by publiſhing the motives which induced him to agree to this ceſſation: but Lord

A. 1643. **Clarendon** hath told us upon this occaſion, "that it was one of the inſtances of the ſtrange and fatal miſunderſtanding which poſſeſſed this time, that the calumnies and ſlanders raiſed to his Majeſty's diſſervice and diſhonour about Ireland, made a more than ordinary impreſſion on the minds of men; and not only of vulgar ſpirited people, but of thoſe who reſiſted all other infuſions and infections." The Engliſh hiſtorians to this day—**Rapin** eſpecially—have repreſented the complaints of the Council and of the officers of the army in Ireland, as a contrivance of the King's, who had a mind to make uſe of them for a pretence to this ceſſation. But the falſehood of this aſſertion muſt have appeared from what hath been related already, upon the unexceptionable evidence of ſuch of the Council in Ireland, as were ill enough affected to the King. It is very certain that the ceſſation was a meaſure to be fully juſtified; though when his Majeſty firſt ſent orders for ſuch a treaty, the neceſſity for it was not ſo preſſing; and his directing the troops that could be ſpared in Ireland, to be ſent for his aſſiſtance againſt the Parliament, induced thoſe who were ignorant of the ſtate of Ireland, to conclude he had no other motive for ordering this truce. The King thought it neceſſary at this time to put the Government of Ireland entirely into the hands of the Marquis of **Ormonde**, by making him Lord Lieutenant; as the only way to contain the Iriſh in their obedience, and to keep the ceſſation from being violated. Nothing more having paſſed in England relating to this unhappy country before the end of the year, we muſt now return thither again, and begin the next year with the Marquis of **Ormonde**'s taking the ſword.

A. 1644. Had the commiſſion, and the powers, which that Lord now received, been ſent to him at the execution of the Earl of **Strafford**, the miſeries of his country by this rebellion would have been prevented. But that time was over: the rebellion was now at its height; the Scots were maſters of Ulſter, and the rebels of the greateſt part of the other provinces; the one refuſing to obey the orders of the Government, and the other having formed a government of their own in oppoſition to it. "In ſuch a confluence of difficulties"—as he expreſſed it—"which muſt apparently be ſtrived with in that ſervice," a man of leſs loyalty than the Marquis of **Ormonde** would never have undertaken it; a man of leſs integrity and abilities could

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not have conducted it. The Earl of Leicester having been prevailed with to reſign, on receiving a warrant for all his arrears, the Marquis was ſworn Lord Lieutenant on the twenty firſt of January. There were four things recommended principally to his care by the King and Council in England: the firſt, was to prevent any hoſtility during the ceſſation; the ſecond, to prevent the Scots from drawing their army out of Ireland, that they might not be in a condition to invade England; the third, was to perſuade the Iriſh Catholicks to ſend ſome forces into England, or Scotland, as ſhould be moſt for the King's ſervice; and the laſt, to procure all the arms, and ammunition, that he poſſibly could from the Iriſh, out of which he was to furniſh his Majeſty forts and garriſons there.

The firſt of theſe inſtructions was certainly very right, for the ſafety of the Proteſtants, and to prevent any ſcandal to the King from this ceſſation. But the keeping of the Scots in Ireland had not only an appearance of preſent danger to that kingdom, but ſeemed not very conſiſtent with the third inſtruction, of ſending ſome Iriſh forces into England, or Scotland. But there was a great difficulty in the way of this, and of the laſt inſtruction about arms and ammunition, which was the want of money. Nor was this all. For the Supreme Council ſeem to have laid it down as a rule, to make advantage of the King's neceſſities, and to permit nothing to be done by the Iriſh for his ſervice, but by the joint act of their whole body, upon the grant of ſuch conditions as they ſhould think fit to inſiſt on. Hence when Prince Rupert, who commanded the King's forces in Cheſhire, deſired them at this time to ſupply him with five thouſand arms, three hundred barrels of powder, and a due proportion of match, for which he promiſed ready payment, they excuſed themſelves from complying with his requeſt, under a pretence that they had not enough to ſpare, beſides what they had engaged to the Earl of Antrim. The ſame anſwer was then alſo given to Lord Ormonde; who offered to accept of arms, and ammunition, in lieu of their value in the money which was to be paid upon the ceſſation: and to this blind zeal, after ſo many profeſſions of loyalty, their own ſubſequent ruin muſt be attributed. This, in ſhort, was the original fountain, from whence flowed all thoſe waters of bitterneſs, of which ſo many thouſands of unhappy people taſted.

Having

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Having mentioned their engagement to the Earl of Antrim, I muſt now explain to the reader what it meant. It is no wonder that a man ſo immoderately vain and ambitious, and withal ſo weak, as the Earl of Antrim, ſhould form projects of dignity above his merit, and of power beyond his abilities. He was originally of the clan of Macdonnel in the highlands of Scotland, that were well affected to the King, and with whom he had always kept a correſpondence; and being a very bigotted Papiſt, he did not doubt but the Iriſh Catholicks would make him Generaliſſimo of their army. He had been confined by Monroe eight months; but making his eſcape, and going away to the King, he propoſed taking over three thouſand Iriſh, and with theſe, and his clan in the highlands, to make a diverſion in Scotland, in order to prevent their aſſiſting the Parliament in England. He went further: he propoſed, by the influence that he pretended he had over the Iriſh, to bring ten thouſand of them into England, with an intent to aſſiſt the King againſt the Parliament. Weak as this man was, and wild and improbable as were his projects, he made ſuch an impreſſion upon the Queen, who had the talent of making herſelf believe every thing that ſhe wiſhed, and whoſe power over the King was abſolute, that for theſe intended ſervices he was made a Marquis; and an order was ſent to the Lord Lieutenant, to furniſh him with all poſſible credit, for arms, ammunition, and proviſion, either by mortgaging the cuſtoms, or any other way that the kingdom of Ireland could afford. It was not at all to the King's honour to confer that dignity upon ſuch a bigotted Papiſt, and to direct ſuch ways of ſupplying a Popiſh army under him, that were to invade his ſubjects in Scotland, as he had never made uſe of to relieve his Proteſtant army, when they were ready to periſh. But the Queen was now at Court; a woman of a very intriguing temper, zealous for her religion, and whoſe counſels in favour of it were too much ſubmitted to: and as to the judgment that might be made of ſuch a ſtep by the Engliſh Parliament, Lord Digby told the Marquis of Ormonde in one of his letters, they were paſt thoſe ſcruples, and muſt not be diverted by them from what might conduce to his Majeſty's ſervice.

With Lord Antrim was ſent over Dan. O Neil, a great friend of Lord Digby's, in order to keep Lord Antrim, upon whom he had an influence,

fluence, ſteady in his reſolution, and to prevent his falling into thoſe imprudent meaſures which might be expected from him. For notwithſtanding the credit, and power, which the King had given him, his projects were ſo ridiculous, and he was ſo unfit an inſtrument to be employed, in the wiſeſt, that Lord DIGBY told Lord ORMONDE, when he firſt mentioned the Marquis of ANTRIM's commiſſion, "that he went upon two grounds very contrary to his Majeſty's ſervice, which the Lord Lieutenant muſt either perſuade him from, or prevent him in." Could any thing but an infatuation in the councils of the King, permit ſuch a truſt to be put into ſuch hands? But what ſhews the favour that this man was in at Court, is Lord DIGBY's addition to the direction juſt mentioned, that Lord ORMONDE muſt manage ſo, "as to avoid diſobliging my Lord of ANTRIM;" and the Queen herſelf wrote a letter to the Lord Lieutenant, to pray him to favour Lord ANTRIM in every thing that was in his power, being a perſon ſhe very much eſteemed, and as what would extremely oblige her. For amidſt his boaſts of the great intereſt he had among the Iriſh Papiſts, he owned that he could not anſwer for the Supreme Council, without the aſſiſtance of Lord ORMONDE, but with that he could do every thing.

There is nothing more certain in this hiſtory, than that the Queen and her Popiſh counſellors had too much aſcendency in the Court at Oxford. The Queen, in a drawing-room, was one of the livelieſt women of the age; and the vivacity of her imagination, which ſurpriſed every body, made a great impreſſion on the King. But though her temper led her to be always medling in his counſels, yet ſhe had no ſolid judgment; nor was ſo ſecret, as ſuch times, and ſuch affairs required. The Marquis of ORMONDE complained often that his own diſpatches thither were known to the Iriſh, as well as the directions that were ſent to him from thence: And though he had expreſly deſired that no countenance might be given there, to any who might pretend to be powerful with the Iriſh, and promiſe to work them to great matters for the King, the conſequence of which he plainly ſhewed, yet the reader hath ſeen the contrary advice followed with reſpect to Lord ANTRIM; and Lord DIGBY writes to him in anſwer to that advice, "that if his reaſon had been as prevalent with others, as it was peremptory with him in the point, there had no ſuch thing been done at all." Notwithſtanding this negotiation in the Court at Oxford, of which the reader hath had but a ſmall part, Mr. Hume hath paſſed it over entirely, and talks only "of Montross's ſtipulating with Antrim for ſome ſupply of men from Ireland."

As ſoon as Antrim arrived thither he repaired to the Supreme Council at Kilkenny; to whom he made his propoſals for ſending ten thouſand men into England, the arms and ammunition for Prince Rupert, and three thouſand men to be employed in Scotland. The Supreme Council took five day's time to conſider of them; and then the firſt was abſolutely rejected; the ſecond was put on ſuch conditions as could not be complied with without ſtarving the King's forces in Ulſter; and with reſpect to the laſt, they agreed, if Lord Antrim would raiſe the men, to aſſiſt him with a certain portion of arms, ammunition, and oatmeal; provided that a ſafe and convenient port in Ulſter, to be commanded by Colonel Bagnal, was aſſigned for receiving them. The Lord Lieutenant had a juſt objection to this reſtriction; and therefore when it was made known to him, his anſwer was, that when he had advice that this aſſiſtance of men was ready, there ſhould not want a convenient place to receive and ſecure them to their ſatisfaction. The Marquis of Antrim being reſolved to carry his point, ſo, that he might ingratiate himſelf with the Iriſh, he took the oath of aſſociation, and was ſworn one of their Council: and tho' he had a commiſſion from the King to raiſe men for the ſervice he had undertaken, yet he took another from the Supreme Council, to be Lieutenant General of all their ſorces in the kingdom; profeſſing when he received it, that he would never make uſe of any other commiſſion, nor tranſport men abroad without their conſent. This was the loyal ſubject whom the King had juſt made a Marquis, who pretended he could govern the Iriſh Catholicks, and who had really ſuch an influence with the Queen and her Popiſh council, as was very prejudicial to the King's affairs. But we muſt leave his Lordſhip for the preſent in the execution of his project, and turn to ſee what was doing in conſequence of the ceſſation.

One of the firſt things the Marquis of Ormonde did, after he was made Lord Lieutenant, was to provide for the peace of the kingdom, and to pre-

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vent the Iriſh, as well as he could, from renewing the war. There were ſome diſputes about the extent of the quarters, and ſome depredations committed on both ſides, through the habit of rapine which the Engliſh ſoldiers for want of pay, and the Iriſh through common practice, had contracted: but theſe at laſt were ſettled by commiſſioners, and in general all was quiet, except in the county of Roſcommon, and ſome parts of Ulſter. Orders had been ſent to Monroe to break the ceſſation; and he publickly declared his reſolution of carrying on the war againſt the Iriſh. For the Engliſh Parliament having taken the Covenant—ſo well known in all our hiſtories—they diſpatched O Conolly with letters to all the Britiſh Colonels in Ulſter, deſiring them to take the Covenant, and carry on the war; and aſſuring them of ſufficient ſupplies for their maintenance on thoſe conditions. Letters of the ſame import were at the ſame time ſent by an agent from the London adventurers; and theſe were very welcome to the Scotch officers, who had lived much at their eaſe, being employed about little elſe than taking preys of cattle, and who did not care to leave the country. But the Engliſh regiments in that province were in a very diſtreſsful ſituation: they had received no pay from the beginning of the war, their commanders had exhauſted their own fortunes in maintaining their men, and by the ceſſation they were become leſs able to ſupport them. Both officers and ſoldiers were generally well affected to the King; and they had no hopes of ſupplies, unleſs they joined the Scots, and obeyed the orders of the Engliſh Parliament. The Marquis of Ormonde had ſent directions to all the officers in thoſe parts, under his command, not to take the covenant; ſhewing the iniquity of the oath, and adviſing them, if they could not oppoſe Monroe's power, to follow his example and deſire time to receive directions. At the ſame time an order was ſent to Monroe, not to ſuffer the covenant to be taken by any officers or ſoldiers under his command; and leſt this ſhould not be ſufficient, it was followed by a proclamation forbidding all perſons to take or tender it, as it was contrary to the municipal laws of the kingdom, deſtructive of the church eſtabliſhed, inconſiſtent with liberty, and a ſeditious combination againſt the King.

But all this reaſoning and authority was too weak, to oppoſe the paſſion with which the covenant was received, by the new Scotch officers, and inhabitants of the North of Ireland. The Colonels of the regiments, under the command of Lord Ormonde, were all averſe to it; but durſt not publiſh the proclamation againſt it, for fear of irritating Monroe, who had not offered to preſs it upon them. At a general meeting at Belfaſt, they agreed to remain in their allegeance to the King, to obey the orders of the Marquis, and not to accept the covenant. But in the beginning of February, orders came from Scotland to recall their army, which was wanted at home to replace or reinforce that which was ſent into England. But they were ſo unwilling to go, and were ſo long in getting ready, that the Chancellor of Scotland wrote to Monroe to ſtay the army till further orders; giving him hopes, that the clothes, proviſion, and money that had been promiſed, ſhould be with them ſoon. The General gave directions accordingly to his officers, to ſettle every thing in its former order: but ſome of them who were embarked, and were provoked at the delay of their ſupplies, ſailed away. With the firſt orders ſome men were ſent over, to liſt all they could, for the reinforcement of their army: upon which, many of the country people, who were Scots by original, and covenanters by principle, many of the Engliſh regiments in hopes of better pay and maintenance, and even abundance of the Ulſter rebels, who had embrued their hands the deepeſt in the Proteſtant blood, were taken into their ſervice, and ſent into England to fight under the Parliament.

To remove the jealouſies and fears of the Proteſtant country people, who apprehended that as ſoon as the Scotch army was ſent away, they ſhould be left without defence againſt the Iriſh, and an oath contrary to the covenant would be impoſed, another meeting of the Colonels, and chief officers, of the old Scotch and Engliſh regiments, was appointed at Newtown; to which deputies were to be ſent out of each pariſh. At this meeting they were aſſured, that an application ſhould be made to the Engliſh Parliament, and the Adventurers, for continuing the army there; that their men ſhould be diſciplined, and furniſhed with arms and ammunition for their defence; that all the forts in their ſeveral quarters ſhould be ſecured, and new ones raiſed on the frontiers, if they would furniſh men and tools; ſo that they had no cauſe to fear that any oath would be preſſed upon them againſt their conſcience. With theſe aſſurances the minds of the country people were quieted; and the ſoldiers were prevailed upon to promiſe,

miſe, that they would remain in the ſervice as long as they could be ſubſiſted, tho' it was very ſorrily. In this ſituation things continued in Ulſter, to the beginning of April; till which time we ſhall leave it, in order to look into affairs in other parts.

There were evidently at this time three Parties in Ireland, and the difficulties upon the Lord Lieutenant were much increaſed. Beſides the Papiſts that were abundantly moſt numerous, and the Proteſtants who were for the King, there was now a third Party formed, who took the covenant, and openly ſided with the Parliament. The whole ſtrength of the Proteſtants—ſtrictly united, as they were at firſt—was not ſufficient to reſiſt the Papiſts; and therefore if the former had been governed by a due ſenſe of religion, or of their own intereſt, they would not have given ſuch an advantage to the enemy as to divide, and to obſtruct the meaſures of thoſe who were labouring for their defence. The public quiet in and about Dublin being pretty well eſtabliſhed by the ceſſation, the Lord Lieutenant reduced the Leinſter army, at that time much diſtreſſed through want of pay, and other neceſſaries, to two thouſand foot, and one hundred and fifty horſe: and in order to ſubſiſt theſe, he raiſed money as before by an exciſe, by a tax upon the town, and by three pence an acre on the land inhabited within the Pale. Having thus raiſed a ſum weekly for the ſupport of the army, and ſome other exigences, they were kept to proper muſters and diſcipline, and all robberies and murders by the ſoldiers, of ſuch as brought proviſions to the markets, ſtrictly prohibited under the ſevereſt penalties of martial law. The two Houſes of the Iriſh Parliament met in the beginning of April; but little more was done by them, that I can find, beſides iſſuing out a declaration againſt the covenant, and directing a joint letter to be ſent by the two Speakers to the ſeveral officers and commanders of the army, enjoining them to render a due obedience to the proclamation which had been publiſhed.

Whilſt theſe things paſſed in Ireland, a treaty was carrying on in the Court at Oxford, for ſettling all the differences, and for reſtoring the peace of that unhappy kingdom. By the articles of the ceſſation, the Catholicks were allowed to ſend agents to his Majeſty to repreſent their grievances;

and the King had directed his Iriſh Miniſters, to provide ſome able perſons, on whoſe knowledge in their affairs he could depend, to aſſiſt in the treaty. Borlase ſays, and ſo does Lord Clarendon, that ſeveral others were authoriſed by the Iriſh Parliament, then ſitting, to repair to the King with the complaints of his Proteſtant ſubjects, and to prevent any thing from being granted in the treaty to their prejudice. The Commons might give them ſome authority perhaps, though no ſuch thing appears; but they were nominated, long before the Parliament met, in a petition to the King for his leave to ſend them, ſigned by the Earl of Kildare, the Lords Montgomery, and Blaney, and many others: and when they underſtood that a committee of the Council were to go over, they were entirely ſatisfied. But ſome of the republican party in and about Dublin, enemies to any peace, taking advantage of the licence that had been given to ſend over ſome Proteſtant agents, ſent two of thoſe that had been named in the petition, and added two others whom they knew to be attached to the Engliſh Parliament, Sr. C. Coote and Captain Parsons.

That there was a party in the King's Court, in the intereſt of the Catholicks, though againſt the intereſt of his Majeſty—and which I call the Queen's party—is evident from many circumſtances; but particularly from a paſſage in a private letter of Sr. G. Radcliffe's to the Lord Lieutenant, a little before the ſeveral agents went from Ireland. The paſſage is this: "I muſt tell you the advice of a very good friend, Mr. Secretary Nicholas, that dares not write ſo himſelf. You will have many things recommended from the King, and others: do not juſt the contrary, but forbear a little till you have returned a civil anſwer, and then do what you will; but let no letters put you from your own way." The honeſt Secretary, it is plain, ſaw that the King was overruled, to direct meaſures which it would become a Miniſter of the Marquis of Ormonde's integrity to diſobey: and if the Queen and her party could have condeſcended to uſe moderation, the King was ſo much under her influence, and the aſſiſtance of the Iriſh was ſo neceſſary to him in his war with the Parliament, that their counſel in all probability, would have been fatal to the Proteſtants in Ireland. But the Catholicks, one would think, were under an infatuation from the beginning to the end of this whole buſineſs.

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On the twenty-eighth of March, the Iriſh agents at Oxford preſented their propoſitions; which were ſo very extravagant, that it was thought ſcandalous to treat about them, and that the beſt way would be to break off the treaty at once without entering into particulars. Wherefore, to prevent that conſequence, the agents agreed to ſuppreſs them, and on the ſecond of April, preſented others; which they thought ſo moderate, "as that they did not know how the nation could ſubſiſt in the condition of free ſubjects, if their deſires were not gratified." Theſe very moderate demands, were the freedom of their religion, and the repeal of the penal laws againſt Papiſts; the calling a free Parliament, and the ſuſpenſion of POYNING's act whilſt they were ſitting; the annulling all acts and ordinances of the Iriſh Parliament, ſince the beginning of the rebellion; the vacating of all indictments, attainders, outlawries, and grants, in prejudice of the Iriſh Catholicks, and a general act of oblivion extended to all perſons and goods; an act of limitation for ſecurity of eſtates; an Inn of Court erected, and the Schools and Univerſity to be free; that places of power, truſt, and profit, be equally and indifferently conferred on Roman Catholic natives; that no perſon, not eſtated, nor reſident, be allowed to vote in either Houſe of Parliament; that an act be paſſed, declaring the independency of the kingdom and Parliament upon thoſe of England: that the juriſdiction of the Council-board be limitted to matters of State; that no Governor ſhould continue above three years, and during his government ſhould be diſabled from purchaſing lands, except from the King: and to manifeſt their deſire that the inhuman cruelties which had been committed might be puniſhed, and the offenders brought to juſtice, they propoſed that all notorious murders, breaches of quarter, and barbarities on either ſide, might be queſtioned in the next Parliament, and ſuch as ſhould appear to be guilty excepted out of the act of oblivion, and puniſhed according to their deſerts.

Theſe, with two or three immaterial things, were the propoſitions of the Iriſh Catholicks to the King; which the reader ſees were little ſhort of a total alteration of the government in church and ſtate. Theſe propoſitions were given by his Majeſty to the Committee ſent by the diſaffected Proteſtants: who gave in an anſwer to them ſeverally to the King and Council, as they were required. When this was red, his Majeſty aſked whether they had anſwered them, " as they were to be granted by him in law and juſtice, and fit for the ſecurity of the Proteſtants of Ireland, " or prudentially as the times were?" To which the Committee replied, that they looked upon the propoſitions of the rebels as deſtructive to his Majeſty's laws, government, and Proteſtant ſubjects of Ireland. The Earl of Bristol, thinking this anſwer not explicit enough, ſaid, that acccording to what was due from the rebels by law and juſtice, the anſwers which the Committee had given to their propoſitions were full: but the King expected that they ſhould declare, what was prudentially fit for him to do; ſeeing the Proteſtants were not in a condition to defend themſelves, and he would not allow them to join with the new Scots, or any others that had taken the covenant. But they avoided giving any other judgment, than what was to be found in their own propoſitions, and their anſwers to thoſe of the rebels.

If the propoſitions of the Catholicks, were like thoſe of men, who thought themſelves poſſeſſed of the whole ſtrength and power of Ireland, and that the King's condition was ſo weak as would incline him to buy their aſſiſtance at any rate, it muſt be confeſſed that the propoſitions of the Proteſtant Committee, were like thoſe of men, who, to the ſmart and anguiſh of their late ſufferings, had added an utter contempt of the power, and an hatred of the perſons of the Iriſh; and who would be content with nothing leſs than what thoſe who could contend would never ſubmit to. They required that the penal laws ſhould continue in force, and be put in execution; that no perſon ſhould be a Magiſtrate in a corporation, a Sheriff of a county, a Juſtice of peace, or a practiſing Lawyer, who did not take the oaths of allegeance and ſupremacy; that nothing might be done derogatory in any reſpect to Poyning's law; that the preſent Parliament might be continued, and the aſſumed government of the Catholicks immediately diſſolved; that all thoſe that had been legally indicted might be proceeded againſt, and if convicted or attainted might be puniſhed accordingly; that the attainders already incurred by outlawry might be confirmed by act of Parliament; that ſuch rebels as were not already indicted or attainted, might upon proof of their offences be in like manner convicted and attainted, and their eſtates forfeited; that the Proteſtants ſhould be reſtored to their eſtates, and have all the mean profits made good to them; that the rebels ſhould rebuild all the plantation-houſes and caſtles they had deſtroyed, and reſtore all the money, plate, goods, and chattels, or the value thereof, which they had taken; that no act of oblivion might by law, for any wrongs done to them or their families in this rebellion; be paſſed, for the releaſe of any actions which the Proteſtants might have that all churches, and chapels, and forts deſtroyed, ſhould be re-edified at the charge of the Catholicks, and Proteſtants put into the poſſeſſion of them; that all the arms and ammunition of the Confederates, ſhould be immediately delivered into his Majeſty's ſtores, and the arrears of the army paid by them; that Popery, and Popiſh Recuſants, ſhould be ſuppreſſed; that all Popiſh Prieſts ſhould be baniſhed out of Ireland; that no Popiſh Recuſant ſhould ſit or vote in Parliament; and that the King ſhould take all forfeited eſtates into his hands, and after making ſatisfaction to ſuch as had any claim by acts of Parliament, diſpoſe of the reſt to Britiſh and Proteſtants, in order to be planted, upon reaſonable terms. Though ſome of theſe propoſitions were juſt and neceſſary, if the Proteſtants had been in a condition to enforce them, yet others were impracticable, and even contradictory to each other. The eſtates of the rebels were all to be forfeited; and yet they were to re-edify the houſes, churches, chapels, forts, and caſtles, that had been deſtroyed, and to make good all the arrears of rent to the Proteſtants, and of pay to the army. In ſhort, theſe propoſitions ſeem calculated entirely to prevent any peace with the Iriſh: and if they do not expreſly mention the extirpation of their nation and religion, they mean but little ſhort of it.

It is no wonder that thoſe who came from the Council-board in Ireland, who perfectly underſtood the ſtate of affairs in that kingdom, were confounded at the propoſitions which had been given in, being on each ſide equally extravagant and unreaſonable; and therefore they deſired the Proteſtant agents to withdraw their propoſitions; or to propoſe ſome way how their deſires might be effected by force or treaty. But the firſt they would not, and the laſt they could not do. Hence it was plain to the King's

Engliſh Miniſters, that theſe demands were made with no other view, than to throw a ſcandal upon the King and them, if they made a peace with the Catholicks upon conditions very remote from thoſe; which, if any peace at all was made, muſt certainly be the caſe. The Marquis of Ormonde was therefore directed to find out, as well as he could, how far theſe propoſitions agreed with the general ſenſe of the Iriſh Proteſtants; and as to the propoſitions of the rebels, the Miniſtry did not chooſe to deliver any opinion. They ſaw that the King's affairs in England, and the preſervation of the Proteſtants in Ireland, equally required a peace: but they likewiſe ſaw the ſcandal and prejudice that would enſue to his Majeſty, if he granted the rebels almoſt any thing more than private promiſes.

The difficulty of adviſing under this dilemma, was added to by the Committee from the Dublin Council; who inſiſted, as a neceſſary ſecurity of the Proteſtant Intereſt and Religion, that the Iriſh ſhould be diſarmed, that all the damages ſuſtained by the war ſhould be paid by them, that the penal laws againſt recuſants, particularly the Clergy, might be put in execution, and that thoſe who had been moſt guilty of the maſſacres and barbarities at the beginning of the rebellion might be excepted from pardon. The firſt of theſe propoſitions was not unreaſonable to aſk, if the King had been in a condition to compel it; but he was in no ſuch condition; and the Catholicks, who had been made jealous that their extirpation was deſigned, would not ſubmit to it. The ſecond was impracticable in its nature, and was never attempted by the Engliſh Parliament when they had entirely ſubdued the Iriſh. The Papiſts were not unwilling to admit of ſome relaxation as to the freedom of their religion; but they would not conſent to the execution of the penal laws, which would in the end oblige them to renounce their country, or their religion. To the laſt they had no objection, provided the Proteſtants, who had been concerned in the like maſſacres and cruelties, might undergo the ſame fate.

It muſt be owned that the King and his Council were in a very critical ſituation; neither able to maintain a war in Ireland againſt the rebels, nor to make a peace which could be juſtified to the Proteſtants. It was neceſſary however to give ſome anſwer to the Iriſh agents; and ſuch as could be given, conſiſtently with the King's honour and juſtice, was delivered to them: but it came far ſhort of their propoſitions, and producing no effect need not be related. The moſt material part was that concerning religion; and the anſwer on this was, "that as the penal laws had never been executed with rigour, ſo if his recuſant ſubjects ſhould, by returning to their duty and loyalty, merit his favour and protection, they ſhould not for the future have cauſe to complain, that leſs moderation was uſed to them than had been in the moſt favourable times of Queen Elizabeth, and King James, provided they lived quietly and peaceably according to their allegeance; and ſuch of them as manifeſted their duty and affection to his Majeſty, ſhould receive ſuch marks of his favour, in offices, and places of truſt, as ſhould plainly ſhew his good acceptance and regard of them."

When the King delivered his anſwer, he admoniſhed them to conſider his circumſtances, and their own; "and if upon thoſe conditions which he might grant, without prejudice to himſelf, and which were very ſufficient for the ſecurity of their religion, lives, and fortunes, they made haſte to aſſiſt him, whereby he might be enabled to ſuppreſs the rebellion of his Parliament, he would never forget the merit of ſuch a ſervice; and it would then be abſolutely in his power to vouchſafe graces to them to complete their happineſs, and which—he gave them his royal word—he would then diſpenſe in ſuch manner, as ſhould not leave them diſappointed of any of their juſt and full expectations. But if by inſiſting on ſuch particulars as he could not in conſcience conſent to, and which would do him more diſſervice than all their aſſiſtance would countervail, they ſhould delay their joining with him till his party was ſuppreſſed, it would then be too late to give him help; and they would find their ſtrength in Ireland but an imaginary ſupport for his or their own intereſt, and that thoſe who had with difficulty deſtroyed him, would without any conſiderable oppoſition ruin them, and root out their nation and religion." This was certainly true, and very prophetically ſpoken, as they afterwards found by ſad experience; and the agents confeſſed, that the demands which they were ordered to inſiſt on, were ſuch as his Majeſty could not conſent to, in the then condition of his affairs: they promiſed therefore to uſe their endeavours at their return, with an intention to procure the full ſubmiſſion and obedience of the confederate Catholicks, upon ſuch conditions as his goodneſs would conſent to for their ſecurity.

If Lord Clarendon had not given us this admonition from the King, it might have been ſuſpected; becauſe it is certainly not to his honour. If he was ſincere in intending to vouchſafe the Catholicks ſuch graces as ſhould complete their happineſs, and not leave them diſappointed of any of their full expectations—which were the free exerciſe, and ſplendour of their religion—he then broke his word which he had given the Parliament, "that he would never conſent, upon any pretence, to a toleration of the Popiſh profeſſion in Ireland, or the abolition of the laws now in force againſt Popiſh recuſants in that kingdom:" And if this promiſe to the Catholicks had no other meaning, than thereby to procure their aſſiſtance to ſubdue the Parliament, then it is a proof of that diſſimulation which was ſo often charged upon him. The agents however were diſmiſſed with this admonition; and the King ſent orders to the Marquis of Ormonde, to renew the ceſſation with the rebels for another year; and a commiſſion under the great ſeal of England, "to make ſuch a full peace and union with them, upon conditions which he found agreeable to the public welfare, as would enable that kingdom to aſſiſt him in ſuppreſſing the Engliſh and Scotch rebels." This was ſo much at his Majeſty's heart, that all the Letters from his Secretaries of State to Lord Ormonde, about that time, relate to little elſe, than to ſending over arms, ammunition, and men from Ireland.

The truth is, "that things were ſo unfixed in the Court at Oxford, and the King was ſo obnoxious to be ſhaken and removed by variety of Counſels," that the Miniſters were glad to ſhift off the burden and odium of giving any advice in the buſineſs of Ireland upon the Lord Lieutenant. The neceſſity of the ſupplies from Ireland to the King, ſeemed to require peace; but if they adviſed one favourable to the Iriſh, they dreaded the reſentment of the Parliament, and the people: if they ſpoke againſt ſhewing them any favour, or for inſiſting on ſuch terms as the Iriſh would not comply with, the Miniſtry were afraid of diſobliging the King and Queen:

and every body—to uſe an expreſſion of Lord Digby's to the Lord Lieutenant on this ſubject—was ſeeking, as the ape did to pull the cheſnut out of the fire with the puppy's foot, to caſt off the counſel to his neighbour of granting any thing to the Iriſh. But the Lord Lieutenant was already involved in difficulties, great and numerous enough to confound the beſt capacity, and had too much reaſon to complain of this additional hardſhip. He found himſelf almoſt ready to be devoured by want at Dublin, without much hope of relief; blocked up at ſea by the ſhips of the Engliſh Parliament; encompaſſed with powerful armies of Scots, and Iriſh, and having no ſtrength to oppoſe them but a ſmall indigent unſatisfied army;—ſome of which had already joined the Scots in breaking the ceſſation—towns unfortified; the inhabitants for the moſt part unfaithful; and the magazines and ſtores in a manner empty. Under all theſe diſadvantages, he was continually ſollicited by the Engliſh Miniſters, to ſend them over arms, ammunition, and levies of men; though he had no money to purchaſe the former, nor proviſions, nor ſhipping by which to ſend the latter. But ſetting all theſe things aſide, if the King, aſſiſted with his Engliſh Council and ſome from the State of Ireland, found it too difficult a matter to ſettle a peace with the Iriſh, how could the Marquis undertake it with any hopes of ſucceeding, whoſe conduct, on account of his numerous relations and friends among the Iriſh, and his eſtate lying there, would be more liable to miſconſtruction than that of any other perſon? On the other hand the Iriſh, probably for theſe reaſons, would expect greater favours from him than from a ſtranger, and would be more apt to reſent a refuſal. Beſides, he knew their temper, maxims, and ſituation, too well to believe it would be an eaſy work; and it was not without foreſeeing the danger, if not the ruin, it would bring on himſelf and his family, that he engaged in this arduous taſk. But before we enter upon this treaty, it will be proper to ſee what was done by Lord Antrim, and how the ceſſation was preſerved or broken in Ireland; for the Engliſh Parliament were too full of their own buſineſs then to think of any thing elſe.

Before the end of April, Lord Antrim had raiſed with a good deal of expedition two thouſand men, among his own tenants and neighbours who had been in the Iriſh army, and who were commanded by Officers that had been diſbanded at the ceſſation. But there was ſtill a want of the arms, ammunition, and proviſion, promiſed by the Supreme Council; and for which the Lord Lieutenant was ready to give them acquittances for the value of them, out of the money due by the ceſſation. He preſſed them in the moſt earneſt manner, by all the arguments which he thought likely to move them; but they ſtill proceeded in it ſo ſlowly, that Lord Antrim grew diſguſted at the charge of maintaining the men, and declared he would lay aſide the expedition. The Marquis of Ormonde had done every thing on his part to ſet it forward. He had provided ſhips for the tranſportation, by giving his own ſecurity for the payment; but before the arms, and ammunition, and proviſion were ready, ſome of the Parliament ſhips arrived, and blocked up the harbour. No importunities from the State in their diſtreſs, before the ceſſation, could prevail for theſe ſhips to guard the coaſts; but now they committed ravages upon all the trading veſſels about Dublin, and the parts that were for the King, whilſt they left thoſe that were in the hands of the rebels unmoleſted. What by this obſtruction, and the delays of the Supreme Council, it was the end of June before the men ſailed for Scotland. The reader will not expect to accompany them in their expedition; and therefore I ſhall only ſay, that they enabled the Marquis of Montrosse to prevent the Scots from ſending any further ſupplies of men into Ireland; and obliged them to recal ſome of their forces out of England, to defend themſelves in their own country.

It had been recommended to the Lord Lieutenant, as we may remember, to prevent as much as poſſible the renewing any hoſtilities: and to this end he deſired a power, to receive to pardon for life and lands, ſuch of the rebels as ſhould return to the King's ſervice and their duty. This advice was complied with; but like the other ſecrets of the King, was divulged to thoſe who ought to know the leaſt of it. The Iriſh agents at Oxford wrote word of this to the Supreme Council, as a dangerous way to break their aſſociation; and they were in the right of it. It was the very way, by which that great ſtateſman, Henry the Fourth of France, broke the "Holy League;" and by which the Marquis no doubt intended to break the confederacy of the Catholic Iriſh: And though the Supreme Council were thus forewarned, and his meaſures were always known, yet he

found

ſound means very ably to divide them, and to break the force of that power, which, united, was ſufficient in a few weeks to have cruſhed the Proteſtants, and to have driven all the friends of his Majeſty out of the kingdom.

The matter of religion was the grievance which ſwayed moſt with the common people; but the Marquis had perceived, that what principally induced the Iriſh Nobility and chief Gentry among the Catholicks to take up arms, was their excluſion from all places of truſt and honour; and unleſs this was removed it would be the point on which they would break in a treaty of peace, notwithſtanding religion would be the pretence. But though nothing therefore was more proper, than to give, as he had deſired, the principal leaders of the Iriſh ſome hopes in this reſpect, and there were many conſiderable poſts at this time either vacant, or likely ſoon to be ſo, yet theſe were already devoured by the locuſts which ſwarm in every Court. The diſpoſal of Iriſh places and poſts to ſtrangers in their country, who had no affection to it, nor any concern about its welfare, gave freſh occaſion to that complaint of excluding the natives from their own emoluments: and which will ever be made, it is to be feared, and with too much reaſon by that unhappy people. The filling all places there with Iriſh Proteſtants, was the likelieſt method of giving content to both ſides; or at leaſt it was ſuch a meaſure as could not be juſtly excepted againſt by either. Had this advice been followed, the Marquis of Ormonde would have been enabled to ſerve the King with more effect than he did, as well as more agreeably to his own diſpoſition. Under all the diſadvantages however under which he laboured, he preſerved the peace of the kingdom, and prevented the Iriſh from renewing the war, much better than could be expected.

Had the Scots in Ulſter been as much under the command of the Lord Lieutenant as they ought to have been, he would probably have kept all Ireland quiet; but they diſowned his authority, and by taking the covenant revolted againſt the King. In the beginning of April, they received a ſupply of clothes, proviſion, and money from Scotland, together with four Kirk Miniſters to preſs and tender the covenant: and two ſhips load-ing of proviſions, which were the charitable contributions of ſome people in Holland, for the relief of the Proteſtants in Ireland, were ſeized by Monroe for his ſoldiers, and thoſe who oppoſed the ceſſation; alledging that they were the moſt diſtreſſed. The four itinerant preachers of the covenant, divided themſelves about the country, and met with aſtoniſhing ſucceſs; the common people, as well as the ſoldiers, taking it with, as much zeal, as if it were the only means of preſerving both their ſouls and bodies. Even the Officers of the old Scotch regiments took it privately, without the knowledge of their Colonels, who had declared againſt it. When theſe proceedings were notified to the State at Dublin, they thought that the readineſs which had been ſhown in taking the covenant, was in a great meaſure owing to the delay of publiſhing the proclamation againſt it, already mentioned. Wherefore an order was ſent by the Lord Lieutenant and Council, to all the Colonels in Ulſter, and the Mayors of Derry, and Carrickſergus, to publiſh the proclamation againſt the covenant, at the head of their regiments, and in the moſt public places of the towns and garriſons, without any more delay. The Colonels, who had acted according to the beſt of their judgments in that delay, and who found that almoſt all their Officers had taken the covenant, were in no ſmall perplexity at this order. Several of them however obeyed it, at the hazard of their lives. Their caſe indeed was very hard; and had Monroe acted in this affair with the ſame violence as the Kirkmen, who made it as neceſſary to ſalvation as the ſacrament, the Colonels muſt have been ruined; for all their proviſions came through the hands of the Scots. Colonel Audley Mervin, who for his zeal againſt the covenant and the Engliſh Parliament, had been made Governor of Derry by the Lord Lieutenant, ſoon after took it himſelf; becauſe, as he wrote to his Lordſhip, he was convinced that thoſe who took it had really good intentions to the honour and happineſs of the King, as well as the peace and ſafety of the three kingdoms, and that it was conceived in very innocent terms." When we ſee how ingenious people are at deluding themſelves, in caſes where their intereſts or their paſſions are concerned, we cannot withhold the conviction, that men do not act in general upon principle, except in caſes, which are but few and unimportant, where neither intereſt nor paſſion have any ſhare.

Charles I.

A. 1644.

It was the way of the world, at that time, among Proteſtants and Papiſts, to be full of profeſſions of loyalty and duty to the King, when they entered into aſſociations and appeared in arms againſt him. The Scotch General Monroe, tho' he had taken the covenant, which his Majeſty had declared in a proclamation to be a traiterous and ſeditious combination againſt him, was yet very loud in his pretences of a deſire to ſerve him. It muſt be owned that he had not offered to uſe any force againſt the Engliſh who refuſed the covenant; but receiving a commiſſion, at the end of April, from the Parliament in England under their new great ſeal, to command all the forces in Ulſter, his moderation againſt the intereſt of the King was at an end. The Colonels of the old Scotch and Engliſh regiments in that country, having received intelligence of this commiſſion, appointed a meeting at Belfaſt, in the middle of May, to conſider of an unanimous anſwer to be returned to him, when he ſhould require them to ſubmit to his command. Nine of them met accordingly: and after they had retired to their lodgings in order to go to bed, a ſoldier brought advice, that Monroe had given orders for the garriſon of Carrickfergus, and the Scotch regiments, to be ready to march at two o'clock the next morning to Belfaſt. The guards of the place, upon this intelligence, were ſtrengthened, and every officer ordered upon duty. Some horſe were alſo ſent abroad, as ſcouts, to make diſcoveries; and meeting with Monroe, who ordered them to report that no forces were to be ſeen, they returned about ſix in the morning with that falſe information; which occaſioned the guards, except the ordinary watch, to be diſcharged, and the officers to leave their poſts. In about an hour after, the Scots were diſcovered within half a mile of the town, advancing with great ſpeed to one of the gates, which, before the garriſon could be alarmed, was opened to them by the guard; and marching orderly thro' the place till they came to the oppoſite gate, Monroe ordered them to poſſeſs the bulwarks, cannon, and guard houſe. Colonel Chichester, the Governour, went with the other Colonels to demand of him what he meant by ſurpriſing the town. He ſaid that as Colonel Chichester had publiſhed a proclamation againſt the covenant, by which ſuch as had taken it conceived themſelves to be declared traitors, had alſo diſcountenanced thoſe who had offered to take it, and had formerly refuſed to ſuffer the Scots to garriſon there, he did not think himſelf ſafe without a garriſon of his own in the place.

As ſoon as Belfaſt was thus treacherouſly occupied, Monroe marched with four regiments to Liſburn, in order to poſſeſs himſelf of that town. But Colonel Jones repairing thither to his command, upon the firſt news at Belfaſt of the march of the Scots, the garriſon were all under arms ready to receive them: and Monroe finding in a conference with Jones that he could not be admitted without force, drew off his men, and returned again to Belfaſt. Colonel Chichester's regiment being ordered to quit the place, he himſelf went to England to complain of this treachery; and his Lieutenant Colonel, and Major, under colour of leading the men to the quarters aſſigned them by Monroe, marched with a party to Newry, with intent to ſtrengthen the garriſon there againſt any ſuch attempts. This inſidious conduct of the Scotch General was the more inexcuſable, becauſe the officers of the Engliſh regiments, not knowing how to ſubſiſt without the help of his proviſions, had aſſured him, that whenever he marched againſt the Iriſh they would be ready to join him. But the ſurpriſe of Belfaſt had deſtroyed all confidence in the Scots among the Engliſh forces. Monroe had ſenſe enough to diſcern the evil conſequence of this diſunion: and finding that the Marquis of Ormonde, had through his own private credit ſupplied the garriſons in thoſe parts, with proviſions, and money, he ſigned a formal ſtipulation with the officers of three Engliſh regiments; in which the latter engaged, if they were not forced to take any oath contrary to the laws of Ireland, and were furniſhed with proviſions, quarters, and other accommodations, as the Scotch forces were, that then they would join with them in the vigorous proſecution of the war againſt the Iriſh, unleſs prohibited by the King's command. In order to content the State of Scotland, which expected ſomething ſhould be done in return for the ſupplies they had ſent him, and to make an experiment whether the Engliſh would effectually join him, Monroe not long after drew out his army, and appointed a general rendezvous at Ardmagh.

The Iriſh, whoſe forces were all diſperſed in country villages, at a diſtance from their commanders, as well as from one another, were in no condition to oppoſe them. They determined however to ſet out ſix thouſand foot, and ſix hundred horſe, under Lord CASTLEHAVEN; to which O NEIL promiſed to add four thouſand foot, and as many hundred horſe, in Ulſter. They did not expect that the old Scots, and the Engliſh, ſubject to the orders of the Marquis of ORMONDE, would march againſt them in breach of the ceſſation, which O NEIL had punctually obſerved. But tho' this great army advanced into the county of Cavan, from whence ſome parties were ſent into Longford, and Weſtmeath, which burnt the country and put the poor people to the ſword, yet being a great way from home, and their proviſions falling off, nothing more than ſome little ſkirmiſhes paſſed between the two armies. The Scotch General, paſſing by Dundalk in his way home, deſired leave to paſs through it with his forces, but was refuſed. The next day he marched to Newry; and drawing them up within muſket ſhot of the town, he went to it with Lord MONTGOMERY, and ſome of the other officers, not doubting but he ſhould be admitted. Lieutenant Colonel MATHEWS, who commanded in the place, ſeeing him come in that manner, ordered the gate to be opened to him and his company. MONROE found him on the parade at the head of the garriſon under arms; and demanding a paſſage with his army through the town, was told there was a high road full as convenient by the ſide of it.

The General being irritated with this anſwer, aſked him how he durſt deny him a paſſage through his own garriſon, as lying in the province of Ulſter? and putting his hand upon his piſtol, rode up to the Muſketeers and ordered them off their duty. MATHEWS, without the leaſt heſitation, commanded them to cock their matches, and preſent; and the Captain at the head of the line drew his ſword, and gave orders to fire. MONROE cooled in a moment; and very calmly deſired leave to draw his artillery through the place, on account of the waters which were ſo high that they could not paſs. The Colonel, ordering his men to return their matches, told him the fate of Belfaſt had given him ſufficient warning, and he would neither ſuffer the artillery, nor any thing elſe to enter: but notwithſtanding the affront which MONROE had ſo indiſcreetly offered him in his command, he would not be ſo raſh as to imitate him, and would give him liberty to go out as freely as he had admitted him into the town. Upon this the

General withdrew to his army, and in an hour after ſent a drum to Mathews to bid him conſult with his officers; and if they did not allow him a paſſage the next morning, he would force his way. The Colonel, and his officers, being unanimous in defence of the place, they ſent him a flat denial; and put up their colours by way of defiance. Lord Blaney, and ſome other Engliſh officers, were ſent in to perſuade Mathews, but in vain: he told them that the garriſon were all of them, to a man, determined to loſe their lives, rather than hazard ſuch an affront as had been given at Belfaſt: and Monroe, finding nothing was to be dône, decamped the next morning very peaceably, but not without threatning to return in a fortnight, and to fetch down their colours.

If the forces againſt the rebels were thus diſunited, the affairs of the Iriſh themſelves were in no ſmall diſtraction. A great competition had ariſen, between the Lords Antrim and Castlehaven, about the ſupreme command of their army; the firſt having a commiſſion to that effect, which he deſired to execute and was refuſed, and the other having one controllable only by the Supreme Council, of which he was in poſſeſſion, as we have ſeen above. Three troops of O Neil's horſe, poſted at a paſs on the Blackwater, had been attacked and beaten in the ſight of Colonel Fennel, who with a ſtrong ſquadron of the rebel Leinſter horſe flatly refuſed to aſſiſt them; which greatly offended O Neil who was then ſick, and ſeems to have paved the way for that jealouſy, between the Ulſter Iriſh and thoſe of the other provinces, which proved afterwards ſo detrimental to the rebels. O Neil was alſo diſguſted that the Aſſembly choſe Lord Castlehaven to command the army againſt the Scots; and for that reaſon did not afford the aſſiſtance which had been promiſed. The competition for generalſhip however would have been at an end, if the Marquis of Ormonde could have been prevailed with to take the command of all the Iriſh forces. There were ſome ſpecious reaſons to be given for his accepting it; and which impoſed upon half ſighted people ſo far as to recommend the acceptance of it to him. But the Marquis had too good an underſtanding not to perceive, that amidſt the advantages that might attend it there, the King's honour muſt ſuffer every where, by his Lordſhip's mixing his legal power and forces with the treaſonable authority and arms of the rebels, and that it would be a ſtep which muſt give offence to all his Proteſtant ſubjects.

The ſame motives which withheld Lord ORMONDE from accepting this command, in ſome meaſure influenced him to decline proclaiming the Scots to be rebels, and declaring war againſt them, as the Iriſh had deſired. But yet ſo great was the diſtreſs of the army, and the Proteſtants, in and about Dublin, by the failure of the exciſe, by the Parliament-ſhips blocking up the harbour, and by the utter exhauſting of all credit, that he did not think it prudent, as the Catholicks were preparing to ſupply him with corn, and cattle, and could ſtarve him by ſtopping the market, to provoke them by a flat denial. In this ſituation, he choſe to amuſe them with a treaty that might anſwer the end which they intended, till he could receive the King's directions. He propoſed to them therefore as a preliminary, that they ſhould ſupply the armies under his command, to the number of ſix thouſand foot, and ſix hundred horſe; and the times, and manner of payment being ſettled, he would undertake to keep the Scots, and all the garriſons, from annoying the provinces, and breaking the ceſſation. This propoſal Lord ORMONDE made the ground of a treaty: but the more the Council at Kilkenny avoided entring upon it, and perſiſted in a declaration againſt the Scots, the more reſolved his Lordſhip grew, in refuſing what he ſaw would be ruinous to the King's affairs, by making all the Proteſtants deſert him. In this uneaſy ſituation we muſt leave the Lord Lieutenant, in order to look a little into the other provinces, where the difficulties of the King's affairs were not much lighter.

It hath already been related, that upon the death of SR. W. ST. LEGER Preſident of Munſter, the command of all the forces, and the civil government in that province, had devolved on Lord INCHIQUIN the Vice-preſident. As a native of Ireland of the ancient ſtock, and deſcended from the race of the great BRIAN BOROMY, the reader, who is acquainted with my former Hiſtory of this country, will not be ſurpriſed to find Lord INCHIQUIN, well affected to the King, zealous for the rights of Monarchy, of a vaſt ambition, and of a prodigious high ſpirit which diſpoſed him to high reſentments. He had been engaged in the whole war, and done many eminent ſervices againſt the rebels: at the ceſſation he had ſent over a conſiderable body of forces to his Majeſty's aſſiſtance againſt the Parliament, to whoſe meaſures no man living was more averſe; and in the beginning of this year, he had waited on the King at Oxford, not doubting but his own merit, and the Marquis of Ormonde's recommendation, would gain him the preſidency of Munſter, which he paſſionately deſired. It is certain that no one was ſo well entitled to it, or could ſerve the King in it ſo well; and though on his firſt coming over, his Majeſty had conſented to his Lordſhip's having it, yet it was ſoon found that Lord Portland had ſome years before obtained a promiſe of it from the King, who had paſſed a fiat under the privy ſeal for a patent of the Preſidency of Munſter; and to him, and not to Lord Muskery an Iriſh rebel, as Ludlow ſays, it was now given: and inſtead of uſing any means to content the Earl with ſomething elſe, who had no connexions in Ireland, which no doubt might have been eaſy enough, Lord Inchiquin was abſolutely refuſed it; and even the ſurvivance of it on the demiſe, or ceſſion of the Earl of Portland, was not granted him. Having met with this diſappointment, his ſtay at Court was very ſhort; and he returned into Ireland very juſtly ſowered and piqued againſt it. As Friendſhip is a quality rarely known in Courts, there were more people ready to do him ill offices, in repreſenting him as inclined to eſpouſe the ſide of the Parliament, from the character of the perſons to whom he had left the command of the army and the forts in Munſter, than to explain thoſe appearances againſt him by a true ſtate of the caſe, which would have cleared him.

How eaſy ſoever it was for the King to make the Earl of Portland Preſident of Munſter, and to ſend him over to take the command annexed to his poſt, yet his Majeſty ſhould have conſidered, that it was not an eaſy thing to take the charge from Lord Inchiquin whom he had now offended, who had the power of the province in his hands, who would probably not ſerve under a rival, and, after ſo many proofs that he had given of merit and ability, be contented with the condition of a private officer. The Lord Lieutenant ſaw perfectly his Majeſty's error, and the evil conſequences of it; and endeavoured, but in vain, to allay the reſentment of Lord Inchiquin. The King himſelf had reaſon enough too, in a little time, to ſee and to repent it; and yet this did not deter him from engaging himſelf to other people for places and poſts in Ireland, contrary to his intereſt, and even contrary to his promiſe to the Lord Lieutenant, that he would diſpoſe of nothing there without him. But it appears as though the King had for ſome time made every thing in Ireland ſubſervient to the Queen's humour, or to his views of gaining a victory over the Engliſh Parliament.

Towards the end of July, Lord Inchiquin made an open declaration of his intentions, by ſigning an addreſs to his Majeſty, in concert with his officers, to deſire him to make a peace with the Parliament, and by applying to them for ſupplies to carry on the war againſt the Iriſh. The Parliament were too ſenſible of his Lordſhip's power, not to receive his application very joyfully, and to promiſe all he aſked; eſpecially as it came attended with an engagement, that his brother Colonel O Brian, then in England, ſhould deliver Wareham into their hands, and bring his whole regiment back to Ireland. The ſame ſpirit and diſpoſition which make a man a warm and zealous friend, will prompt him, upon ungrateful uſage, to be as warm an enemy. The King's ingratitude had touched Lord Inchiquin in a very tender point; and it required more loyalty than was faſhionable at that time not to ſhew his reſentment. His Lordſhip therefore not only performed what he had offered the Parliament, but he uſed all his endeavours to bring back the officers and ſoldiers whom he had ſent to ſerve the King: and pretending that the Iriſh intended to ſurpriſe all his garriſons, he drove the Magiſtrates, and the Catholic inhabitants out of Youghall, Kinſale, and Cork, allowing them only to take their clothes, and ſeizing all the proviſions and effects in their houſes.

At the ſame time that Lord Inchiquin thus violated a treaty which he had himſelf preſſed exceedingly, with the ſame inconſiſtency he blamed his officers for taking the Covenant till the ceſſation was expired: and to be more inconſiſtent ſtill, if it were poſſible, he cauſed an oath to be adminiſtered to all his army, that they would endeavour to extirpate Popery, to carry on the war againſt the Iriſh, notwithſtanding any command, proclamation, or agreement to the contrary, and to ſubmit to no peace nor conditions with them, without the conſent and approbation of the King, and Parliament of England. The form of this oath he ſent to Lord Esmond, Governour of the important fort of Duncannon, preſſing him to get it taken by his garriſon, and to engage himſelf by it; and offering to ſend a Parliament ſhip to his aſſiſtance. The King, and Lord Ormonde, had ſent frequent ſupplies to this fort; and Lord Esmond had made the ſtrongeſt profeſſions of duty and attachment to the King, and of obedience to the orders of the Lord Lieutenant. Wherefore he gave an anſwer to Lord Inchiquin's meſſenger, in the preſence of his Major who was next in command in the fort, and of whoſe loyalty he was well aſſured, that he would not enter into any meaſures, nor obey any orders, againſt the State; but he gave a private intimation to Lord Inchiquin of the contrary, and deſired ſome ſhipping to enable him to declare himſelf. A Parliament frigate was accordingly ſent into the harbour, on board of which all his ſubalterns and ſoldiers immediately went, and took the covenant, though, as he pretended, againſt his will. On a complaint to Lord Ormonde of this unrulineſs and diſaffection of his garriſon, and of a want of more power, and proviſions, his Lordſhip ſent him a commiſſion to raiſe and command a troop of horſe, which he had long ſollicited, and a ſhip with proviſions, and two companies of ſoldiers whom he could depend on.

But Lord Esmond having now gotten all he could expect from the King, and ſuppoſing he ſhould be better paid by the Parliament, pretended that he could not command his men, and had not power to receive the two companies; though he ſoon after declared himſelf openly againſt his Majeſty. The Parliament having failed in the great ſupplies which they had promiſed to Lord Inchiquin, he applied to the State of Scotland, and the Scotch forces in Ulſter; aſſuring them of his reſolution to concur with them in carrying on the war againſt the Iriſh. The march of Lord Castlehaven into Ulſter againſt the Scots, and ſome little ſkirmiſhes that paſſed between them, have been already mentioned. Except theſe bickerings, the two armies lay within three miles of each other for ſix weeks together without any action, neither of them being able to engage the other. At laſt Lord Castlehaven, being diſtreſſed for want of poviſions, retired with his army to the county of Cavan, whither Monroe followed him; but not being able to draw him to an engagement, in the beginning of October, returned to his garriſons, and diſperſed his army. This was the only attempt that the Scots made, towards doing any important ſervice againſt the Iriſh, either in this, or the following year: and they complained heavily of not being ſupplied with neceſſaries by the Engliſh Parliament. Soon after his declaration againſt any peace with the rebels, Lord Inchiquin had occaſion for the ſame complaint; and finding no aſſiſtance was to be had from the Scots, was obliged, in order to preſerve his forces, and the Proteſtants in Munſter, to make a ceſſation with the Iriſh till the beginning of April.

Whilſt theſe things paſſed in the field, the treaty of peace, for which Lord Ormonde had received a commiſſion, was carrying on at Dublin. He had talked with ſeveral of thoſe who had ſigned the inſtructions for the Proteſtant agents that went to Oxford; he had conſulted the Council together, and apart; he had taken the judgment of every man of rank and ability that he met with; and he found all of them agreed in opinion, that the Proteſtants would not chooſe to continue the war, if all the propoſitions given in by thoſe agents ſhould not be aſſented to. At the end of July, he notified the commiſſion to Lord Muskery; and the General Aſſembly being then ſitting at Kilkenny, they appointed twelve commiſſioners to treat with the Lord Lieutenant, on a continuance of the ceſſation, and on a peace, for whom they deſired a ſafe conduct. But the titular Archbiſhop of Dublin being one of the number, and Lord Ormonde being determined to admit none of the Clergy to treat, he deſired the Aſſembly to name another. There being no reſtriction of that ſort in the commiſſion, they juſtified their choice; but to remove the difficulty, they were content that the prelate ſhould ſtay at home, with three others whom they had named, and aſked only for a ſafe conduct for Lord Muskery, and the other ſeven; who, except one, were the ſame men that had been ſent to the King at Oxford.

On their arrival at Dublin, which the Marquis had appointed for the place of the treaty, on account of his own convenience, and the King's honour, the ceſſation was readily renewed to December, and afterwards to a longer time; but the buſineſs of the peace was a work of great difficulty. The Lord Lieutenant, who was determined to do nothing without the Council, had taken the Chancellor, and Sr. M. Eustace, with ſome others, to his aſſiſtance: and though the agents had promiſed the King, when they left Oxford, that they would endeavour to incline their aſſembly to return to their full ſubmiſſion, upon ſuch conditions as his Majeſty would conſent to, and did indeed perform that promiſe, yet they found now to their ſorrow, that it was a more eaſy matter to prevent, and miſlead popular aſſemblies, than to reduce them; and that they could no more allay the ſpirits they had conjured up, than they could command the wind. The Nobility, and men of fortune, had loſt their power; and the moſt factious, violent, and ignorant part of the Clergy, had ſo much influence over all the other people, that their dictates only were obeyed. In ſhort, the ſame propoſitions which had been given in to the King were now offered again, and the ſame anſwers were returned. After a whole month had been ſpent in daily debates upon them, the commiſſioners not being able to ſettle the points relating to religion, and the act of oblivion, the treaty was adjourned to the tenth of January; till the Marquis could ſend three of the Council to the King, and receive his Majeſty's anſwer on the articles which remained in diſpute.

The Lord Lieutenant found in his treaty, what he had all along imagined, that the Iriſh would expect greater favours from him on account of his many relations, and the intereſt he had in a peace, than they could hope for from a ſtranger; and being diſappointed of their wiſhes, for which he ſhould be blamed, they would be leſs inclined to hearken to any motives and advices which he ſhould offer, in order to engage them to lower their demands, and ſubmit to the King's pleaſure. For this reaſon, and from a foreſight of the want of bread, or of becoming ſubject to the inſolence either of the Catholicks or the Puritans, he ſent to deſire the King would ſpeedily appoint a fitter perſon for the government of that kingdom. The King, and every Miniſter he had, were but too well convinced of the impoſſibility of ſupporting his affairs in Ireland, by the credit or management of any other man in the world than the Marquis of Ormonde: and though his Majeſty would not therefore conſent that he ſhould quit that government, yet he ſent him a licence to repair into England as often as he ſhould think fit, leaving proper deputies in his abſence. Moreover, conſidering the vaſt expence which he had been involved in to the great pre-

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judice of his fortune, the King ordered a commiſſion for the ſtating his accounts, and effectual grants to be made to him out of the Crown lands for what ſhould appear to be due to him. As a further encouragement for the continuance in his poſt, and to make it leſs diſagreeable and difficult to him, his Majeſty ſent orders, that no wardſhip ſhould be granted by the court of wards, but to ſuch perſons, and on ſuch conditions, as the Lord Lieutenant ſhould approve of; that he ſhould proceed with the advice of the Judges againſt all abſentees, according to the laws then in force, by ſeizing their eſtates for the public ſervice; that he ſhould determine the cuſtodiums formerly granted, and apply the profits of them to the ſupport of the army; that he ſhould ſequeſter all diſaffected perſons from the Council-board, and remove and change the governors of counties, cities, forts, and caſtles, at his pleaſure: and in order that no inconvenience ſhould ariſe, to any of the King's officers, or ſervants, for an obedience to his Majeſty's commands, a warrant was ſent for a general pardon under the great ſeal, to the chief Governour, Privy-counſellors, and all others that had been employed in the King's ſervice.

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His Majeſty having received, from the three Privy-counſellors above mentioned, a full account of the proceedings in the late treaty, ſent his entire approbation of the conduct of Lord ORMONDE in it. But as it appeared from all accounts, that his good ſubjects in Ireland were not able to continue the war againſt the rebels, without ſuch ſupplies from England as all the world knew he could not ſend, the King authoriſed his Lordſhip to conclude a peace with the Iriſh Catholicks, upon ſuch further conceſſions as he ſhould find could not be denied without relapſing into a war; the repeal of the penal ſtatutes againſt recuſants, and the ſuſpenſion of POYNING's act, only excepted: in the latter point however, if any expedient could be found to prevent the danger apprehended by the ſuſpenſion, the Marquis was ordered rather to yield, than to fall back into the extremity of a war; wherein the King was not able to maintain his good ſubjects there. But fearing the unreaſonableneſs of the Catholic party would fruſtrate the concluſion of a peace, his Majeſty empowered him further to receive the ſubmiſſions of ſuch as were willing to accept a peace on the conditions that had been offered, and to reſtore them to their blood and fortunes: And as the Iriſh were much diſſatisfied with the continuance of the preſent Parliament, from which all that refuſed the oath of ſupremacy were excluded by a vote only, in uſurpation of the King's prerogative, and in violation of the laws, the Marquis was directed to have that vote or order vacated. But as the greateſt obſtruction to the peace would probably be the point of religion, upon which the King was not willing publicly to relax, ſo he gave his word to ſome of the agents from the Iriſh, that the penal ſtatutes ſhould not be executed againſt them, if the peace were made, and they continued in their due obedience. By theſe means his Majeſty flattered himſelf that he ſhould ſatisfy the moderate well affected party of the rebels; who would not only conclude a peace, but ſend him alſo a powerful ſuccour againſt the Parliament, as they had always promiſed him. Theſe however were not the only means which his Majeſty made uſe of to this purpoſe. He uſed his power with Lord Glamorgan at this time, "to engage him in all poſſible ways to further the peace in Ireland; whom he recommended to Lord Ormonde, as one whoſe honeſty or affection to the King's ſervice would not deceive him, though his Majeſty would not anſwer for his judgment." But a further account will be given of his Majeſty's commiſſions to this Earl, when we come to relate his negotiations.

Whilſt the treaty of peace had been carrying on at Dublin, as before related, the Officers of ſome of the garriſons under the command of Lord Ormonde, eſpecially thoſe at Drogheda, and Dundalk, being alarmed with falſe accounts of that treaty, and fearing they ſhould have no ſatiſfaction for their loſſes and arrears, entered into a conſpiracy to ſurpriſe theſe places. A treaty was entered into by them with Monroe, to whom they promiſed for his aſſiſtance, half the plate, money, jewels, and goods, of which the Catholicks were to beplundered. But an information having been given of it to the Marquis, proper meaſures were taken to defeat the deſign, and the conſpirators were ſeized without any diſturbance. The plot upon Dublin did not go ſo far. For though Captain Swanly, who commanded the Parliament-ſhips which blocked up the harbour, had formed a deſign to ſurpriſe that city, yet being obliged to apply to the Parliament for ſome more ſhips, and land-forces, the deſign became known to the King, who gave Lord Ormonde immediate notice of it. But his Lordſhip, having received intimations of it before, from other people, had taken effectual care to prevent it.

The defection of Lord Esmond, in putting the fort of Duncannon into the hands of the Engliſh Parliament, hath been already mentioned: and as the Council at Kilkenny apprehended their trade would be ruined by the ſhips which that fort protected, and had been themſelves inſulted by excurſions of the ſoldiers from it, they laid ſiege to it even in January, and in extreme bad weather; and in the middle of March—the Parliament neglecting to ſend any ſupplies—the fort ſurrendered. Lord Esmond was in a manner worn out with age; but his death, in eight days after, was accelerated, by grief and vexation at the loſs of his government, his breach of truſt, and the ill treatment he had met with from the Engliſh Parliament, for whom he had proſtituted his honour. The treaty of ceſſation between Lord Inchiquin and the Iriſh, expiring at the beginning of April, Lord Castlehaven was ſent with ſix thouſand men into Munſter, to oppoſe him. At the ſame time, they took care to apply to foreign States for ſuccours, in order to enable them to maintain a war, or to procure a peace to their ſatisfaction. Though they had allowed two thouſand of their men to be levied for the ſervice of Spain, and at this time actually ſent over eleven hundred into France, yet the Marquis of Ormonde could not prevail with them to ſend any reinforcement into Scotland, which they knew was of the utmoſt conſequence to the King's affairs, there, and in England. The truth of the matter was, they had reſolved to give no aſſiſtance to the King, till ſuch a peace was ſettled as would ſhew the world that they had taken up arms to reſtore their religion to its ancient ſplendour. All this while, Lord Castlehaven was reducing and deſtroying all the caſtles in Munſter that did not ſubmit to the ceſſation. For Lord Inchiquin was ſo ill ſupplied by his new allies the Engliſh Parliament, that he could not make up an army ſtrong enough to oppoſe him, nor ſubſiſt it for want of proviſions: he had no part therefore left to take, but to ſhut himſelf up in Cork, whilſt the Iriſh General waſted all the country up to the walls of that city; deſtroying all the harveſt within the Engliſh quarters, and taking vaſt preys of cattle. We muſt now look a little into the other provinces.

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The Officers of the old Scots, and the Engliſh regiments in Ulſter, who had refuſed the covenant, and even ſome others, ſuch as Lord Montgomery, and Sr. A. Mervin, who had taken it, remained hitherto well affected to the King: and even the ſubalterns, and ſoldiers of the old Scots, who had entered into the meaſures of the Engliſh Parliament with the greateſt zeal, finding themſelves diſappointed, and in a manner neglected by them, began to cool apace, and to ſhew a great diſpoſition to forſake their party. The chief Officers of thoſe regiments had joined in a letter to the Parliament of England, in the beginning of March; repreſenting their condition, and the treatment they had received, and expoſtulating the matter very freely. Fourteen hundred of the forces under Monroe had been recalled; and twelve hundred more were ſent for, and did not care to go: nor were they without their diſcontent at the meaſures then purſued in England by the Parliament. Sr. Fred. Hamilton had been the principal inſtrument of propagating the covenant in thoſe parts; but by his violence, cruelties, and inſolence, he was grown odious to all the Proteſtant Gentlemen, and Officers in the North. He had long deſired the government of Derry; and being defeated in his attempts to poſſeſs it, he applied himſelf to the Engliſh Parliament, vilifying all the Britiſh Officers in that province. But though he got Colonel Chichester to be turned out of his regiment, and to be made Colonel of it himſelf, yet he could not get the government of Derry; which, the Parliament, by diſplacing Sr. A. Mervin, though he had taken the covenant, gave to Lord Foliot. They made alſo Lord Blaney Colonel of Lord Conway's regiment, whom for ſome offence they had impriſoned; though like a modern patriot he had endeavoured to preſerve his intereſt by complying with the higher powers.

Rushwor.

The Parliament were alarmed at the letters of the Britiſh Officers, and reſolved to ſend over a committee to ſee what condition the forces were in, and to make ſome propoſitions to them for carrying on the war. But their own affairs took up almoſt their whole time and care. In the middle of July ſixteen hundred and forty-two, Lord Macguire, and Macmahon, two of the firſt and principal conſpirators in this rebellion, had been ſent into

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into England, and committed priſoners to the Tower; where having lain above two years they made their eſcape. About three months afterwards, one of them, looking out of a window of the houſe in which they were concealed to call after a woman crying oyſters, was known by a ſervant paſſing by; who giving information to the Lieutenant of the Tower, they were ſeized, and then brought immediately to their trial, at the latter end of the laſt year. MACMAHON was found guilty, received judgment of death, and was executed accordingly then at Tyburn: But MACGUIRE pleading his peerage, and that he ought to be tried in Ireland by his peers, it was argued ſeveral days in Weſtminſter-hall; and in Hilary term following, Judge BACON over-ruled the plea, and delivered his judgment, that a Baron of Ireland is triable by a jury in this kingdom. The two Houſes of Parliament confirmed this opinion, and ordered the judge to proceed in the trial. The priſoner challenged all that the law allowed him to challenge on his jury; but he was found guilty, and condemned to be hanged, drawn, and quartered. The Parliament rejected his petition to be beheaded; and he was drawn on a ſledge, and executed at Tyburn.

The Parliament, as I ſaid, had reſolved to ſend over a committee, and clothes, proviſions, and money, for the Britiſh forces in Ulſter; and having made SR. CH. COOTE their Preſident of Conaght, they ordered letters to be ſent to all the Britiſh Colonels, deſiring them to aſſiſt him in taking Sligo, and other places of ſtrength in that province. The Officers met at Belfaſt to conſider the letters; and returned anſwer at firſt that they could not comply with this requeſt, till they received all the ſupplies that had been promiſed them. But leſt this ſhould be interpreted into an unwillingneſs to proſecute the war againſt the Iriſh, contrary to their declaration, they reſolved to rendezvous in the county of Tyrone, and to march with an army of four thouſand men againſt Sligo. This being done accordingly in the middle of June, and their artillery being ſent by ſea, after battering down three or four houſes the caſtle ſurrendered. Meeting with this great ſucceſs, and having no enemy to oppoſe them, the army advanced in different parties into the counties of Mayo and Galway, burning and deſtroying all before them, and taking vaſt droves of cattle. SR. ROB. STEWART, who commanded the old Scots and Engliſh of this army, leaving a Lieutenant Colonel and five hundred men at Sligo, returned with the remainder to his quarters; and Sr. C. Coote ſtaid in his new government of Conaght; in order to raiſe a body of horſe, as the Parliament had directed him, wherewith he might overrun that province. Theſe calamities had been foreſeen long before; and had the Marquis of Ormonde's advice, either to the King, or to the Confederates been complied with, they might eaſily have been prevented. On the death of Lord Ranelagh ſome months ago, the Lord Lieutenant recommended Lord Clanricarde for the preſidency of that province, as the fitteſt man in the world for it, notwithſtanding his religion, on account of his great eſtate there, his numerous alliances, his great zeal and activity in the King's ſervice, wherein no body had been more diſtinguiſhed, and the loſſes and expences he had ſuſtained. But the intrigues, and ſelfiſhneſs, of the King's friends, and in his court, diſſerved him as much as the oppoſition he had from his enemies. Lord Wilmot, and Lord Dillon, made pretenſions to this poſt, though neither of them had a twentieth part of the merit of Lord Clanricarde; and in order to ſatisfy them both, they were made joint Preſidents. This promotion was no ſooner made, than the abſurdity of it was ſeen; and that the ſervice might not ſuffer, and to make Lord Clanricarde eaſy under this neglect of him, the military command of the whole province was offered him. But as he was to receive his orders from the Preſident, his Lordſhip declined accepting it; yet ſtill continued to ſerve with his wonted zeal and activity.

The Iriſh having complained that they were harraſſed contrary to the ceſſation, by the excurſions of ſome of the Scots, and of the garriſons in the county of Roſcommon, the Marquis of Ormonde made them the offer which hath been mentioned, and which would have prevented the calamities which they now endured. Something or other however was neceſſary now to be done: and in this exigence, the Marquis gave a commiſſion to Lord Taafe, to levy ſuch a number of forces as ſhould be neceſſary, in order to ſubdue thoſe who had violated the ceſſation in Conaght, to the prejudice of the King's loyal ſubjects. The country had been much incenſed againſt thoſe garriſons, and hoping now to be delivered from their ravages, flocked in apace to Lord Taafe; ſo that with five hundred foot, and ſome horſe, ſent him by Lord Clanricarde, he ſoon made up an army of three thonſand. With this army, which was ſupported by the the Gentlemen of the country, he took the caſtle of Tulſk by ſtorm, which in defiance of the Lord Lieutenant's orders was held by Captain Ormsby; a fiery, virulent man, who having made himſelf very odious by his ravages was intended to have been hanged. But the Marquis, who had been more diſobliged by him than any body, from his wonted greatneſs of mind, ſent an order to prevent his execution, and to deliver him ſafely into the cuſtody of Lord Clanricarde. The Governors of all the other caſtles readily ſubmitted to take an oath, to obſerve the ceſſation, and to obey the orders of the Lord Lieutenant; except Caſtle-coote, which ſurrendered without ſtriking a ſtroke. The garriſons in Roſcommon, which had been ſo very troubleſome to the Gentlemen of the country, and their tenants, being thus reduced, the army was diſperſed without any other attempt.

In this ſituation affairs were in the provinces, whilſt the treaty of peace, at the King's preſſing command, was renewed, and carrying on at Dublin. The reader hath ſeen the full powers which his Majeſty had given the Lord Lieutenant to conclude a peace; and a commiſſion hath been mentioned to the Lord Glamorgan. There was however another preſſing order of the King's to Lord Ormonde for this purpoſe, not yet taken notice of, at the latter end of February; in which he "commands him to conclude a peace with the Iriſh whatever it coſt, ſo that his Proteſtant ſubjects there might be ſecured, and his regal authority preſerved: and though he leaves the management of this great and neceſſary work entirely to him, yet he cannot but tell him, that if the ſuſpenſion of Poyning's act for ſuch bills as may be agreed on, and the preſent taking away the penal laws againſt Papiſts by a law will do it, he ſhall not think it an hard bargain; ſo that freely and vigorouſly they engage themſelves in his aſſiſtance, againſt the rebels in England, and Scotland, for which no conditions can be too hard, not being againſt conſcience and honour." The reader will be pleaſed to remember, that in the former inſtructions to the Lord Lieutenant, theſe two points were limited: and though the laſt was conſented to be yielded, if an expedient could be found to prevent the danger of it, yet the other, "the repeal of the penal ſtatutes againſt Recuſants, the King ſaid, he could not, either with his own honour, or the ſafety of his Proteſtant ſubjects, conſent to." But now his Majeſty had either loſt his notion of honour, or given orders contrary to it. He did not chooſe to ſpeak more plainly to Lord Ormonde, becauſe he knew it would not be agreeable to him; and even thus far the Marquis did not go. It was this experience of his Lordſhip's integrity, and ſtedfaſtneſs in his religion, that no doubt induced the King, to give thoſe ſtrange commiſſions to Lord Glamorgan which will be recited, and to write a Letter to the Pope, as well as his Nuncio.

There is nothing in the whole hiſtory of his Majeſty's reign, of a more curious texture, than this negotiation with the Nuncio, and Lord Glamorgan; and which will more clearly develope the real character of this King: and yet it is a point, on which all our Hiſtorians have been erroneous, or defective. General Ludlow's account of it is compriſed in a few lines: and Lord Clarendon, who is ſo copious upon other ſubjects, and was then of the King's Council, has not taken the leaſt notice of it, either in his hiſtory of the rebellion in England, or in Ireland. It made too much noiſe for him not to know it; and his ſilence therefore is a proof, that he thought this negotiation a blot in the King's character, that could not be covered over with any artifice. No other Hiſtorians, except Carte, have had the means of acquiring a full and juſt information: and though he had acceſs to the Nuncio's memoirs, already mentioned, yet he hath made but little uſe of them, in thoſe parts which bear hard upon the conduct of the King. The Manuſcript letters of his Majeſty to Lord Glamorgan, in the Harleian collection, it is probable he did not ſee; and therefore in that reſpect he ſtands excuſed: but whether none of his Lordſhip's letters to the Marquis of Ormonde, relating to this important tranſaction, were found in the collection of the Ormonde papers——though he hath neither mentioned, nor publiſhed ſuch—may be juſtly doubted. The reader however ſhall have the beſt, and moſt impartial account, that I can meet with; and it will need no apology that I diſcuſs it very fully.

In the firſt ſix months of this year, there are no leſs than eight letters from the King himſelf, beſides thoſe of the ſecretaries, preſſing for a concluſion of the Iriſh peace, that he might have a timely and conſiderable aſſiſtance from them to ſubdue the Parliament; or, in his own words, "to perſuade the Engliſh rebels to return to their wits." It is true, that in ſome of theſe, he mentions the impoſſibility of preſerving his Proteſtant ſubjects in Ireland, by a continuation of the war: yet that that did not move him to preſs the peace, ſo often, and ſo warmly, and to give the extraordinary power, juſt mentioned, on the repeal of the penal laws, and the ſuſpenſion of Poyning's act, is very evident from another letter in December following; in which he aſſures the Marquis of Ormonde, that nothing can be of more prejuice to his affairs, than that the peace of Ireland ſhould be concluded, without a moſt certain aſſurance of a timely, and conſiderable aſſiſtance. Wherefore as his Lordſhip is moſt earneſtly to endeavour the concluſion of the peace, with poſitive aſſurance, that before April next, the King ſhould have ſix thouſand well armed foot from thence, ſo if the Marquis found that people, either not willing, or able, to give his Majeſty this conſiderable aſſiſtance, before the beginning of April, his Lordſhip muſt upon no terms conclude the peace, without firſt advertiſing the King of it." The impoſſibility of carrying on the war, and to preſerve his Proteſtant ſubjects, was here out of ſight at leaſt, if not overthrown; and that the aſſiſtance from Ireland, which was the "ſine qua non" of the peace, was his Majeſty's grand and primary motive for preſſing it to be concluded, will appear ſtill further as we go on.

The author of the Nuncio's memoirs complains in ſeveral places of the Marquis of Ormonde, for not obeying the King's orders in making peace with the Iriſh, tho' nothing but that peace could prevent his ruin. At laſt, he ſays, that the King, being tired out with his delays, deputed Lord Glamorgan, who had deſerved more of him than any one, to make a peace. The truth is, that this Earl, who was a zealous, bigotted Roman Catholick, and had aſſiſted the King at a vaſt expence, was favoured with a great ſhare of his Majeſty's confidence, and eſteem. In the Harleian Manuſcripts now depoſited in the Muſeum, there are ſeveral original letters from the King to Lord Glamorgan, which abundantly prove this. Whatever were the motives which induced the King to employ this Nobleman apart from the Lord Lieutenant, in a treaty of peace with the Iriſh, it is ſaid in the Nuncio's memoirs, that "being connected with the confederate Catholicks,

tholicks, by affinity, and religion, he was the moſt proper perſon to negotiate a peace with them; becauſe the King, being in the hands of the Hereticks, could employ none but a Roman Catholick to grant the Iriſh their own terms with regard to religion; which were not fit to be known publicly, till his Majeſty, having ſubdued the rebels in England, and Scotland, ſhould be in a condition to avow, and ratify thoſe conceſſions." It is true, that in a letter of the latter end of December preceding, the King mentioned to Lord ORMONDE his having engaged the Earl to further the peace in Ireland; as it hath been related. But neither his Majeſty, nor his Secretaries, in their frequent correſpondence with the Lord Lieutenant, have ever dropped a word of any commiſſion, warrant, or inſtruction, given to Lord GLAMORGAN; and the firſt time he is at all mentioned is not till May, and then by the Marquis; to whom it ſeems the Earl had intimated in a letter from Wales, that he was bound for Ireland. But though this great Miniſter was thus kept in the dark about the embaſſy—which, it muſt be owned, hath a bad aſpect—yet the Iriſh had notice of it, and depended much upon his advices and undertakings when the Earl ſhould come.

According to the Nuncio's memoirs, the King had given Lord GLAMORGAN, on the ſixth of January, a commiſſion under the great ſeal, to levy any number of men in Ireland, and other parts beyond the ſea, to command, and to put Officers over them, to make governors of forts, and towns, and to receive the King's rents, &c. On the twelfth of the ſame month, his Majeſty gave him another commiſſion under his ſign manual and private ſignet; in which it is ſaid, that "whatſoever he ſhould perform, as warranted under the ſign manual, pocket ſignet, or private mark, or even by word of mouth, without further ceremony, his Majeſty did, in the word of a King, and a Chriſtian, promiſe to make good to all intents and purpoſes, as effectually as if his authority had been under the great ſeal of England." On the twelfth of March, another warrant was given to the Earl, as follows:

CHARLES R.

"CHARLES, by the grace of GOD, of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, Defender of the faith, &c. to our truſty and right well beloved

loved couſin, EDWARD Earl of GLAMORGAN, greeting. We repoſing great and eſpecial truſt and confidence in your approved wiſdom and fidelity, do by theſe—as firmly as under our great ſeal to all intents and purpoſes—authoriſe, and give you power to treat and conclude with the confederate Roman Catholicks in our kingdom of Ireland, if upon neceſſity any be to be condeſcended unto, wherein our Lieutenant cannot ſo well be ſeen in, as not fit for us at preſent publickly to own. Therefore we charge you to proceed according to this our warrant with all poſſible ſecrecy; and for whatſoever you ſhall engage yourſelf, upon ſuch valuable conſiderations as you in your judgment ſhall deem fit, we promiſe, upon the word of a King and a Chriſtian, to ratify and perform the ſame that ſhall be granted by you and under your hand and ſeal; the ſaid confederate Catholicks having by their ſupplies teſtified their zeal to our ſervice: and this ſhall be in each particular to you a ſufficient warrant. Given at our Court at Oxford, under our ſignet and royal ſignature, the twelfth of March, in the twentieth year of our reign ſixteen hundred forty five.

There is a latin tranſlation of all the three commiſſions in the Nuncio's Memoirs; and of the laſt there is a copy in RUSHWORTH, from which it was tranſcribed. The King, in his declaration to the two Houſes of Parliament on the negotiation of Lord GLAMORGAN, acknowledges "that he having made an offer to his Majeſty to raiſe forces in Ireland, and to conduct them into England for his Majeſty's ſervice, had a commiſſion to that purpoſe; but then the King affirms it was to that purpoſe only, and not to treat of any thing elſe without the privity and direction of the Lord Lieutenant." His Majeſty doth not deny that the commiſſion above recited, and which had been made public, was that commiſſion; nor doth he own it. But if the commiſſion given to him was to no other purpoſe than is above mentioned, why was his embaſſy into Ireland never mentioned by the King and his Secretaries in all their letters to the Lord Lieutenant, and what occaſion was there for his executing this commiſſion, without the privity and directions of the Marquis? His Majeſty owns that he had no commiſſion at all to treat of any thing elſe, without his privity and direction; which is owning alſo that this was ſo to be treated of. But who can credit

RUSHWOR.

this,

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this, who hath ſeen the many directions to the Marquis himſelf, to treat for Iriſh forces to be ſent to England?

The reader may make his own reflexions on this paſſage; but Mr. Hume's reflexions in his hiſtory require ſome notice. He ſays, * though this declaration ſeems to be agreeable to truth, it gave no ſatisfaction to the Parliament; and ſome hiſtorians even at preſent, when the ancient bigotry is univerſally abated, are deſirous of repreſenting this very innocent tranſaction, in which the King was engaged by the moſt violent neceſſity, as a ſtain on the memory of that unfortunate Prince." At the end of this paſſage, he ſubjoins a note, in which he mentions Dr. Birch's treatiſe on this ſubject; "any facts contained in which it is not his buſineſs to oppoſe. He ſhould only produce arguments which prove that Glamorgan, when he received his private commiſſion, had injunctions from the King "to act altogether in concert with Ormonde." The reader doubtleſs imagines, that theſe arguments relate to the commiſſion which the King owns in the above declaration he had given Lord Glamorgan to raiſe forces in Ireland, and avows alſo in it to be to that purpoſe only: it is natural the reader ſhould imagine ſo, elſe why are they produced? But though the King had declared that the Earl had no other commiſſion, and Mr. Hume mentions no other, yet all his arguments do relate to another, very wide of the purpoſe of raiſing forces in Ireland. If his Majeſty did give no other commiſſion to the Earl, why all his parade of arguing to ſhew, "that he had injunctions from the King to act altogether in concert with Ormonde;" which by the way would convict the King of a falſhood, in ſaying, "that he had no commiſſion at all to treat of any thing elſe, without the privity and direction of the Lord Lieutenant?" Becauſe that is owning, as I ſaid before, that this was to be ſo treated of. But if the King did give another commiſſion to Lord Glamorgan, where was his Majeſty's veracity when he declared, "that he had a commiſſion to that purpoſe—raiſing forces in Ireland—and to that purpoſe only," and which this writer ſays ſeems to be agreeable to truth? In the firſt caſe, if Mr. Hume is ſincere, his vindi-

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* Edit. Oct. 1763. Vol. 7. p. 68.

cation of the Monarch is extremely weak; if he is not ſincere, it is extremely fallacious. In the laſt caſe, the King, who, he ſays in another place, "was candid ſincere and upright as much almoſt as any man whom we meet with in hiſtory," is convicted of a wilful public falſhood. But I ſhall have an occaſion preſently to make ſome further obſervations on his defence of his Majeſty's conduct in this "very innocent tranſaction."

On the thirtieth of April, the King wrote a letter to Rinuccini, an Italian prelate and the Pope's Nuncio into Ireland, which was to be delivered by Lord Glamorgan, as a credential for what the Earl ſhould negotiate with him. In the memoirs ſo often mentioned, there is a copy of that letter tranſcribed from the original, which the writer ſaith was then extant, and ſealed with the King's privy ſeal in red wax; and it may be thus literally tranſlated:

Sir,

Hearing of your reſolution for Ireland we do not doubt but things will go well, and that the good intentions began by means of the laſt Pope, will be accompliſhed by the preſent, by your means in our kingdoms of Ireland and England, you joining with our dear couſin the Earl of Glamorgan; with whom whatever you ſhall reſolve, we ſhall think ourſelves obliged to, and perform it at his return. His great merits oblige us to this confidence, which we repoſe in him above all, having known him above twenty years; during which time, he hath always ſignally advanced himſelf in our good eſteem, and by all kind of means carried the prize above all our ſubjects. This being joined to the conſideration of his blood, you may well judge of the paſſion which we have particularly for him, and that nothing ſhall be wanting on our part to perfect what he ſhall oblige himſelf to in our name, in conſideration of the favours received by your means. Confide therefore in him: but in the mean while according to the directions that we have given him, how important it is that the affair ſhould be kept ſecret, there is no occaſion to perſuade you, nor to recommend it to you, ſince you ſee that the neceſſity of the thing itſelf requires it. This is the firſt letter which we have ever wrote immediately to any Miniſter of State of the Pope, hoping that it will not be the laſt; but that after the ſaid Earl and you ſhall have concerted your meaſures, we ſhall openly ſhew ourſelf, as we have aſſured him,

Your Friend
CHARLES, R.

From our Court at Oxford 30th April, 1645.

I ſhall make no other reflections upon this letter, which the writer hath ſaid is given with the utmoſt exactneſs, than that it certainly adds a credit and authenticity to the commiſſions, however extraordinary, that were produced by Lord Glamorgan; and which Carte, and other writers after him, have pronounced to be forgeries. But more of this in the ſequel. ——When the Nuncio arrived at Paris in his way to Ireland, the Queen of England, who—to uſe his expreſſion—was Queen not ſo much of the nation as of the King himſelf, had been there for ſome time to ſollicit aſſiſtance for her huſband. It is beſide the purpoſe of this hiſtory to give a minute detail of the Nuncio's ſecret negotiation with the Queen; to whom he was charged with a Brief from the Pope, and a letter from Cardinal Pamphilio the Pope's nephew. It ſhall ſuffice only to ſay, that as the Queen durſt not admit the Nuncio's viſit in form, for fear of the prejudice it might do to the King's affairs, and as the Nuncio was too full of his high character to ſubmit to a private audience, the buſineſs was managed by the Queen's confeſſor, and the Nuncio's ſecretary. She aſſured him by the former, that ſhe was very ſorry that the laws of England did not permit her to ſee him, and that ſhe approved of the reaſons he had given why he could not viſit her, unleſs in a manner ſuitable to the dignity of the Prince he repreſented. On the other hand, the Nuncio ſent his ſecretary to the Queen with the brief and letter above mentioned, to aſſure her of the Pope's and the Nuncio's zeal for her ſervice, and to deſire her Majeſty's leave for him to go to Ireland. The Queen would have been glad to have detained him, at leaſt till the peace was made; but that not being in her power, ſhe declared her confidence in the Nuncio's good offices, and wiſhed him a proſperous journey.

K. Ch. Works

The Queen had been impowered, by a letter from the King in March, "to promiſe to whom ſhe thought fit, that he would take away all the penal laws againſt the Roman Catholicks in England, as ſoon as God ſhould enable him to do it; ſo as by their means, or in their favours, he might have ſo powerful aſſiſtance as may deſerve ſo great a favour, and enable him to do it." She reſolved therefore to ſollicit the Pope for his aſſiſtance: and when ſhe heard of the Nuncio's appointment to go to Ireland, ſhe ſent Sr. Ken. Digby to Rome to that end, where he continued ſeveral months in his ſollicitations, and at laſt procured a ſubſidy from his Holineſs. In the mean time, the Queen endeavoured to make a peace with the Iriſh, through the guaranty or mediation of the Queen regent of France: and Lord Jermyn, the King's Miniſter with her, ſaid in a letter to Lord Digby, which was intercepted, that the only thing he feared in ſuch a treaty was, " that the King's party in Ireland might poſſibly not acquieſce in ſuch a peace as would be fit for the King to make; and then he would have the ſcandal of it—for it would be a ſcandalous one, that is unavoidable—without the benefit of an aſſiſtance from Ireland." But this propoſal of a treaty, between the two Queens and the confederate Catholicks, came to nothing. We ſhall now therefore return to Ireland, to ſee the progreſs that had been made in one there by the Lord Lieutenant.

The King's inſtructions, in anſwer to the ſtate of the treaty when it was adjourned, and which had been given him by the three Counſellors ſent to him, as above mentioned, for that purpoſe, had been delayed through the taking of thoſe Miniſters at ſea by the ſhips of the Parliament. But as ſoon as Lord Ormonde received them by another hand, he ſent to have the treaty renewed on the tenth of April. The Iriſh, who wanted to know from their agents what foreign aſſiſtance they might expect, deſired the meeting might be put off for a month longer: and though on the Lord Lieutenant's refuſing this, their Commiſſioners came to Dublin, yet they declared that as their General Aſſembly was to meet on the fifteenth of May, they would not conclude any thing without their approbation. They were ſo full of the notions which their friends in England had inſtilled into them, that the King's neceſſities would compel him to grant them every thing they demanded, that Lord Ormonde could bring them to nothing more, than to deliver their propoſitions and debate the matter of them; to which they deſired the moſt favourable anſwers that could be given. In theſe debates they were convinced, that there was no occaſion for the ſuſpenſion of Poyning's act: but in lieu of their conceding upon that point, they made a new and extravagant demand in the diſtribution of honours and places; and inſtead of being promoted to them indifferently as his other ſubſects, which was all that they had aſked, they inſiſted now, that the King ſhould oblige himſelf to employ an equal number, of Popiſh natives, and of Proteſtants. But this, they were told in plain terms, too nearly touched the King's prerogative, and the ſafety of the kingdom, to be granted.

The Marquis, finding that they would not conclude a peace at this meeting, and not knowing whether conceſſions in repealing the penal ſtatutes would content them, did not think proper to mention his enlarged powers —above related—on that head; being in hopes, from ſome intelligence he had received, that a qualification of thoſe ſtatutes would be ſufficient, and thinking it of dangerous conſequence to intimate any thing further. In other articles he made ſome conceſſions, with the concurrence of the Privy Council; but in this he went no further than to give the ſecurity of the King's word, that the penal ſtatutes ſhould not be executed. Of how little credit his Majeſty's word was with the Papiſts, as well as the Parliament, may be ſeen in a memorial ſent at this time to Rome by the Engliſh Catholicks, recited in the Nuncio's memoirs; wherein they adviſe his Holineſs to refuſe the ſubſidies which they knew the Queen would aſk of him, except upon this condition, that the King ſhould grant before hand the juſt demands of the Iriſh with regard to religion; "ſince the King was not to be truſted when once his intereſt might tempt him to agree with his Parliament, to whom he had often ſolemnly declared his reſolution to conſent to any ſeverities againſt the Catholicks; and his word was not to be relied on, as appeared from the caſe of the Earl of Strafford, and the Biſhops, whom he ſacrificed after he had ſworn to protect them."

The many conceſſions which the Lord Lieutenant had made at this meeting he was in hopes would produce a peace; and the agents departed from the conferences in all appearance well enough diſpoſed to it. But they had to do with a body of men divided into various factions, which worked with incredible induſtry to oppoſe or divert a peace. To the men of deſperate fortunes, who had nothing to get but in the confuſions of their country, were added the Gentry in Ulſter of the old Iriſh clans, whoſe hopes of retaining the plantations they had got poſſeſſion of would be deſtroyed by a peace for ever: and as there were to be exceptions of ſome crimes in the act of oblivion, the guilty muſt ſuffer, or be in perpetual exile. But what above all things obſtructed a peace, was the condition in which it would leave the Iriſh Clergy; to whom, by a fatal miſtake in politicks thro' the blind zeal of their Gentry and Nobility, had been given the benefices and dignities of the Church. Theſe Eccleſiaſticks were generally men of mean original; and returning home full of the grandeur of the Popiſh Clergy abroad, with idle ſtories of which they amuſed their poor relations, they had an incredible influence with the common people. Before the rebellion, they had ſubſiſted upon the charity of the Gentlemen who had received them into their houſes; but having taſted the ſweets of Church endowments, they had naturally no inclination to relapſe into their former precarious mean ſubſiſtence. From their education and way of life they were neceſſarily but ill judges of public affairs; but from the ſame way of life they became buſy and medling in all; and filling every body's ears with their declamations on the ſplendour of religion, they made an aſtoniſhing intereſt to obſtruct the peace.

When the aſſembly met at Kilkenny, the report of the Marquis of Ormonde's anſwer to their propoſitions ſeemed to give a tolerable ſatisfaction, except on the article of religion; wherein very few would be contented with any thing leſs than an abſolute repeal of the penal laws for ever. Lord Clanricarde was of opinion, from ſome aſſurances he had received, that if a repeal of thoſe laws had been then granted, a peace might ſuddenly have been concluded, to the ſatisfaction of the beſt of the nation. But he ſoon ſaw his miſtake. For the Iriſh Clergy ſitting at the ſame time in convocation, in which were preſent the four titular Archbiſhops, nine Biſhops, and ſeveral Dignitaries, and ſome lay members of the aſſembly propoſing a queſtion to them about the oath of aſſociation, a debate of ſeveral days enſued. At length a ſolemn decree was made, and ſigned by two and thirty Eccleſiaſticks, that by the tenour and meaning of the ſaid oath of aſſociation, the confederate Catholicks were bound in conſcience, abſolutely, expreſly, and clearly, to ſet down in the treaty of peace, a ſpecial article for keeping in their hands all ſuch churches, abbeys, monaſtaries, and chapels, as were then in their poſſeſſion." This ſynodical deciſion gave great uneaſineſs to thoſe who deſired a peace; and was the parent of great confuſion in their Aſſembly. It was complained of by men of ſenſe, as tending to ſtir up ſedition, and to create diſſenſions, to deprive the laity of thoſe graces which had been offered for their eſtates, and of their enjoyment of places of truſt and power, from which all their party would derive a benefit. But as they had through their zeal admitted their titular Biſhops to have votes in their Aſſembly, the decree was ſo ſtrongly ſupported there, that thoſe who moſt dreaded the conſequence could only prevail for a middle way; "that as to the Marquis of ORMONDE's demand for reſtoring the churches to the Proteſtant Clergy, their agents ſhould give an abſolute denial to it."

On the other hand, the agents made great complaints againſt the decree, as charging them with the breach of their oath; and inſiſted it ſhould be reverſed. But they could get nothing but a declaration, that they did not mean that their agents had been guilty of perjury unleſs they had actually broken their oath. This did not ſatisfy them; and they proteſted, that if no other reparation of their honour was made, they would break off all communication with the Clergy, leave them to their own meaſures, and not trouble themſelves any more about peace, or war. Upon this, a conference was ordered between ſome of the Aſſembly and ſome of the Convocation; and the Clergy added to their former explanation, "that they might make peace with a ſafe conſcience, though a ſpecial condition for retaining the churches were not inſerted in the articles; provided the effect thereof was obtained, and the Catholicks ſhould actually keep their poſſeſſion." But this did not give ſatisfaction to men of ſenſe and candour, who ſaw that the King could not grant the churches and endowments to their party, either in honour or conſcience; and yet they had a ſcruple to article for the reſtitution of them to the Proteſtant Clergy. In this exigence Lord CLANRICARDE propoſed, that the Catholicks might retain their poſſeſſion till the peace was confirmed by act of Parliament, and then the churches — there being no article at all relating to them—would be reſtored of courſe to the Proteſtants by the laws of the land. But as the Marquis of ORMONDE had made an expreſs demand of the churches for the Proteſtant Clergy in the name of the King, he would not retract that article, which he thought would be to his Majeſty's prejudice, and diſhonour. This expedient however would not have been accepted.

For about the middle of June, two of their agents were ſent from the General Aſſembly to Dublin, to renew the treaty; the others being to follow at the breaking up of their Aſſembly. There is nothing more certain in this hiſtory, than that it was the fixed reſolution of theſe people to take advantage of the King's neceſſities; though their own ruin, as well as his, were hazarded by it, and in the end, as it will be ſeen, it was the conſequence: and who can pity them? As the King's neceſſities encreaſed, the Iriſh Catholicks roſe in their demands; and the agents were ſent with ſuch new propoſitions, as though they imagined the game was in their own hands entirely. They required that the act of oblivion ſhould be without exception of perſons; that the planted lands in Wicklow, and Kilkenny, ſhould be reſtored to the ancient owners by act of Parliament; that every one aggrieved by the old plantations in King JAMES's reign might be relieved by Parliament; that all the penal laws that were ever made againſt Roman Catholicks, and the ſtatutes of proviſors and premunire, ſhould be repealed; that all Catholicks ſhould be exempted from the juriſdiction of the Proteſtant Clergy; that all their titular Biſhops and Prelates ſhould exerciſe their juriſdiction upon thoſe of their religion without controul; that a further act ſhould be made to exempt the Catholicks from all penalties whatever on account of the exerciſe of their religion; that the churches, which were in their poſſeſſion, ſhould neither be demanded, nor expected from them, for they might not reſtore them; that not only all their cities, forts, and places in their hands ſhould remain ſo, but that they ſhould continue to exerciſe their new form of government, till every thing was ſettled by act of Parliament according to the articles of the peace; that they ſhould not only have an equality of numbers, and of eminence of places, in all civil and military offices, in the privy council, in courts of law, and of magiſtracy, and profit, throughout the kingdom, but that his Majeſty's

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favour in this reſpect ſhould be made certain, by particular inſtances at preſent; that this condition ſhould be expreſſed in the articles of peace, and extend to future times in like manner; that they might erect univerſities, and free ſchools; that Poyning's act ſhould be ſuſpended, and all impediments to that ſuſpenſion, and their own ſitting in Parliament, might be removed; that all their debts to the Proteſtants might be compounded by Commiſſioners; that all who did not ſubmit to the peace ſhould be declared traitors, and be attainted in Parliament; that all Privy-counſellors, Judges, and Magiſtrates, before they executed their offices, ſhould be ſworn to obſerve the articles of pacification; and that an act of Parliament ſhould be paſſed, that neither thoſe articles, nor any part of them, ſhould ever be repealed.

The reader will eaſily imagine that theſe propoſitions were not aſſented to; but I have given them at length, in order to ſhew to what a monſtrous height of arrogance the Iriſh Catholicks were now arrived. The Lord Lieutenant was juſtly incenſed at theſe new demands, ſo unreaſonable in them to aſk, and impoſſible for the King to grant: and though the agents had made them, in obedience to the inſtructions of the Aſſembly, yet being ſome of the wiſeſt and moſt moderate men among them, they ſaw how impracticable it would be to treat of them; and were well enough inclined to accept the conceſſions which Lord Ormonde was willing to make. Of theſe his Lordſhip drew up a brief, and delivered to Lord Muskery, to be laid before the General Aſſembly, which was to meet at Kilkenny in the beginning of Auguſt. Whilſt they were tediouſly debating upon them, the Marquis ſent the King a detail of all the tranſactions, and copies of all the papers that paſſed in the treaty; and had his Majeſty's entire approbation. The Earl of Glamorgan, who arrived at Dublin at the time when the laſt conference was held with the Iriſh agents, was preſent and aſſiſting at it; and he either went with them, or immediately followed them to Kilkenny. For on the eleventh of that month, the Marquis of Ormonde wrote a letter to Lord Muskery; in which after obſerving that the importance of the timely execution of the buſineſs was twice as great as it was before, on account of ſome late incidents in England, and that he had expreſſed a deſire that the Marquis ſhould act in concert with Lord

GLAMORGAN, the Marquis thought it neceſſary to acquaint Lord MUSKERY, "that he knew no ſubject in England, upon whoſe favour and authority with his Majeſty, and real and innate nobility, he could better rely than upon Lord GLAMORGAN's; nor any perſon whom the Marquis would more endeavour to ſerve, in thoſe things which that Lord ſhould undertake for the ſervice of his Majeſty, or with whom the Marquis ſhould ſooner agree for the benefit of the kingdom." This letter is given in the Nuncio's memoirs; and it is very obſervable that it is not in CARTE's collection. But there is a letter there from the Marquis to Lord CLANRICARDE ten days after, in which he ſays, "I did not intend that letter of mine to my Lord MUSKERY ſhould have been made uſe of as a public diſpatch; and herein I hope your Lordſhip is ſatisfied, by a letter of mine ſent in anſwer to their offer upon my heedleſs motion;—for ſo indeed it was—inſomuch that I kept not a copy of it." What that offer and anſwer were, doth not appear; but the Marquis's letter above-mentioned was ſome months after delivered to the Nuncio by the Supreme Council, as a proof that the Lord Lieutenant would ſupport the agreement that had been, or ſhould be, made with the Earl of GLAMORGAN. The Confederates accordingly proceeded immediately to proſecute the treaty with that Earl; who ſhewed a readineſs to conſent to thoſe articles which the Marquis of ORMONDE had refuſed: And though the Pope's agent then in Ireland delivered a remonſtrance againſt their ſcheme, of making a public peace with the Lord Lieutenant and a private one with the Earl of GLAMORGAN, and disjoining the religious from the political articles, yet in the latter end of Auguſt, they concluded the treaty.

The preamble ſet forth the difficulties which had retarded the concluſion of a peace with the Lord Lieutenant, and the authority which was intruſted with Lord GLAMORGAN, to aſſure further grace and favours to the Catholicks than the Lord Lieutenant had granted them; and the ſubſtance of the treaty was as follows: That all the Catholicks in Ireland ſhould enjoy the free and public exerciſe of their religion, and all the churches which were not then actually enjoyed by the Proteſtants; that all the Catholicks ſhould be exempted from the juriſdiction of the Proteſtant Clergy, and the Popiſh Clergy not be puniſhed for the exerciſe of their juriſdiction over their reſpective

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ſpective flocks; that an act of Parliament ſhould paſs to ſecure the King's conceſſions to them,—the form of which act was inſerted;—that no body ſhould diſturb the Catholicks in poſſeſſion of the articles above ſpecified, of which the Earl engaged the King's word for the performance; that the public faith of the kingdom ſhould be engaged to him, for ſending ten thouſand men armed, by order of the General Aſſembly, to ſerve the King in England, Scotland, or Wales, under command of the ſaid Earl; the Officers of which army to be named by the Supreme Council, or the General Aſſembly. Beſides theſe articles, there was a ſtipulation to employ two thirds of the revenue of the Clergy for three years towards the maintenance of the army; and an explanation of the article concerning the church livings, that at preſent they ſhould not be ſecured by act of Parliament, as prejudicial to the King, but in ſome other way which Lord GLAMORGAN engaged for, till a fit opportunity offered to do it by act of Parliament. It was alſo declared to be further intended, that the Catholic Clergy ſhould not be interrupted in any way, as to the ſaid livings, contrary to the meaning of theſe articles. When theſe were ſigned, the Earl added a proteſtation or oath, "to acquaint the King with theſe proceedings, and the punctual performance of what he had, as authoriſed by his Majeſty, obliged himſelf to ſee performed; and in default, not to permit the army intruſted to his charge, nor any part of it, to adventure itſelf till conditions from and by the King are performed." The General Aſſembly ſuſpecting that the Lord Lieutenant might oppoſe the execution of this peace, in three days after made an order, "that their union and oath of aſſociation ſhould remain firm, and inviolable, and in full ſtrength, in all points, and to all purpoſes, till the articles of the intended peace ſhould be ratified in Parliament, notwithſtanding any proclamation of the peace."

The Catholicks had thus ſettled every part of their ſecret treaty to their ſatisfaction; and in the beginning of September, their agents returned to Dublin, in order to renew their public treaty with the Lord Lieutenant. But his Lordſhip deſired, before he entered upon it, that they would expreſs in writing with what conceſſions of his they were ſatisfied, and all the demands they intended to make, that their time and trouble might be ſhortened. This requeſt was complied with; and moſt of their former extravagant propoſitions were now omitted. They moved for the ſuſpenſion of POYNNING's act, reſtoring the planted-lands in Wicklow, and Kilkenny, to the old proprietors, relief of the ſufferers through the Ulſter plantation by Parliament, and an act to aſſert the independency of the kingdom; but when theſe were refuſed, they ſeemed to acquieſce. A general pardon to them, and the heirs of ſuch of their party as were dead, was granted; with an exception of the authors, and procurers of murder. They were gratified in the aſcertaining of ſome few inſtances of offices, and commands, to be conferred on ſuch of their party as the King ſhould chooſe. They fixed the aſſiſtance they would give the King at ten thouſand foot; and it was agreed to give a commiſſion to perſons of their naming, to applot money on their quarters for paying and ſubſiſting the men, and ſettling all diſputes in them for any thing under ten pounds value till the peace was perfected: provided that nothing was done, but under the authority, and with the concurrence of the Lord Lieutenant. In ſhort, nothing ſeemed now to obſtruct a peace but the article of religion; the agents requiring that the Catholicks might be exempted by act of Parliament from the oath of ſupremacy, the book of Common Prayer, and all penalties and incapacities impoſed on them in vertue of any ſtatute ſince the reformation. But the Marquis apprehending that this was intended to qualify the Popiſh Clergy to hold their livings, without the oath of ſupremacy, or uſing the Engliſh liturgy, inſiſted on the reſtriction, that this exemption ſhould not extend to the ſtatutes of proviſion and premunire, nor to any other laws in force, which concerned the juriſdiction or prerogative of the Crown, nor to that ſtatute of QUEEN ELIZABETH which related to Eccleſiaſticks, and the Common Prayer. The agents uſed all their endeavours to prevail on the Marquis to withdraw his reſtrictions; and declared they had a power to conclude a peace, if their exemption might ſtand without them. But he would not yield: and after many debates upon it in vain, the agents left Dublin, on the twelfth of November, to report their proceedings to the Aſſembly.

The Lord Lieutenant had very wiſely taken the advice and approbation of the Council in all his proceedings on this treaty; and he had very freely and plainly informed Lord DIGBY, that if it was poſſible, it would be dangerous to conclude a peace without, or againſt the advice of the Council of that kingdom. But he ſuppoſed, he ſaid, that it was not at all to be done without them; as the eſſential part muſt be drawn into acts to be paſſed in Parliament, but which could not be tranſmitted according to law without the conſent of the Council, unleſs Poyning's act were ſuſpended, which muſt alſo paſs their votes: and he found by experience, that further than they ſaw the King's directions for it, they would not conſent to any thing of favour for the Iriſh. The King however was then ſo much diſtreſſed by the ill run of his affairs in England, that though he had all along proteſted to the Parliament againſt granting any toleration of Popery in Ireland, as inconſiſtent with his honour and conſcience, and but three months before had aſſured the Marquis, "that he would rather leave it to the chance of war, than to give his conſent to any ſuch allowance of Popery, as muſt evidently bring deſtruction to that profeſſion, which by the grace of God he ſhould ever maintain through all extremities," yet all this was now laid aſide; and on the twenty-ſecond of October, he wrote Lord Ormonde the following letter.

ORMONDE,

I find by yours to Digby, that you are ſomewhat cautious not to conclude the peace without at leaſt the concurrence of the Council there; which if you could procure, I confeſs it would be ſo much the better.—But the Iriſh peace is of ſuch abſolute neceſſity, that no compliments or particular reſpects whatſoever muſt hinder it. Wherefore I abſolutely command you, and without reply, to execute the directions I ſent you the twenty-ſeventh of February laſt; giving you leave to get the approbation of the Council, ſo as, and no otherwiſe, that by ſeeking it you do not hazard the peace, or ſo much as an affront, by their fooliſh refuſing to concur with you; promiſing upon the word of a King, if God proſper me, you ſhall be ſo far from receiving any prejudice by doing this ſo neceſſary work, though alone, that I will account it as one of the chiefeſt of your great ſervices to me, and accordingly you ſhall be thought on by

Your, &c.

CHARLES R.

I have given the reader this letter in the King's own words, that I may not be ſuſpected of miſrepreſenting him. For when we conſider that the directions in February, to which he refers, were to conſent to the ſuſpenſion of POYNING's act for ſuch bills as might be agreed on, and the repeal of the penal ſtatutes againſt Papiſts by a law—which, in a former letter he had ſaid, "he could not either with his own honour, or the ſafety of his Proteſtant ſubjects, conſent to"—it muſt be allowed that this command to Lord ORMONDE, to conclude a peace upon thoſe conditions, even againſt the opinion, if it ſhould be ſo, of the Council, throws an indelible blemiſh upon the character of this King. The Marquis, who was more jealous of the King's honour than the King himſelf, in conjunction with the Council, ſent DAN. O NEIL to Kilkenny, with an anſwer to a paper the agents had delivered at parting, for an explanation of ſome general anſwers to their articles; and with a propoſal, that if the Aſſembly did not agree to the reſtrictions he had inſiſted upon—above mentioned—the whole article might be left to his Majeſty's determination. Thus the Marquis was endeavouring to ſave the King's honour, if he could, by concluding a peace without a flagrant violation of it; but if that could not be done, he was determined to ſave his own. In a few days after, Lord DIGBY made his eſcape from a defeat in Yorkſhire, and arrived at Dublin; of whoſe aſſiſtance the Marquis was very glad: he was known to be the chief Miniſter, and favourite of the King; and he ſent a letter to Kilkenny to preſs for a ſpeedy reſolution, in anſwer to the propoſal of the Lord Lieutenant.

But the Nuncio was now arrived; and his authority and counſels were to be conſidered. The Pope having reſolved to aſſiſt the Catholicks in Ireland, and to ſend as a Nuncio to them a man of dignity and ſpirit, RINUCCINI Archbiſhop of Fermo, deſcended of a noble family at Florence, and of long experience in the Court of Rome, was appointed for that ſervice. As ſoon as he arrived, the Supreme Council gave him a full account of their proceedings, both with the Lord Lieutenant, and the Earl of GLAMORGAN; and it was referred to his conſideration what further ſteps were to be taken, in order to preſerve the Catholic religion, and to ſupport the King's authority. The Earl of GLAMORGAN communicated to him alſo the King's commiſſions, by virtue of which he had made the treaty; and ſhewing him a letter ſealed and directed to the Pope, delivered him that to himſelf from the King, above recited. Mr. Carte, according to his uſual unfairneſs, ſays, that the Nuncio refuſed to receive the letter to the Pope; whereas the truth is, according to the memoirs, that it was offered him only to look at. "Spectandum quoque mihi dedit regis epiſtolam directam ad ſuam ſanctitatem." At the ſame time the Earl preſented to him a paper in Italian, containing not only the heads of the commiſſions already ſpecified, but of ſome much larger; amongſt which was a patent granted him from the King, on the firſt of April ſixteen hundred forty four, and a commiſſion to make conceſſions in point of religion in Ireland, by way of ſupplement to the authority of the Lord Lieutenant. Whatever objections are made to the authenticity of the commiſſions, or powers aſſumed by the Earl, from the extraordinary nature of thoſe powers, they ſeem to be fully anſwered by this patent, not only related in theſe memoirs, but publiſhed in both the editions of Collins's peerage of England, and never contraverted.

After reciting his ſeveral titles—among the reſt that of Earl of Glamorgan—he is appoited Generaliſſimo of three armies, Engliſh, Iriſh, and foreign, and Admiral of a fleet at ſea, with a power to recommend his Lieutenant General, and to name and commiſſion all his other officers; to contract with any ſubjects in England, Ireland, or Wales, for wardſhips, cuſtoms, woods, or any of the King's rights or prerogatives, in order to raiſe money for ſo chargeable an employment: and for perſons of generoſity for whom titles of honour are moſt deſirable, he was intruſted with ſeveral patents under the great ſeal of England from a Marquis to a Baronet, which he had full power and authority to date and diſpoſe of, without knowing the King's further pleaſure: and then it follows, "ſo great is our truſt and confidence in you, as that whatſoever you do contract for, or promiſe, we will make good the ſame accordingly from the date of this our commiſſion forwards; which, for the better ſatisfaction, we give you leave to give them, or any of them, copies thereof atteſted under your hand and ſeal of arms: and for your own encouragement, and in token of our gratitude, we give and allow you henceforward, ſuch fees, titles, pre-eminences and privileges, as do and may belong unto your place and command above mentioned, with promiſe of our dear daughter Elizabeth to your ſon Plantaginet in marriage, with three hundred thouſand pounds in dower or portion, moſt part whereof we acknowledge ſpent and diſburſed by your father and you in our ſervice, and the title of Duke of Somerſet to you and your heirs male for ever; and from henceforward to give the garter to your arms, and at your pleaſure to put on the George and blue ribband: and for your greater honour, and in teſtimony of our reality, we have with our own hand affixed the great ſeal of England unto theſe our commiſſion and letters, making them patents. Witneſs ourſelf at Oxford, the firſt day of April in the twentieth year of our reign, and the year of our Lord one thouſand ſix hundred and forty four.

This was probably the ſame patent which was the ſubject of an enquiry in the Houſe of Lords ſoon after the reſtoration, as being granted—with reſpect to the Dukedom of Somerſet—in prejudice to other peers: on which Lord Glamorgan confeſſed that he had ſuch a patent, of which he had made no uſe, and was willing to deliver up to his Majeſty; which he did accordingly. There is however no doubt to be made that this was a genuine patent; and this being granted, it is a very corroborating proof at leaſt of the authenticity of the ſeveral powers, and blanks, which he produced to the Nuncio. If the King himſelf put the great ſeal to this commiſſion, and theſe letters—as in this patent he owns he did—the reaſoning of the Secretaries of State againſt their genuineneſs, as being iſſued without their counterſigning, and intervention, is entirely overthrown. Mr. Carte hath alſo accuſed the Earl of forging theſe powers, not only without any proof, but in direct contradiction to the authority given him, in the Nuncio's memoirs, and in this patent. Mr. Hume, in the firſt edition of his hiſtory, declared for the ſuppoſition of the forgery of the Earl's commiſſions. But in the late edition and place before mentioned, having acknowledged that a note he had juſt made was ſomewhat different from that publiſhed in the firſt edition, he adds, that "on a review he does not find that the King ever poſitively affirmed that Glamorgan's powers were forgeries. He ſays not ſo in his declaration to the Parliament above cited. In his letter to Ormonde, and the Iriſh Council, he ſeems even to acknowledge their reality." But his Majeſty's contradiction to himſelf, in that declaration, and in that letter hath been already obſerved: and if we ſhould go ſo far as to ſay with this writer, that it was "a very innocent tranſaction"—which from what hath been related under the King's own hand doth not appear ſo—yet ſurely his Majeſty's falſehood in vindication of it, is very inconſiſtent with the character given of him by Mr. Hume, "that he was as candid, ſincere, and upright, as any man almoſt to be met with in hiſtory."

The Nuncio being thoroughly informed of the proceedings on all ſides, delivered his own opinion in a latin ſpeech in December to the Council at Kilkenny, which was againſt keeping ſecret the religious articles of their peace made with the Earl, and publiſhing only the political ones made with the Lord Lieutenant; of ſome of which he made great complaint. The Supreme Council drew up a reply to his objections, in a manner which made him ſuſpect, that the peace with Lord Ormonde was concluded before his arrival, though it was not thought proper then to publiſh it. But in this he was miſtaken. They agreed however to the propoſal laſt made by the Marquis; and on the twelfth of December, ſent Mr. J. Walsh to Dublin to ſettle what remained, and particularly the clauſe, "that nothing in the articles ſhould be conſtrued to hinder the benefit of his Majeſty's conceſſions, to whom the reſt were referred." But now a new ſcene was diſcovered. An attempt having been made by the Iriſh upon Sligo at the end of October, in which the titular Archbiſhop of Tuam had a command, the rebels were beaten, and the Prelate killed; in whoſe baggage was found a copy of the treaty with Lord Glamorgan. Theſe papers having been tranſmitted to the Engliſh Parliament, were publiſhed by them with great pleaſure; and with no leſs diſperſed in Ireland. As ſoon as they were received by the Lord Lieutenant and Council, to whom Lord Digby was now joined, they judged it neceſſary to do ſomething to vindicate the King's honour, and juſtice, ſo deeply wounded by this treaty; and to prevent as much as poſſible any further prejudice to his affairs. The Earl had been ſent for by Lord Digby to explain his letter by Walsh, in which he ſaid that three thouſand men were ready to embark in order to relieve Cheſter; about which Walsh, who was well inſtructed in every thing elſe, could give no ſatisfaction. The Earl came up accordingly late on Chriſtmas eve; but in the interim, a copy of his treaty had been received. Wherefore when the Council were met on the twenty ſixth, Lord Digby came to the board, and charging the Earl of Glamorgan with a ſuſpicion of high treaſon, moved that his perſon might be ſecured: after this he produced the treaty, which being red, he declaimed againſt it with great warmth; aſſuring them "that he was confident, that the King, to redeem his crown, his life, and the lives of his Queen and children, would not grant to the confederates the leaſt piece of conceſſions ſo deſtructive to his regality, and religion." But it is plain that he did not know—nor to ſpeak impartially, the King himſelf—what he would do when he came to be puſhed to extremities.——I mean no reflection upon the King at all in this. Human nature is too frail, and the powers of the human mind are too feeble, for any man to know certainly how far his fortitude may be depended upon when he ſhall be puſhed to ſuch extremities.——It is certain that the report of this ſecret treaty with Lord Glamorgan, atteſted by ſo many copies that had got abroad, afforded an occaſion of great clamour to his enemies, and to his moſt faithful Proteſtant ſubjects uneaſineſs and diſcontent.

On the next day after his commitment, the Earl was examined by a committee of the Council, to whom he owned the whole tranſaction, and that he had conſulted with no body in it but the parties with whom he made the agreement; and what he did therein, was not as he conceived obligatory to his Majeſty. But two days afterwards, he deſired that to his confeſſion might be added the following words, "and yet without any juſt blemiſh of my honour, honeſty, or conſcience." He ſent for the original counterpart of the articles, and the copy of his oath; and delivering them to the Council he was enlarged from his impriſonment, but ſtill confined to the caſtle. To ſhew that the King was not obliged by his agreement, he produced a defeazance which he had ſigned, expreſſing that he did not intend to oblige his Majeſty otherwiſe than he himſelf ſhould pleaſe; but at the ſame time promiſing upon his word and honour not to acquaint the King with this defeazance, till he had endeavoured all he could to induce his Majeſty to grant what he had ſtipulated; which endeavour was to diſcharge his engagement to them.

When the Marquis of Ormonde urged the Earl in private ſome days after to ſhew him his authority, he produced the warrant mentioned of the twelfth of January—having depoſited the other with the Supreme Council—and at the Marquis's requeſt, ſent him a copy of it the next day written with his own hand, and atteſted with his name in form; which the Marquis ſent to the King, as the other of the twelfth of March had been before. We have already ſeen what the King ſaid, in his printed declaration, of the commiſſion given to Lord Glamorgan; that it was to treat of nothing, except the ſending forces out of Ireland, without the privity and directions of the Lord Lieutenant; to which ſhall now be added, that his Majeſty alſo ſays in the ſame paper, "that he hath given directions to the Lord Lieutenant and the Council there to proceed againſt the ſaid Earl." In his letter to them about this tranſaction, he ſays "it is poſſible he might have thought fit to have given the Earl of Glamorgan ſuch a credential as might give him credit with the Roman Catholicks, in caſe the Marquis ſhould find occaſion to make uſe of him, either as a further aſſurance to them of what he ſhould privately promiſe, or in caſe he ſhould judge it neceſſary to manage thoſe matters for their greater confidence apart by the Earl, of whom they might be leſs jealous." This, ſays he, "is all, and the very bottom of what we might have poſſibly entruſted to the Earl of Glamorgan." But this the reader ſees is another, and a very different purpoſe, from that which he affirms, two days before, in his declaration to the Parliament, "was the purpoſe, and the only purpoſe:" and though it is true that his Majeſty in the above letter, did order the charge to be diligently and thoroughly proſecuted againſt the Earl, yet in a private letter to the Lord Lieutenant by the ſame diſpatch, the King ſaid, "though he had too juſt cauſe for the clearing of his honour, to command, as he had done, the proſecuting Glamorgan in a legal way, yet he would have the Marquis ſuſpend the execution of any ſentence againſt him, until the King was informed fully of all the proceedings."

Charles I.

A. 1646.

If there are any reflections to be made upon theſe counter orders and declarations, they certainly do not tend to the honour of King Charles. He had declared to the Parliament that the Earl had a commiſſion to raiſe forces in Ireland, and to that purpoſe only: and here he tells the Council, that he had given the Earl another commiſſion to a very different purpoſe, and which is alſo "all and the very bottom of what he might poſſibly have entruſted him with." Mr. Hume, I muſt own, is an artful writer; but it will be too hard for all his ſophiſtry to clear the Monarch of a wilful falſehood, in one or the other of theſe aſſertions. But this is not the whole. To the Parliament he declared that Glamorgan had no commiſſion to treat of any thing elſe, except raiſing forces in Ireland without the privity of the Lord Lieutenant; which is the ſame as ſaying this was to be ſo treated of: but in a letter to Lord Ormonde, he declared "on the word of a Chriſtian, he never intended Glamorgan ſhould treat of any thing without his approbation, much leſs without his knowledge." Theſe aſſertions are ſo manifeſtly contradictory, that it is impoſſible they ſhould both be true. The laſt is brought by Mr. Hume, as one of his arguments to prove, "that the Earl had injunctions from the King to act altogether in concert with Ormonde;" a point, which no one hath contradicted on the only commiſſion this writer mentions, except the King himſelf, as we have juſt now ſeen. To ſuch miſerable ſhifts are able men reduced, when they write to pleaſe a party, or to ſupport a character without regard to truth! It is but very little that Mr. Hume hath ſaid on this critical part of King Charles's reign: but unleſs he could have ſaid ſomething much more to the purpoſe than he hath ſaid, he had better have taken the way that Lord Clarendon did, and have ſaid nothing at all.—But what muſt put his Majeſty's duplicity in this affair beyond all doubt, are two letters from him to the Earl himſelf, the one three days after that above mentioned to the Lord Lieutenant and Council, and the other within a month; both which are in the Harleian collection of manuſcripts in the Muſeum, from whence I copied them. The firſt, as it was to paſs thro' the hands of the Marquis of Ormonde and the Lord Digby, and to be therefore probably ſeen by them, is plainly of the oſtenſible kind, and is as follows:

GLAMORGAN,

Charles I.
A. 1646.

GLAMORGAN,

I muſt clearly tell you, both you and I have been abuſed in this buſineſs; for you have been drawn to conſent to conditions much beyond your inſtructions, and your treaty hath been divulged to all the world. If you had adviſed with my Lord Lieutenant, as you promiſed me, all this had been helped. But we muſt look forward. Wherefore in a word, I have commanded as much favour to be ſhewn to you, as may poſſibly ſtand with my ſervice or ſafety: and if you will yet truſt my advice—which I have commanded Digby to give you freely—I will bring you ſo off that you may be ſtill uſeful to me, and I ſhall be able to recompence you for your affection; if not, I cannot tell what to ſay. But I will not doubt your compliance in this, ſince it ſo highly concerns the good of all my Crowns, my own particular, and to make me have ſtill means to ſhew myſelf

Your moſt aſſured Friend

Oxford Feb. 3,
1745-6.

6

CHARLES R.

The ſollicitude expreſſed in this letter ſhews the diſtreſs of the King's mind, leſt the ill uſage that had been given the Earl ſhould incline him to be refractory, and perhaps diſcover the whole ſecret; for nothing leſs could ſurely concern the good of all his Crowns. The other letter was written, when his Majeſty knew that the Earl either was, or would be ſoon at liberty; and was ſent by Sr. J. Winter, his Lordſhip's couſin german, a Roman Catholick, a great confident of the Queen's, and one who had been her ſecretary.

HERBERT,

I am confident that this honeſt truſty bearer will give you good ſatisfaction why I have not in every thing done as you deſired; the want of confidence in you being ſo far from being the cauſe thereof, that I am every day more and more confirmed in the truſt that I have of you. For believe me, it is not in the power of any to make you ſuffer in my opinion by ill offices. But of this, and divers other things, I have given Sr. J. Winter ſo full inſtructions, that I will ſay no more but that I am

Your moſt aſſured conſtant Friend

6 Oxford Feb. 28,
1745-6.

CHARLES R.

No future hiſtorian ſurely will be hardy enough, after all this evidence, to charge Lord Glamorgan with forgery in this tranſaction, and to lay none of the crime of this treaty at his Majeſty's door. Nor will another Smollett, it is to be hoped ariſe, and tell us that "the King was incapable of diſſimulation." Mr. Carte hath been abominably, and if I had ſaid moſt ſcandalouſly partial in this affair, I ſhould do him no injuſtice. He reaſons from the firſt commiſſion as tho' it was the laſt, and he confidently denies the King's giving him any commiſſion at all; though his Majeſty himſelf—as we have ſeen—owned in his meſſage to the Parliament about him, that he had given him a commiſſion to raiſe and tranſport ſome forces; and in his letter to the Lord Lieutenant and Council, "that he might poſſibly have given Lord Glamorgan ſuch a credential, as might give him credit with the Roman Catholicks, in caſe the Marquis ſhould judge it neceſſary to manage thoſe matters for their greater confidence apart by the Earl; of whom, in regard of his religion and intereſt, they might be the leſs jealous:" and though the King had never ſaid any thing of the ſeveral blank powers which he had given the Earl—and his not denying them in this caſe, was owning them—yet Carte ſaw them mentioned more than once in the Nuncio's memoirs, as having been produced to him under the real ſignature of the King. He carps at his aſſuming the title of Earl of Glamorgan, for which he had as yet no patent; and makes it an objection to the authenticity of the commiſſion. But the King, not only in the letters above recited to the Marquis of Ormonde, and the Council, and to the Earl himſelf, hath given him that title, but alſo in the patent under the great ſeal, and in the declaration which he made to the Parliament on that affair: and though his Majeſty thought fit to order Secretary Nicholas to acquaint the Marquis, that the patent for making Lord Herbert Earl of Glamorgan had not paſſed the great ſeal, yet Sandford in his genealogical hiſtory hath ſaid, "that there now remains in the ſignet office a bill, under the royal ſign manual at Oxford, if a patent did not thereupon paſs the great ſeal, in order to his creation into the honour of Earl of Glamorgan." It is therefore little ſhort of equivocation in the King, to make this declaration; and it would have puzzled his Majeſty to have aſſigned a reaſon, why he himſelf gave his Lordſhip the title of Glamorgan, without he made uſe of a mean evaſion very unbecoming a man of honour, and much more a King. All the artful reaſoning which Carte hath employed, in order to defame the memory of the Earl of Glamorgan, or rather to clear that of his Majeſty, if it was not overturned by the patent above mentioned given by Collins, which hath never been queſtioned, and to which the King put the great ſeal with his own hand, yet is undeniably confuted by ſeveral paſſages in the Nuncio's memoirs, and by the letters of the King himſelf which have been already, and will be hereafter recited. Father Leyburn, Chaplain to the Queen, hath ſaid in the preface to his memoirs, that both the Nuncio and the titular Biſhop of Fernes had told him, "that no man could doubt but the Earl's commiſſions were real, all ſigned with the King's hand and ſeal, in which he promiſed to make good upon the word of a King whatſoever he ſhould conclude; and that his Lordſhip was ready to juſtify that he had exactly followed his inſtructions." Many other proofs might be produced, were this a place for them, beſides what will neceſſarily follow, that the King had given authority to Lord Glamorgan, to grant ſuch conceſſions to the Iriſh Papiſts on the article of religion, as his Majeſty knew the Lord Lieutenant had too much honour to be concerned in.

When the news of Lord Glamorgan's impriſonment reached Kilkenny, where the Supreme Council reſided, the Catholicks were thrown into a prodigious conſternation; and ſome inſiſted on their taking arms, and beſieging Dublin, in order to releaſe him. The friends of the Marquis of Ormonde endeavoured to moderate this violence; but they were obliged to conſent to the calling of a General Aſſembly, and to proced to an open rupture if they could find means to ſupport a war. The General Aſſembly being met, they wrote to the Marquis to preſs him to the releaſe of Lord Glamorgan, as abſolutely neceſſary to the relief of Cheſter then beſieged;

CHARLES I.
A. 1646.

for which three thouſand men were ready to embark, and nothing wanting but the ſhips, for which the Earl had contracted, to tranſport them: but that neither that expedition nor the treaty of peace could go on till he was ſet at liberty. The treaty was ſo near concluded with WALSH, before that accident, who left Dublin immediately upon it, that the Marquis wrote to Lord MOUNTGARRET, and the other agents, that little time was wanting to the concluſion if he could have been perſuaded to a longer ſtay, and further proceeding in the buſineſs; and therefore deſired them to come, or ſend with all ſpeed, to finiſh the treaty. The Lord Lieutenant and Council, conſidering the inconvenience to the King's affairs from Lord GLAMORGAN's impriſonment, and that his offence aroſe from an injudicious zeal—if we may not ſuppoſe that he had convinced them of having done nothing beyond his inſtructions, as he conſtantly inſiſted—on the twenty ſecond of January, admitted him to bail on his own ſecurity, and the Earl of CLANRICARDE's and KILDARE's, to appear in thirty days notice at the board. As ſoon as Lord GLAMORGAN was releaſed, he repaired to Kilkenny; in order to expedite the tranſportation of the three thouſand men for the relief of Cheſter, to procure ſome money of the Confederates for the ſupply of the King's army, and to haſten the agents to conclude a peace. In the two firſt points his Lordſhip failed of ſucceſs; in the third he ſucceeded better; and by the beginning of February, every thing was made ready for the approbation of the General Aſſembly.

But the approbation of that body, through the publiſhing of Lord GLAMORGAN's articles, through the King's diſavowing his authority, and more than all through the intrigues and influence of the Nuncio, was become more difficult to obtain than ever. There was alſo another remora, which had never been foreſeen; ariſing from ſome overtures for a treaty with the Pope by the Engliſh Catholicks. SR. K. DIGBY had been ſent to his Holineſs by the QUEEN, as above mentioned, to ſollicit ſome aſſiſtance for her huſband, and to give him hopes of favour to the Catholicks of both kingdoms in return. The Pope was ſo pleaſed with ſome propoſals from the Catholicks in England, that he offered them to DIGBY as the foundation of a treaty to be concluded between Rome and the Engliſh Court; and in the mean time preſented him with twenty thouſand crowns for the QUEEN.

Charles I.
A. 1646.

This treaty tended to nothing leſs, on the article of religion, than putting Ireland on the ſame footing it was before the reformation, and making it an entire Popiſh country. The Queen was bigot enough in all conſcience to approve of ſuch a treaty, without the conditions mentioned in it of a hundred thouſand crowns from Rome, and twelve thouſand men from Ireland, for the King's aſſiſtance; but with theſe conditions, and with all her influence over the King, this was too bold a ſtroke for her to ſtrike. Though **Digby** only took this treaty to lay before the Queen, which ſhe rejected, and the articles were ſent to the Nuncio, " to add to them—ſays **Pamphilio**—or take from them, as need ſhould be," yet he repreſented them to the General Aſſembly, as a formed treaty, aſſented to by the Queen, and ſtipulated by her Miniſter.

With this repreſentation the Nuncio prevailed upon the Biſhops, whom he took from the Aſſembly to his houſe, to ſign a proteſtation in favour of theſe articles; but to keep them ſecret till it was neceſſary to produce them. At the ſame time, he uſed all his influence with Lord **Glamorgan**, to purſue no further the peace he had made; but to inſiſt on this new treaty, which he called the Pope's peace, and which would procure greater advantages, he ſaid, to the Catholicks, as well as larger ſupplies to the King. Lord **Glamorgan** was impatient at this delay, and preſſed extremely the ſending the forces to the King's aſſiſtance into England. But finding the Nuncio was not to be diverted from his reſolution, and deſpairing to carry any thing in the Aſſembly againſt his conſent, he acquieſced in the propoſal. He even went ſo far as to write to the Marquis of **Ormonde**, " that the expectation of a more advantagious peace, wrought by the powerful hand of her Majeſty, had wiped out the effects of his ſeveral endeavours to ſerve the nation; that if the ſupplies were expected in England, it was neceſſary not to diſguſt the Nuncio, without whoſe concurrence the King could not be ſerved;" and therefore he adviſed, that himſelf, and ſome more of his excellency's friends, might be employed to treat and ſettle matters with the Nuncio. The Lord Lieutenant could not comprehend the meaning of what was written about the Queen; and reſolving to have nothing to do with the Nuncio, returned for anſwer " that his Lordſhip might ſecurely go on in his own ways of ſerving the King, without fear of interruption from him, or ſo much as enquiring into the means by which he propoſed to work his ends." The Marquis would ſcarcely have made uſe of theſe very extraordinary expreſſions, in leſs than ſix weeks after the Earl was committed to priſon, if he had not been ſatisfied in his own mind, that his authorities from the King were real.

The General Aſſembly having taken into conſideration the articles lately ſettled with the Lord Lieutenant, and the majority appearing plainly in their favour, the Nuncio came again into the Aſſembly, and made a vehement harangue againſt them: he preſſed very earneſtly the Pope's peace, in which he ſaid, there was honour on account of the perſon, and ſecurity as it was managed by a great Prince; and he even affirmed that the original inſtrument was on the road from Rome by Sr. K. Digby, whom he expected. It muſt be obſerved however that there is nothing in Cardinal Pamphilio's letters to him to warrant ſuch an aſſertion: and Lord Digby aſſured the Marquis of Ormonde afterwards from Paris, " that ſo far from entering into any treaty with the Pope about Ireland, notwithſtanding what the Nuncio had impudently publiſhed at Kilkenny, the Queen would never ſuffer Sr. Kenelm to hearken to any thing on that ſubject; and though ſhe had received ſome propoſitions from the Pope, her anſwer ſtill was, that the buſineſs of that kingdom was already in thoſe hands which were beſt able to manage it." Whether the General Aſſembly gave entire credit to this intelligence about a treaty with the Pope or not, it is certain that it did not abate the eagerneſs which the majority had ſhewed for the peace at Dublin. They acknowledged the King had granted them all their temporal conditions, and in ſpirituals their liberty of conſcience, with every thing that was neceſſary to the exerciſe of their religon: and as to pomp and oſtentation, they ought to truſt to better times, and his Majeſty's inclinations towards them, already manifeſted. It was even intimated by ſome of them, that they had good reaſon to believe the Pope himſelf would approve the treaty; his Holineſs having told their agent in the audience which he granted him, " that it was no wonder if the King thought it unſafe to grant the Iriſh publicly the conditions they demanded, leſt it might diſoblige his Proteſtant ſubjects; and therefore a connivance ought to content them for the preſent." Moreover, it is ſaid in the Nuncio's memoirs, " that he had reaſon to conclude from the boldneſs with which ſome of the Ormonde party talked, that though the King ſhould conſent to the Pope's peace, yet the Marquis would refuſe to ſubmit to it."

The affair of the peace of Dublin was debated with great warmth for four days; when Lord Glamorgan being afraid that the ſuccours for the King would be too long delayed, made a ſpeech to the Aſſembly to compoſe their differences: and having propoſed a deputation of ſome of the principal members to the Nuncio in order to remove miſtakes, ſome deputies were ſent, who laboured the point with him for ſeveral days; his Lordſhip mediating between them, till he had made himſelf ſuſpected by both parties. To remove the Nuncio's ſuſpicions, his Lordſhip wrote him a letter; in which he promiſed and ſwore, "that he would obey all the Nuncio's commands without any reluctance, heartily, and with pleaſure, that he would be as ſollicitous for his honour as for his own, and that he would propoſe nothing but what was proper, nor do any thing contrary to his inclination." But leſt this ſhould not be ſufficient to win the Nuncio, and to procure aſſiſtance for the King, in two days after he ſent him another letter, with an engagement to ratiſy the articles between the Pope and the Queen, and that they ſhould be ratified by his Majeſty; provided, that if the original treaty arrived by the firſt of May, his inſtrument was to be void, and in the mean time to be kept ſecret, unleſs the political peace with the Lord Lieutenant ſhould be publiſhed. The Nuncio being at laſt prevailed upon by the entreaties and proteſtations of Lord Glamorgan, a convention was ſigned between them and the deputies; in which it was ſtipulated, "that the ceſſation ſhould be continued till the firſt of May, at which time, if the Nuncio did not produce the original agreement between the Pope and the Queen ſigned and ſealed, he ſhould ratify whatever was juſt and proper on the part of the Pope, as the Earl would on the part of the King, that ſo an honourable and deſirable peace might be no longer delayed; that this ſhould not obſtruct the treaty with the Lord Lieutenant on the political points, provided there was no concluſion nor publication of the articles, nor any alteration of the civil government, nor any thing done in prejudice of the tranſaction between the Nuncio and Lord Glamorgan; but that both treaties ſhould be concluded and publiſhed together." But they were neither of them without their jealouſies, that the Marquis of ORMONDE would never yield to what was called the Pope's treaty; and the Earl, in order to take off any ſuſpicion of himſelf from the mind of the Nuncio, on the day when the convention above was ſigned, took an oath or proteſtation, "that he would adhere to the Nuncio's party, not only againſt the Marquis of ORMONDE, his relations, and favourers, but againſt all others who ſhould oppoſe the Pope's treaty, and the Nuncio's meaſures for the good of the catholic religion, and the King's ſervice." In ſhort the Earl of GLAMORGAN, who to his great vanity and weakneſs had added an inviolable attachment to the King, made no difficulty in promiſing vaſt ſupplies to the Nuncio, of money, arms, ammunition, and a fleet over which he ſhould name an admiral; and to fill up ſome of his blank commiſſions with creating an Earl, two Viſcounts, and three Barons, at the Nuncio's nomination.

In two days after the Lord GLAMORGAN had made the proteſtation above-mentioned, the Nuncio, being ſatisfied, went to the General Aſſembly; and exhorting them to go on with their buſineſs, preſſed the immediate embarkation of the three thouſand men for the relief of Cheſter. To this purpoſe the Earl repaired directly to Waterford, from whence he wrote a letter to the King; informing him that his Lordſhip was providing ſhipping for the immediate tranſportation of ſix thouſand foot, and four thouſand more were by May to follow them; "that what had been the occaſion of ſo long delays, and yet ſuffered not his Majeſty's ſervice therein to proceed with that advantage it might do, he conceived not ſo fit to commit to paper; that he hoped his further ſervices intended for the King, would without further croſſes be ſuffered to go on, though ſtrange was the induſtry uſed by many ſeeming friends to hinder him therein; but he was confident it ſhould not lie in their power, his Majeſty remaining ſtill conſtant." I preſume to think that this is not the language of a man, who but two months before was committed to priſon for forging authorities from the King, if he had not been conſcious that he was innocent of that charge. But the Iriſh troops intended for the relief of Cheſter were diſappointed of that ſervice, by the ſurrender of the place to the Parliament after a long ſiege: and the King's meſſage to the Parliament diſavowing Lord Glamorgan's authority being brought to Kilkenny, the Catholicks were ſtruck with ſurpriſe and conſternation. His Lordſhip however, with his uſual vanity, conceived great hopes of procuring vaſt aſſiſtance for the King, by a journey to France, and Rome; being perſuaded that his Majeſty had done this unwillingly, and through the violent impulſe of others; and propoſing that General Preston ſhould march his troops into Munſter to compoſe the commotions there, ſo that when he returned with the ſubſidies he might find an army ready. But the Supreme Council were too much affected with the King's meſſage to pay any regard to this propoſal.

The Marquis of Ormonde was all this time expecting the return of the commiſſioners to put the laſt hand to the treaty, and wondered at ſuch a delay when ſo little remained to be ſettled. It hath been obſerved that by the convention between the Nuncio and the deputies, it was agreed that no peace ſhould be concluded with the Marquis till the firſt of May. But when the articles that had been ſettled with him were laid before the Aſſembly, they were ſo much approved that they paſſed by an unanimous decree, even the Biſhops concurring in the vote. Wherefore on March the ſixth, they granted a new commiſſion to their former agents, or any four of them, to treat and conclude a peace with the Lord Lieutenant; againſt which the Nuncio proteſted in a letter to the Aſſembly. He knew nothing then of the King's having diſowned the Earl of Glamorgan's powers; but that declaration having been communicated to him in a day or two after, he wrote another letter to the Supreme Council containing ſome wild propoſals that were worthy of ſuch a Zealot. But on the twenty-eighth of March, the articles of the peace,—the ſame in ſubſtance which have been already related—were ſigned and ſealed by the Lord Lieutenant on the part of the King, and by Lord Muskery, and four other agents, in behalf of the Confederates. With theſe articles there was alſo ſigned a conditional obligation or defeazance, importing "that the Iriſh were to ſend ſix thouſand foot, well armed and provided, into England, or Wales, by the firſt of April, and four thouſand more by the firſt of May, to be muſtered, viewed, and allowed, by ſuch as the Marquis of Ormonde ſhould appoint;

that till the ſaid forces were ſhipped away, the articles were to be depoſited as an eſcroll in the hands of Lord Clanricarde, and neither taken to be concluded, perfected, or of force, nor to be publiſhed, till the ſaid firſt of May, nor then, unleſs upon ſending the ſaid forces; and then, and not before, the ſame ſhould become of effect, be mutually delivered to the reſpective parties, fully concluded, and perfected, and publiſhed with all requiſite ceremonies. But in caſe the ſaid forces were not ſent by the times appointed——unleſs hindered by the blocking up of harbours, contrary winds, or other reaſonable cauſe allowed as ſuch by the Marquis of Ormonde—theſe articles were to be of no effect, each party be diſengaged, as if they had never been agreed upon and ſigned, and the counterparts thereof to be mutually reſtored to the reſpective parties."

Thus at laſt, after a treaty of three years, the peace was brought to a concluſion; all affairs of religion ſubmitted to the King, his royal power preſerved in other points, and nothing to take effect unleſs he was aſſiſted at the time and in the manner he required. Hence the reader will no doubt expect to find a quiet ſettlement of the nation, and the forces of it ſent to England to make a powerful effort for his Majeſty. But nothing like it. The peace was kept a ſecret from the Nuncio till the firſt of May was over; and as ſoon as he found it out, he wrote to the Supreme Council, that if the political peace was publiſhed without the eccleſiaſtical, or the eccleſiaſtical without the free and public exerciſe of their religion, and without waiting for the treaty from Rome, he would not conſent to the peace. He had been poſitive that this treaty would arrive before the firſt of May; though he hath furniſhed no reaſons in his memoirs, but his own ſanguine credulous temper, for any ſuch expectation: and Dr. Birch in his inquiry takes the Nuncio's own word for ſuch a treaty, without the leaſt proof, and in my opinion againſt very ſufficient evidence that no ſuch treaty had ever been entered into. Neither the King, the Queen, Sr. K. Digby, nor any other perſon, had in all this time either by word or writing ſignified to the Pope, to Pamphilio, or the Nuncio, that ſuch a treaty would be accepted, or aſſented to; yet this did not cure the latter of his deluſion. He ſtill affected to expect the Pope's peace, and made many conjectures why it was not yet concluded. He ſent a proteſtation to the Supreme

Council againſt that concluded with the Marquis of Ormonde, ſigned by two titular archbiſhops, ſix biſhops, and himſelf: and as it was then known in Ireland that the King had delivered himſelf into the hands of the Scots in their army before Newark, on the tenth of June the Nuncio wrote another letter to the Supreme Council; importing that as the King was not maſter of his own actions, and they could have no authority from him for the ſecurity of their religion, ſo no peace could be made at that time, much leſs that of which he had heard. The Supreme Council declared in anſwer to him, that they were compelled by the neceſſity of their affairs to make a peace, but they ſhould conſider the articles of the Earl of Glamorgan as ratified: and if it ſhould happen that the peace ſhould be immediately publiſhed without at the ſame time publiſhing thoſe conceſſions, they deſired the Nuncio to believe that this was neceſſary, and for the advantage of religion. We ſhall leave them in theſe altercations, to look into other affairs in conſequence of the peace.

The treaty had been ſo protracted, and the ſupplies from Ireland to the King ſo long delayed, that he had not the face of an army left in England. The Marquis of Ormonde, not knowing then the King's condition, as ſoon as the peace was concluded, uſed his utmoſt endeavours to avail himſelf of it for his Majeſty's ſervice. He preſſed the ſending ſome ſuccours to the Marquis of Montrosse in Scotland, and he appointed commiſſioners to view and muſter the forces that were to be ſent to England; but his endeavours were fruitleſs. The Supreme Council alledged the difficulties and dangers of an Engliſh expedition, being uncertain where to land, aſſured of no horſe to cover or ſupport them, and ignorant of the condition in which the King's affairs then were. Beſides this, they wanted tranſports for the men, which Lord Glamorgan had promiſed them from France, and which were not arrived; and they apprehended it was of greater conſequence to his Majeſty's ſervice to clear one of his kingdoms, than to attempt to aſſiſt him in England under ſuch difficulties and hazards. Wherefore Lord Inchiquin having ſeized Bonratty, a caſtle belonging to Lord Thomond in the county of Clare, they had ſent ſome of the forces intended for England to recover that place by a ſiege. They ſupplied the Marquis of Ormonde however with three thouſand pounds for the relief of his army in and about Dublin; and they furniſhed Lord Digby with three hundred men as a guard for the Prince of Wales; who, upon the reduction of his father's army in the Weſt, was retired to Scilly. His Lordſhip went himſelf with theſe forces, in the hope and expectation of prevailing on the Prince to come to Ireland: and though the Council put about him by the King were incurably averſe to that project, yet it was much deſired by the well affected Iriſh, as a thing that would enable them to defeat the Nuncio's meaſures, and to unite all their party in the King's obedience. I know that Lord Clarendon—then Sr. Ed. Hyde, and one of the Prince's Council—hath put reaſons in the Prince's mouth againſt this expedient; which he hath treated as one of Lord Digby's viſions: but theſe reaſons in my opinion are neither ſolid, nor ſatisfactory; and it ſeems a ſufficient vindication of this project, that the Marquis of Ormonde not only concurred in it, but declared " that upon that depended all his hopes, that this kingdom could then be uſeful to the Crown of England."

Rushwor.

The Engliſh Parliament had been ſo much occupied in their war againſt the King, and in anſwering his meſſages and declarations, that they had left Ireland to its fate for above a twelvemonth. But in the beginning of this year, being almoſt aſſured that they ſhould get the better of the conteſt, they turned their thoughts again upon that country; and after a debate about its government, it was voted by the Commons, that a new Governor ſhould be choſen every year; that Lord Lisle ſhould be their preſent Governor, under the title of Lord Lieutenant General of Ireland, with a power to command all the forces raiſed or to be raiſed, for reducing that kingdom to the obedience of the Parliament in England; that the ordinance for raiſing a weekly aſſeſſment for the maintenance of the forces of Ireland ſhould be continued for ſix months longer; that no forces ſhould be raiſed in the province of Ulſter, or brought in thither, without their warrant; that no Governor ſhould be placed in Ireland but by the conſent of both Houſes of Parliament; that the proſecution of the war againſt the rebels there ſhould be managed by the two Houſes; and that all treaties with them, without the conſent of both Houſes of Parliament, ſhould be annulled. In conſequence of theſe reſolutions, the ſame part which Lord Inchiquin was playing in Munſter, by burning, plundering, and deſtroying the country, even to the gates of Limerick, was acted by Sr. C. Coote in Conaght, with a deſign, as it was ſuppoſed, to relieve Bonratty: but he contented himſelf with waſting and burning the eſtates of Lord Clanricarde—about this time made a Marquis, for his eminent ſufferings, and fidelity—to whoſe care and activity in the firſt year of this rebellion, he confeſſed that he owed his own, and his garriſon's preſervation.

Theſe outrages had induced the Supreme Council to ſend Mr. Plunket to the Lord Lieutenant, in order to declare the neceſſity of a preſent union in the nation; but to ſhew him that if the publication of the articles of the peace ſhould be thought neceſſary for this purpoſe, that they could not avoid publiſhing thoſe with Lord Glamorgan, for fear of a rupture among themſelves, and of loſing their foreign friends. Should his excellency be of opinion, that it was not proper to publiſh the articles at preſent, he was deſired to join his forces immediately with theirs, and to declare againſt the common enemy. The Marquis of Clanricarde, incenſed at the injuries that had been done him, called likewiſe upon the Lord Lieutenant and the State, in the King's behalf, and for the ſake of juſtice, that Sr. C. Coote and his adherents ſhould immediately be proclaimed rebels and traitors. But this was an affair attended with ſo many difficulties, as the Lord Lieutenant thought required too much conſideration to be inſtantly determined; eſpecially as he had juſt then received the news of the King's delivering himſelf up to the Scots. The Marquis waved therefore giving an anſwer to Mr. Plunket; and in a few days after ſent Sr. G. Hamilton and Colonel Barry to Limerick, where the Supreme Council ſate, to acquaint them that he underſtood the neceſſity of an union, though he could not join with any party not deriving authority from the King; but in whatever condition his Majeſty was, or ſhould be, his Lordſhip would readily make uſe of the aſſiſtance of ſuch of his ſubjects, as would endeavour to maintain his authority, and preſerve the kingdom for him; that it was not fit to ſay more to this propoſition, nor could any thing further be done towards an union till the articles of peace were publiſhed, about which he had not yet received his Majeſty's pleaſure; that they had not performed the conditions agreed upon at ſigning the articles, neither in reſpect of the forces to be ſent to England, which they alledged to be impoſſible, nor to the money which they were to advance, and was doubtleſs in their power, for want of which very dangerous inconveniences were brought on the King's affairs: In relation to Lord Glamorgan's articles, the Lord Lieutenant could not admit of them, conſiſtently with his own honour, or the duty which he owed the King; for which reaſons he expected their reſolution not to publiſh them. To theſe inſtructions the Marquis added a declaration, that if they did not determine a ſpeedy publication of the peace, and to ſend the money which remained unpaid, the condition of his Majeſty's affairs at Dublin was ſuch, as he ſhould very ſoon be under a neceſſity to ſeek ſome other way of recovering the King's rights, and of preſerving his authority in that kingdom.

The Earl of Glamorgan was all this while buſied in forming projects, though without any effect, for the King's ſervice; of which his Majeſty was ſo ſenſible, that juſt before he left Oxford, he wrote his Lordſhip the two following letters.

Oxford 5th April 1646.

GLAMORGAN,

I have no time, nor do you expect, that I ſhall make unneceſſary repetitions to you. Wherefore referring you to Digby for buſineſs, this is only to give you aſſurance of my conſtant friendſhip to you; which, conſidering the general defection of common honeſty, is in a ſort requiſite. Howbeit, I know you cannot but be confident of my making good all inſtructions and promiſes to you and the Nuncio.

Your moſt aſſured conſtant friend,

CHARLES R.

The laſt words "my making good, &c." are written in a cypher; which, with the alphabetical key, all in the King's own hand, ſigned C. R. and ſealed with his ſeal, is extant in the collection of Harleian Manuſcripts in the Muſeum; and was probably ſent in another letter dated the day after, which is here inſerted likewiſe from the original in that collection.

HERBERT,

As I doubt not but you have too much courage to be diſmayed or diſcouraged at the uſage you have had, ſo I aſſure you that my eſtimation of you is nothing diminiſhed by it, but rather begets in me a deſire of revenge and reparation to us both; for in this I hold myſelf equally intereſted with you. Wherefore not doubting of your accuſtomed care and induſtry in my ſervice, I aſſure you of the continuance of my favour and protection to you, and that in deeds more than in words I ſhall ſhew myſelf to be

Your moſt aſſured conſtant friend,

Oxford 6th April
1646.

CHARLES R.

Theſe letters are not only another proof of the King's inſincerity in diſavowing ſome of the powers he had given Lord Glamorgan to negotiate for him with the Iriſh, but they alſo ſhew that he ſtill continued to employ the Earl with the ſtrongeſt expreſſions of confidence and favour; that he kept a ſecret correſpondence with him unknown to the Lord Lieutenant; and that he was privy to his Lordſhip's tranſactions with the Nuncio in his name: And it is very obſervable that Lord Digby, who had charged him in ſo vehement a manner with a ſuſpicion of high treaſon, wrote word at this time to the Marquis of Ormonde from Waterford, "that he had met there with Lord Glamorgan, whom he found, as he had reaſon, a very ſad man, and withal highly incenſed by ſome about him againſt himſelf. But for this latter part, ſays he, I believe his good nature and the reaſons which I have given him, have well ſettled him in a good meaſure of kindneſs."

When the committee of the Supreme Council at Limerick had received the Lord Lieutenant's ſpirited anſwer above recited, they ſent an excuſe to him for the failures which he had charged upon them, proteſted that they were willing to perform their engagements, reſolved to omit the publication of Lord Glamorgan's articles, and expreſſed a great deſire that the articles of the peace ſhould be publiſhed as they were already ſettled. But before the Marquis, who had heard nothing from the King, could determine upon it, a ſudden turn in their affairs made them more cool and indifferent about the peace. O Neil having been with the Nuncio in the ſpring and received ſome ſupplies for his army, at the latter end of May, aſſembled a body of five thouſand foot, and five hundred horſe, with which he advanced towards Ardmagh. Monroe having drawn out above ſix thouſand to oppoſe him, and having received intelligence that the enemies deſign was to poſſeſs themſelves of that city, he cauſed his army to march thither, with hopes of finding O Neil there and ſurpriſing him in his quarters. But the Iriſh were encamped at Benburb ſeven miles further, ſtrongly poſted between two hills; having a wood behind them, and the Blackwater, which was thought difficult to be paſſed, on their right. But Monroe finding a ford in the river, unexpectedly paſſed over, and advanced to meet the Iriſh. O Neil amuſed them with little ſkirmiſhes for four hours till he had got the ſun on his back, and till a detachment which he had ſent off in the morning had returned. The Scots, who had ſtood all that time in order of battle without advancing, being much ſurpriſed to ſee ſuch a body join the Iriſh, began to make their retreat. O Neil then attacked them in earneſt; and having ordered his men not to fire till they were within a pike's length of the enemy they did incredible execution. The Engliſh regiment commanded by Lord Blaney maintained their ground, till he, and moſt of his men were cut to pieces; and the Scotch horſe being puſhed, and falling in diſorder upon the foot, a general rout enſued. Above three thouſand were ſlain on the field of battle, with inconſiderable loſs on the ſide of the Iriſh; who took the Scotch artillery, moſt of their arms, colours, tents, and baggage, fifteen hundred draught horſes, and two months proviſion. Monroe himſelf fled without his hat and coat to Liſburn, and ordered the whole country to riſe, which cauſed a general conſternation. His ammunition was blown up, when the battle was loſt, either by accident or deſign; and the counties of Down and Antrim muſt have been ruined, if the Nuncio, as ſoon as he heard of the victory, had not ſent an expreſs to deſire O Neil to march to him with his army in order to oppoſe the peace: but the Nuncio was obeyed, and the country ſaved.

When the Marquis of Ormonde was conſidering of the propoſal of the Supreme Council to publiſh the peace, he received an order from the King, —not as Ludlow ſays, with his uſual inaccuracy, to lay down his arms —but to proceed no further in treaty with the Iriſh rebels, nor to engage his Majeſty upon conditions with them after ſight of that order. An order ſo explicit, though it did not ſuperſede what was already done, yet ſeemed directly to inhibit the publication of the peace. Every thing therefore was at a ſtand; and the Iriſh commiſſioners returned to Limerick for freſh inſtructions: and notwithſtanding the Marquis was convinced that the King was ſtill deſirous of a peace, yet it was difficult to perſuade his Council of that truth againſt this expreſs delaration; and without their concurrence he could not proclaim it, nor would it be of any effect if he did. Whilſt the Marquis of Ormonde was labouring under this difficulty, Lord Digby arrived from France, with an account that the Scots had broken all their engagements to the King. He ſaid his Majeſty had with much ſkill and difficulty found the ſecret means of ſending word to Paris, that he could no more expreſs his mind in any way but what the Scots ſhould force from him, and that they were to underſtand that as the laſt free direction; and therefore that the Queen, the Prince, and all his faithful Miniſters to whom it was to be imparted, ſhould in all things ſteadily purſue thoſe orders which he had given before the time of his unfree condition." The Marquis of Ormonde was particularly required "to give no interruption to any thing which he was purſuing for the King's ſervice; unleſs he was aſſured, under his Majeſty's own hand in cypher, that it was his own free direction." Upon this intelligence from Lord Digby, and on receiving an aſſurance from the Prince of Wales, that if any accident ſhould happen to hinder the King's confirmation of the peace which had been concluded in Ireland, the Prince would adhere to him in it with conſtancy and affection, the Marquis called a Council. At this meeting Lord Digby repeated his intelligence; and for their further ſatisfaction drew up and ſigned a declaration in the council-book, "that the King's letter, forbidding any further proceedings in the Iriſh treaty, was ſurreptitious, or forced from his Majeſty, and contrary to what he knew to be the King's pleaſure and reſolution; that he would freely take the whole of this matter upon himſelf, to anſwer to his Majeſty, as Secretary of State, with his life for this declaration." On the next day the Lord Lieutenant ſigned another declaration, "that he was ſatisfied he had full authority and command from his Majeſty to conclude the peace on the articles depoſited with Lord CLANRICARDE, and took upon himſelf the ſole judging thereof; expecting only the aſſiſtance of the Council in cauſing it to be publiſhed and obſerved." Theſe two declarations being thought ſufficient, on the twenty ninth of July, the articles were interchangeably delivered by the reſpective parties; and the Council joined in a proclamation ratifying and confirming the articles of peace, and enjoining all perſons to obſerve and pay due obedience to it. This event, which is called the "Peace of Forty ſix," having made a great alteration in the affairs which are the ſubject of this hiſtory, very naturally puts a period to this book.

But before I cloſe it, I ſhall obſerve, that if the Nobility and Gentry of the Iriſh Catholicks had not been infatuated with a blind zeal for their religion, they would not have delayed this peace, through the influence of the Nuncio and their Clergy, after ſuch conceſſions had been granted for the ſecurity of every thing that was valuable, till the King was ruined, and they muſt loſe all they had: and if their Clergy had not been given up to a ſtrong deluſion, they muſt have ſeen that they had no chance for power and ſplendour but by keeping up the King; that if he ſunk under the Parliament they were undone; or if he agreed with them—which was the thing to be expected—it would be impoſſible for the Iriſh to hold out, or to hope for the leaſt degree of mercy. But the obſtinate bigotry of the Eccleſiaſticks made them determined either to carry their point, or periſh; and they had ſuch a dominion over the conſciences and underſtandings of their votaries, as that nothing could withſtand their power. The world however now is a little more enlightened; and Popery, in the preſent age, hath in a great meaſure loſt its hold on the minds of men in this reſpect, except with the ignorant vulgar, even in countries that are Catholic: for the abſurdity of reſigning up their intereſts and their reaſon to their Prieſts

—for which there is no foundation in ſcripture, or common ſenſe—is now pretty well underſtood. This gives us reaſon to hope—and to their honour it muſt be ſaid, that the experience of our times confirms it—that none of the Iriſh Catholicks who have any thing to loſe will tread in the ſteps of their fore fathers; but live quietly under a government which tolerates the exerciſe of their religion, and which can never be overturned without a general wreck.

THE
HISTORY
OF THE
REBELLION and CIVIL-WAR
IN
IRELAND.

BOOK VI.

CHARLES I.
A. 1646.

CARTE.
BORLASE.
CLAREND.
CASTLEHA.
COX.
Inquiry,
Nuncio's M.

THOUGH the peace which had been concluded was neceſſary to all parties, and was ſubmitted to with great alacrity by every one who owned the authority of the Lord Lieutenant, yet it met with great oppoſition from the generality of the Iriſh. The Nuncio, ever ſince his coming into the iſland, had profeſſed in publick a great regard to the King's intereſt, at the ſame time that he wrote his opinion to Cardinal PAMPHILIO—as it appears from his memoirs—"that the King's deſtruction would be of moſt advantage to the Iriſh, and his wiſhes that the Parliament might get the better of him, and make themſelves maſters of England." No wonder therefore that he ſhould preſs the Iriſh, to decline all meaſures with the Lord Lieutenant, and not to think of any peace till they had made an union among all the Catholicks, and the King was reſtored to his power: no wonder that he ſhould adviſe them, to put themſelves under the protection of a foreign power, and ſhould recommend the Pope to be their Protector. In ſhort it is no wonder, that a weak and furious bigot, fiery and haughty in his temper, without any connections in the country, and without any knowledge of its ſtrength or weakneſs, ſhould pay no regard to the intereſt or the welfare of its inhabitants, and ſhould involve them in the moſt violent and deſtructive meaſures. He had all imaginable influence over the whole Catholic Clergy, except a few old Biſhops, and ſome Regulars who were not ſubordinate to his authority: and the Clergy united under ſuch a head were a very powerful body; their dominion over the ignorant ſuperſtitious multitude, from which the common ſoldiers of their armies were drawn, being little leſs than abſolute. It appears indeed from what follows, that all the Catholicks of that kingdom, except very few, were prieſt-ridden; and to the ſlaviſh ſubmiſſion which they paid to their Eccleſiaſticks, their own entire ruin, if not that of the King, was owing.

It hath already been obſerved, that the Nuncio had ſent for O Neil's army to aſſiſt him in oppoſing the peace when it ſhould be publiſhed; as knowing that whatſoever noiſe he ſhould make about it, he could not prevent its taking effect without an army to ſupport him; and ſuſpecting that Preston, the Leinſter General, would execute the orders of the Supreme Council. In that ſuſpicion he was not miſtaken; for the peace was proclaimed in Preston's camp. O Neil's army was made up principally of Creaghts; a tartar like people, who not being able to ſubſiſt in their own country, through the waſte that had been made in it, roved up and down with their cattle without any ſettled abode, harraſſing the people, friends and foes alike. Theſe were the forces fitteſt for the purpoſes of the Nuncio: they had nothing to get or ſave by the peace; they had a proſpect of thriving by the ravages of war; and by a proper application of the money and ſuccours which the Nuncio brought over, and a promiſe of much more, they engaged themſelves to ſupport him. He did not truſt however entirely to them. For though as ſoon as it was known that the peace was made, he ſent O Neil four thouſand pounds and a ſupply of powder, yet having an army of Clergy alſo at his command, in the beginning of Auguſt, he called a ſynod at Waterford. Ten Biſhops, and ſeveral inferior Eccleſiaſticks entirely devoted to him, accordingly met: but inſtead of employing themſelves in ſpiritual affairs, they ſpent all their time in debating meaſures and making decrees not at all becoming their character. They decreed all thoſe who adhered to the peace, to have broken the oath of aſſociation, and to have been guilty of perjury: they excommunicated the Commiſſioners, and all who had been inſtrumental in bringing about the peace: they interdicted all the churches, and forbad divine ſervice to be celebrated in any cities or towns which ſhould admit it: in ſhort they ſuſpended all the Clergy, ſeculars and regulars, who preached or ſpoke in favour of it, from the exerciſe of their function, together with all the confeſſors, who ſhould abſolve the inſtruments or the favourers of the peace. But all this did not content them. Leſt the Supreme Council ſhould find ſome means of maintaining the peace they had made, and ſeemed determined to ſupport, they denounced an excommunication againſt all thoſe who ſhould receive or pay any money, or aſſeſſment by their orders, and againſt all the ſoldiers that ſhould attempt to execute them by force: and to tie their own party by a ſtill firmer union, a new oath of aſſociation was drawn up; whereby they engaged "not to adhere to any peace, but to ſuch as ſhould be honourable in the view of the world, ſecure to their conſcience according to the oath of aſſociation, and ſo approved by the congregation of the Clergy of Ireland."

Theſe violent meaſures dictated by the Nuncio, and adopted by the Eccleſiaſticks devoted to him, were not more oppoſite to their characters as the miniſters of peace, and to their own acts and determinations, than they were to the inſtructions which the Nuncio had from Rome. His orders were very explicit, in caſe a peace were made, to do nothing either by word or deed to ſhew that he approved of, or diſliked it: and notwithſtanding the authority which he had aſſumed, and the promiſes and threats and other artifices which he had uſed, to make the body of Papiſts ſubſervient to his views, yet he repreſents himſelf to the Pope, as merely paſſive in the affair, as not leading the Eccleſiaſticks, and acquieſcing only in their determinations. The ſucceſs of his meaſures in oppoſing the peace, made his excuſe for the violence of them eaſily paſs at Rome: but in another point he met with ſome difficulty. He had exhorted the Council at Kilkenny in a ſpeech, of which he had given them a copy, to be faithful to God and religion, and then to the King. Having tranſmitted another copy to Rome, Cardinal Pamphilio was ordered to reprimand him for exhorting them to be faithful to an heretical Prince, to direct him to get back the copy of his ſpeech, and never to indulge ſuch a way of talking in public conferences. His Eminence told him that that See would never approve, by any poſitive act, the civil allegeance which any Catholic ſubjects pay to an heretical Prince. This reprimand however had not reſtrained the Nuncio, in his furious zeal againſt the peace, from ſigning the proteſtation made againſt it in the ſynod above mentioned; wherein it was declared, that no peace ſhould be accepted without ſecure conditions for religion, King, and country. It will be out of the order of time, but it is ſcarcely material enough to reſerve it for its proper place, and therefore the reader ſhall now be told, that this drew another reprimand upon him from Rome; in which the Cardinal again informed him, that it had been the conſtant and uninterrupted practice of that See, never to allow her Miniſters to make, or conſent to public edicts of Catholic ſubjects, for the defence of the crown and perſon of an heretical Prince: he adds, that as the Pope knew how difficult it was in public aſſemblies, to ſeparate the rights of religion from thoſe which relate to the obedience profeſſed by Catholicks to the King, ſo he would be ſatisfied if the Nuncio did not ſhew by any public act, that he either knew, or conſented to ſuch public profeſſions of allegeance, as for political conſiderations the Catholicks were either forced or willing to make. If the reader makes a proper reflection upon theſe declarations from the Cardinal, they muſt convince him that there can be no dependance on the allegeance of a Papiſt to a Prince of another communion, if the State of Rome requires it to be broken, and if the Papiſt will act up to his principles. But the Papiſts are men; and their intereſt in a Proteſtant country being oppoſite to their principles of religion, it may be ſuppoſed that they will commonly act like the generality of men in this age, and, where intereſt and principle interfere, that the firſt will get the better.

The decrees of the ſynod above mentioned were no ſooner publiſhed, which they were with great diligence throughout the kingdom, than their effect upon the people was very viſible. The Council at Kilkenny drew up an appeal from thoſe cenſures; but they neither exhibited it to the ſynod in form, nor publiſhed it to the world. Whether their judgment failed them on this occaſion, or whether through the want of money, through the bigotry and diſobedience of the ſoldiers, or through the terror which the magiſtrates were under from the Clergy, they really were not able to exert themſelves vigorouſly againſt thoſe who oppoſed the peace, one cannot ſay: but it is certain that they made no attempt to ſhew a reſolution that it ſhould be obeyed. Inſtead of cruſhing an oppoſition to it in the bud, they allowed it time to gather ſtrength. They ſent deputies indeed to Waterford to court the Clergy to an accommodation; which not only poſſeſſed the Clergy themſelves with a high notion of their power, but the people were induced by it to ſtand in awe of a body of men, to which the Supreme Council themſelves paid ſo much ſubmiſſion as to juſtify their conduct to them. One of the conſequences of this tameneſs in the Supreme Council was, that the King at Arms could not proclaim the peace at Waterford, and Clonmell: and when he came to Limerick, and was attended by the Mayor and Corporation in their formalities, a mob was prepared to oppoſe it; the Mayor, and King at arms were wounded in ſeveral places, and narrowly eſcaped being killed; the Mayor and ſome of the Aldermen were turned out; the Corporation was new modelled by the Clergy in the city, creatures of the Nuncio, and the ringleader of the inſurruction was made Mayor, as his reward. Another conſequence of the want of ſpirit in the Supreme Council was, that it produced a ſet of inſolent propoſitions from the Nuncio and the Synod; the chief end of which was to prevent a peace till the pleaſure of the Pope was further known. To theſe propoſitions the Supreme Council returned no anſwer; but ſent to deſire the Clergy would recal their excommunication. To this petition the Clergy in their turn refuſed to make any reply, till they ſhould receive an anſwer to their propoſitions. The Supreme Council finding there were no hopes of an accommodation with the Nuncio, and that he would put all their affairs into confuſion, ſent to deſire the Lord Lieutenant would repair directly to Kilkenny and give them his aſſiſtance.

They ſaw very little reaſon to depend on their own party, or on the obedience of the officers and the ſoldiers of their army. O Neil had long ago ſlighted their orders; and being diſguſted at their neglect of him in their choice of Generals upon the peace, it was probable that he, and the Ulſter Iriſh, would adhere to the Nuncio. The Marquis of Ormonde had ſent his nephew Dan. O Neil to perſuade him into the King's ſervice, and to ſupport the peace, with very advantagious offers: but he had engaged himſelf to the Nuncio, and rejected them. The inclinations of Preston had been tried on all ſides; and his anſwers to them all were ſo ambiguous, that none of them thought they could be aſſured of him. At the end of Auguſt, the Lord Lieutenant, accompanied with the Marquis of Clanricarde and Lord Digby, marched from Dublin with fifteen hundred foot, and five hundred horſe; and when he arrived at Kilkenny, he was received with all imaginable joy and reſpect. As he paſſed by Naas, he borrowed eight barrels of powder of Sr. J. Sherlock the Governour. He left his foot near Gowran, under the command of Sr. F. Willoughby who kept a very ſtrict guard; but the horſe he took with him to Kilkenny, not ſuſpecting any treachery. Making ſeveral excurſions into the country, in order to conciliate the affections of the people to a peace, and to ſtop the diſorders occaſioned by the violent proceedings of the Nuncio, the Mayor of Caſhell informed him by a letter, that the town was threatned with deſtruction if they admitted him, and that O Neil was marching that way with all his army. Other letters, one particularly from D. O Neil, aſſured him that a rendezvous was appointed in the county of Cavan; whither all the regiments of O Neil's army were on their march from their reſpective quarters, with fifteen days proviſion. The Council alſo at Dublin, amongſt other intelligence of this ſort, informed the Marquis, that though the General himſelf was very reſerved, and his officers declared that they did not know what he deſigned, yet his Prieſts had given out that he intended to march to Kilkenny; and if his Excellency would not admit of Glamorgan's peace, they would treat him in a manner too ſcandalous to be mentioned, and prevent his return to Dublin.

So many advices on the back of one another concurring to the ſame effect, unwilling as the Marquis was to ſuſpect the Iriſh could be guilty of ſo much perfidy, made him apprehenſive of a treacherous deſign againſt him. Full of irreſolution however what courſe to take, Lord CASTLEHAVEN fixed him with an account of the imminent danger he was in; as both the armies of PRESTON and O NEIL were on the march to cut off his retreat. He told the Marquis that not a moment was to be loſt, but that he ſhould inſtantly march to Leighlin bridge; and having there paſſed the Barrow, and gotten that river between him and the enemy, endeavour by long marches to reach Dublin. No time was left now for reproaches or diſpute; and leaving Lord DIGBY to carry on the negotiation at Kilkenny, and ſending orders to SR. F. WILLOUGHBY to march off with the foot as faſt as poſſible to the bridge of Leighlin, the Marquis joined his horſe at Callan: but the Iriſh plundered his waggons at Kilkenny of all the plate, linen, clothes, and every thing which they contained; his haſte not permitting him to ſecure them. When his forces came into their own quarters, ſome of the ſoldiers clearing their muſkets, the powder made no report, and on ſeveral trials it was found to be ſtark naught. The clerk of the ſtores being examined about it, ſaid it was the powder brought from Dublin, and furniſhed by the rebels in lieu of its value in money; as part of the thirty thouſand pounds which by the articles of ceſſation they were to pay to the King. The Major General ordered it to be returned into the barrels, and the men to be furniſhed with that which had been borrowed of SR. J. SHERLOCK; which was found to be very good. The Lord Lieutenant overtook the foot in their march; and when they arrived at Dublin, whither intelligence had been brought that they were all cut off, they were received with the greateſt joy; the whole people of the city almoſt coming out to meet them. Beſides receiving ſome of his rents, which was of great uſe to him to ſupport his forces, and to make ſome proviſion for the defence of Dublin, the Marquis reaped no other fruit from this expedition, than to be convinced of the treachery of the Iriſh; of the vanity of truſting to the aſſiſtance of the confederates; and of the neceſſity of applying for it ſomewhere elſe. He had a little before employed Lord CASTLEHAVEN to try to perſuade the Nuncio not to oppoſe the peace: but

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all his Lordſhip could do, he ſays, was in vain; "the Nuncio declaring his reſolution to oppoſe it to the utmoſt, with other expreſſions relating to blood not becoming a Churchman."

Lord **Digby** being left behind at Kilkenny, and knowing how ill the Marquis of **Ormonde** was provided for any defence, ſo, that he might prevent the King's intereſt from being entirely deſtroyed in Ireland, he ventured to make an offer, that if the Nuncio and ſome of his Prelates would give it under their hands that they would not oppoſe the peace, and would join under the Lord Lieutenant againſt the Republicans, they ſhould have a private but authentic aſſurance, as a collateral ſecurity ſevered from the articles—to which Lord **Ormonde**'s commiſſion being determined he could not add—that the penal laws ſhould be repealed, and that their Clergy ſhould not be put out of their eccleſiaſtical poſſeſſions before a new Parliament was called. But this did not ſatisfy. They not only inſiſted on all the articles agreed to by Lord **Glamorgan**, but on ſome of thoſe alſo contained in the Pope's peace, as the Nuncio called it; neither of which could be granted. The Catholicks indeed were ſo infatuated with a blind zeal for their religion, and with an abſolute ſubmiſſion to their Eccleſiaſticks, that when the Nuncio made his entry into Kilkenny, in a few days after they had driven the Lord Lieutenant from it, he was received with all the pomp of a triumph; and an entire command in all affairs ſecular and eccleſiaſtical was committed to him. The vanity of this man was to be equalled by nothing but his inſolence. He had now the two armies of **O Neil** and **Preston** at his devotion, and both in the neighbourhood of Kilkenny: and the firſt thing he did in concert with theſe Generals, was to impriſon the Supreme Council, and other leading men of the Confederates within their reach, who had been zealous for the peace. His next ſtep was to iſſue out an excommunication againſt all ſuch as ſhould defend or approve the juſtice of the late peace; which in a manner comprehended all the Nobility and Gentry of the nation, and even many of the moſt learned and pious Catholic Clergy. Notwithſtanding the infinite ſcandal of this proceeding to the faith and honour of the nation, and to their religion itſelf, yet it had ſuch an effect upon the minds of the people in general, in ſpite of the utmoſt efforts of the principal perſons, as is at this day ſcarcely credible.

The Nuncio and his Prelates, intoxicated with the power which through an invincible deluſion they were poſſeſſed of, appointed a new Council, of which his Grace was preſident; conſiſting of four Biſhops, and eight Laymen, to which the General officers were to be ſubject, and which were to have the ſame authority as the late Supreme Council had been inveſted with. The Nuncio's vanity was ſo flattered by this event, that in a letter to the Pope, which is in his own memoirs, he ſays, "this age hath never ſeen ſo unexpected and wonderful a change; and if I was writing not a relation, but an hiſtory to your Holineſs, I ſhould compare it to the moſt famous ſucceſſes in Europe. The Clergy of Ireland, ſo much deſpiſed by the Ormondiſts, were in the twinkling of an eye maſters of the kingdom. Soldiers, Officers, and Generals, ſtrove who ſhould fight for the Clergy; and at laſt the Supreme Council being deprived of all authority, and confounded with amazement to ſee obedience denied to their orders, the power of the Confederates was devolved upon the Clergy." But elated as he was with his power, the Nuncio did not forget his great friend the Earl of Glamorgan; to whoſe violent bigotry in a great meaſure he owed his influence. He made the Earl General of Munſter, in the room of Lord Muskery whom he had confined; and the Aſſembly of the Province confirmed his nomination. But this was only an earneſt of the favours he intended to ſhew him; having promiſed to make him Lord Lieutenant, if the Marquis of Ormonde was drove from Dublin: and his Lordſhip well deſerved theſe great things at the hands of the Nuncio. For, a ſhort time before, the Earl had taken a ſort of oath of allegeance to him; in which he ſwore to do nothing of any moment without the conſent and approbation of the Nuncio; that if by chance he ſhould do any thing that was diſliked, he would upon the firſt ſignification correct his error; and that he would reſign the Lieutenancy whenever the Nuncio ſhould require it, and in all things would be obedient to the Holy See. The Earl however did not deſerve the favour of the Nuncio on his own account only, but alſo for the truſt and confidence which was put in him by the King; who ſtill kept up a ſecret correſpondence with him, as appears by the following letter in the

Nuncio's memoirs; a copy of which, it ſeems, was publiſhed in an Italian Mercury of that time, by Vittorio Siri.

GLAMORGAN,

I am not ſo ſtrictly guarded but that if you ſend to me a prudent and ſecret perſon I can receive a letter, and you may ſignify to me your mind; I having always loved your perſon and converſation, which I ardently wiſh for at preſent more than ever, if it could be had without prejudice to you, whoſe ſafety is as dear to me as my own. If you can raiſe a large ſum of money by pawning my kingdoms for that purpoſe, I am content you ſhould do it, and if I recover them I will fully repay that money: and tell the Nuncio, that if once I can come into his and your hands, which ought extremely to be wiſhed for by you both, as well for the ſake of England as Ireland, ſince all the reſt, as I ſee, deſpiſe me, I will do it: and if I do not ſay this from my heart, or if in any future time I fail you in this, may God never reſtore me to my kingdoms in this world nor give me eternal happineſs in the next; to which I hope this tribulation will conduct me at laſt, after I have ſatisfied my obligations to my friends; to none of whom I am ſo much obliged as to yourſelf, whoſe merits towards me exceed all expreſſions that can be uſed by

Your conſtant Friend

Newcaſtle July 20,
1646.

CHARLES R.

Of this extraordinary letter, which Mr. Carte muſt have ſeen in the Nuncio's memoirs, he takes not the leaſt notice, and no wonder: for it is itſelf enough to confute his aſſertion that the commiſſions produced by Lord Glamorgan were forgeries. I have ſaid that he muſt have ſeen this letter, becauſe he hath quoted the page before, and the page after it, in the Nuncio's memoirs. In anſwer to this letter, Lord Glamorgan drew up a paper with the aſſiſtance of the Nuncio, inviting his Majeſty into Ireland; in which the objections to that meaſure, and the anſwers to them, are ſet down. There is nothing particular enough in either to entertain the reader; and in concluſion his Lordſhip tells the King, that his duty and affection to him were ſuch, as that he could not but regard his Majeſty's ſafety, without calling to mind paſt injuries, or conſidering the dangers he had undergone, or the money he had expended; ſince he did not think that what he had ſuffered aroſe from his Majeſty, or was willingly permitted by him. The King, it is well known, was very ſoon too cloſely guarded to make his eſcape into Ireland, to the Earl or to the Nuncio; and ſo that correſpondence was at an end. We muſt now return to the hiſtory.

As ſoon as the Lord Lieutenant returned to Dublin, the beſt endeavours were uſed to put the place into a poſture of defence: the townſmen were formed into companies; and to give encouragement to the common people, the Marchioneſs of Ormonde, and other ladies of the firſt quality in the city, carried baſkets of earth for repairing the fortifications. But if the place had been ever ſo tenable againſt an attack, it could not hold out for want of proviſions: the ſoldiers were in want of all things neceſſary for defence; nor was there more than fourteen barrels of powder in the magazine; and yet as their diſtreſſes, ſo their danger was increaſing every hour. When O Neil found himſelf diſappointed in his deſign of cutting off the Marquis in his retreat, he marched his army into the Queen's county, and committed all acts of cruelty and outrage that can be imagined; putting all thoſe who reſiſted to the ſword. The Nuncio, and Preston having joined him at Athy, the former, as Generaliſſimo, led the two armies towards Dublin. The Marquis in this extremity conſulted with Lord Castlehaven, who had ſtuck firmly to him ever ſince the peace; and who adviſed, in order to prevent their coming too near, to deſtroy the quarters; his forces not being ſufficient to oppoſe them in the field. Lord Ormonde himſelf was of the ſame opinion; and therefore orders were ſent immediately to all people within eight miles of the town, to bring in whatever they had; and whatever could not be brought in within three days, particularly forage and mills, ſeveral parties were ſent to burn and to deſtroy. The army however marched notwithſtanding; Preston and O Neil fixing their head quarters within ſix miles of Dublin, and three from one another; and the Nuncio and his Council remaining at Sigginſtown, about ſix miles further.

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In a ſituation of ſo much diſtreſs as this, what had the Lord Lieutenant to do, without men, without money, without proviſions, and without the hopes of either, but to ſeek the readieſt help that he could obtain? No choice was left to him in this extremity, but to put himſelf into the hands of the Iriſh, or the Engliſh and Scots under the Parliament. He had juſt had too recent a proof of the treachery and breach of faith of the former, to think of placing any confidence in them: and to prevent their ſhaking off the government of the Crown of England, putting the nation under a foreign power, and extirpating the Proteſtant religion, which had been the ſole object of the war, he was under a neceſſity of applying to the Parliament of England for relief. Some of their ſhips were then riding in the bay of Dublin; the commanders of which he deſired to tranſport ſome commiſſioners which he was ſending to England to treat about the ſurrender of that city, and the other garriſons under his command—which they readily undertook—and in the mean time, that he might preſerve it from falling into the hands of the Iriſh rebels, to furniſh him with thirty barrels of powder. This requeſt was alſo inſtantly complied with: and this application was ſufficient of itſelf, if the zeal of the Iriſh had not conſumed every grain of ſenſe among them, to convince them that if they continued to puſh the Lord Lieutenant to extremities, he had a reſource to deliver himſelf, and to put Dublin and the other places under a power, both able and willing to take revenge of them for their treachery. But the awe in which the people ſtood of their Eccleſiaſticks permitted them to ſee nothing but the terrors of excommunication for their diſobedience: the Eccleſiaſticks ſaw nothing but thro' the eye of intereſt; and the Nuncio, who cared for nothing but the ſupreme command of the nation, would hear no propoſals that were likely to diminiſh it. He had ſet his heart upon taking Dublin from the Marquis of Ormonde with an army under his own command: and yet his paſſion, and want of judgment, had broken that army into jealouſies and diſcontent with him, which was before but too ready to quarrel among themſelves. He had made a very fooliſh and unneceſſary diſtinction between the two Generals, both in his confidence and the ſupply which he gave their forces; which, of all things in the world, he ſhould have avoided: and the Leinſter Gentry were ſo provoked at the inſolence of O Neil, and the depredations which he had committed in their country, that they flocked to Preston, the General of the province, in ſuch numbers, as ſoon made him equal if not ſuperior in forces to O Neil.

Lord Digby ſeeing the extremity to which the Marquis of Ormonde had been reduced, and ſuſpecting the Parliament might not yield to the terms which his Excellency had ſent over, reſolved to go to France; either to endeavour to procure ſupplies for carrying on the war, or a declaration from that Court which ſhould oblige the Iriſh to drop their oppoſition to the peace which had been concluded. Whilſt he was applying for a paſs to this purpoſe, he diſcovered the animoſity between the officers of the Leinſter and Ulſter armies: and as he knew of the hatred between the Generals, he from thence formed a project to ſeparate Preston from the Nuncio, and to divert him from the ſiege of Dublin then preparing for. In anſwer to this propoſal, that General ſent him word, that if he might have any reaſonable aſſurance for the ſecurity of religion, he would obey the Marquis of Ormonde entirely, and join all his forces againſt O Neil. Preston was well enough affected to the peace of his country, and the ſervice of the Crown; but he was ſuch a bigot in his religion, and ſo irreſolute in his temper, that the Marquis could not confide in him: nor had he any power to do more on the point propoſed than he had already done. At the ſame time Lord Taafe was trying what he could do with the Lord Lieutenant, in order to get him to relax a little on the article of religion, and by that means preſerve the city of Dublin. But his Excellency was ſo juſtly filled with indignation at their infamous and perfidious treatment of him, that if it had not been to preſerve ſome of his friends, he would never have condeſcended to hear another word from them; and as it was, he would never be forced from the grounds he had laid to himſelf.

Theſe ſchemes proving abortive through the ſteadineſs of the Lord Lieutenant, they were determined to attempt the ſiege of Dublin. At the latter end of October, Sr. F. Willoughby, and the other commiſſioners whom his Excellency had ſent to the Parliament, arrived from England. They had inſtructions to require an immediate ſupply of three thouſand foot and five hundred horſe; and that all the Proteſtants, and others who had adhered to them from the firſt day of the inſurrection, all ſuch as had been detained by force in the rebels quarters but had never joined them, and even all ſuch of the rebels as the Lord Lieutenant and Council, with the conſent of the Engliſh Parliament, might accept as adherents to the King's Proteſtant ſubjects, ſhould be preſerved in their perſons and eſtates. On theſe conditions, the Marquis of Ormonde undertook to proſecute the war againſt the rebels; and that none of the forces under him already there, or to be ſent thither, ſhould be employed, nor any treaty of peace or ceſſation with the Iriſh be entered into or concluded, but by expreſs direction of the Engliſh Parliament. They were inſtructed moreover to inſiſt, that the Covenant ſhould not be impoſed, nor the Common Prayer ſuppreſſed at preſent; and nothing done in relation to either but by act of Parliament: and though they were to repreſent that the Lord Lieutenant, and the Council and Officers already employed, would be more ſerviceable than others, yet in caſe this overture ſhould be rejected, and their continuance ſhould be the only impediment to a relief, the commiſſioners were authoriſed to offer a reſignation of their patents and commiſſions—with his Majeſty's conſent and direction—provided they were ſecured in their perſons and eſtates, indemnified from all public engagements, repaid their diſburſements for the publick, protected for ſix months from private debts, and allowed to tranſport themſelves and their effects whither they pleaſed. The Parliament appeared ready to enter into the treaty; ordered two thouſand foot, and two hundred horſe, to be ſent immediately from Cheſter as a preſent relief; and as they would not conſent to continue the Marquis of Ormonde, and thoſe who adhered to him in the Government, they gave a commiſſion to four of their members to go over, and to treat with him for the ſurrender of the ſword, and of the garriſons under him.

In the mean time the Catholic army, making ſixteen thouſand foot, and ſixteen hundred horſe, advanced to Dublin; and the two Generals joined in a paper of propoſitions which they ſigned and ſent on the ſecond of November to the Lord Lieutenant. When the reader knows that the firſt of theſe demanded that the exerciſe of the Romiſh religion in all the kingdom of Ireland, ſhould be as free and public as it was then in France or the Low-countries, he will not think it neceſſary to produce the reſt, in order to be convinced that they were of too extravagant a nature, as much as he

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wanted to gain time, for the Lord Lieutenant to treat about. As he did not therefore vouchſafe to give any anſwer to theſe propoſals, the ſiege of Dublin was determined. But the Generals could not agree in their meaſures for carrying it on; and the bad weather, with a flood in the Liffy that had forced away ſome bridges over which they received their chief ſupport, made their forces already labour under a ſcarcity of proviſions. The Nuncio uſed his utmoſt endeavours to reconcile the Generals, but without ſucceſs; and having a ſuſpicion of Preston, he conſulted with his Council whether it were not beſt to impriſon him. The Nuncio and his zealots were for that violent meaſure; as thinking all that was dear to their religion and to their intereſts was at ſtake. But there were others who had not drunk quite ſo deep of the cup of zeal, and whoſe underſtandings were leſs corrupted; who ſaw the ruin this would inſtantly bring upon them by turning the whole Leinſter army againſt them; and that it was better to put up with a ſuſpicion of their General, than to raiſe a flame by ſuch a violence, in which they ſhould not improbably be all conſumed. This opinion at laſt prevailed: and whilſt Preston was in this real danger, O Neil imagined there was a deſign to cut off him and his army; and each of them was more vigilant in guarding againſt a ſurpriſe from the other than in carrying on the ſiege.

As the Marquis of Clanricarde was a Catholick, and the Leinſter General bore him an extreme reſpect, Lord Digby thought it expedient to deſire his Lordſhip to try his influence. The Marquis joined the armies accordingly, and laboured very aſſiduouſly to perſuade the Nuncio and his Council to ſubmit to the peace, upon a reaſonable ſecurity for their religion. To this purpoſe he undertook for the repeal of the penal laws, for their poſſeſſion of the churches till the King's pleaſure were known in a ſettlement of the nation, and for the confirmation of theſe articles by the Queen and the Prince; for the performance of which the Crown of France ſhould be guarantee. The Nuncio and the Prelates were not ſatisfied with theſe conceſſions; but whilſt they were debating upon them, intelligence was brought that the forces from England were landed, and received into Dublin. The debate cloſed in a moment. O Neil and the reſt ſtarted up out of their ſeats, and made the beſt of their way: he called all his men to their poſts by the ſignal of a cannon ſhot, and having made a bridge of trees over the Liffy, decamped in the night with his army into Meath, and thence into the Queen's county. The new Council alſo haſtened away that night, and got to Kilkenny the next day, but the Nuncio ſtaid a day longer; and was waited upon by the Earls of WESTMEATH, and FINGALL, with letters ſigned by PRESTON and the Lords and principal Gentry of the Pale, preſſing him to agree to the conceſſions and offers made by Lord CLANRICARDE. He was too full of himſelf, however, and of his project of extirpating the Hereticks out of Ireland, to conſent to any thing elſe; and finding they were bent upon obtaining a peace without it, he followed the Council to Kilkenny. Lord CLANRICARDE having undertaken, by the advice of Lord DIGBY, for the performance of the conditions which he had propoſed, a ſolemn engagement was entred into by PRESTON and his Officers to obſerve the late peace, with the additional ſecurities and conceſſions offered by Lord CLANRICARDE; to be thenceforth obedient to the King's authority, and to join with the Marquis of ORMONDE againſt all his Majeſty's enemies, or ſuch as ſhould not ſubmit to the peace upon the ſame terms.

Whilſt this negotiation was carrying on with the Iriſh rebels, the Lord Lieutenant was engaged in a treaty with the Commiſſioners of the Engliſh Parliament. The forces which they brought with them were left on ſhipboard, and they landed themſelves on the fourteenth of November. When they ſaw the weakneſs of the place beſieged by ſuch an army, and knew his Excellency ſtood in need of every thing neceſſary for his defence, they made no doubt of his receiving the ſupplies which they had brought, upon any terms; at leaſt that the clamour of the ſoldiers and inhabitants, with the aſſiſtance of their party within the city, would enable them to make themſelves maſters of the place, and to compel the Marquis to quit the Government. The Marquis was not without a ſuſpicion of their deſign: and therefore though he could not reſiſt the importunities of the inhabitants to permit the forces to land, yet he would not admit them into the city; but aſſigned them quarters in the environs, on a promiſe from the Commiſſioners that they ſhould do nothing prejudicial to the preſent Government under his command. The Lord Lieutenant expected that the Commiſſioners had brought ſpecific anſwers to the propoſitions which he had ſent to England; but they had brought no ſuch anſwers, nor any inſtructions about them: and when he offered them a copy of the propoſitions, they would not receive it, nor enter into any debate upon the ſubject. Their inſtructions confined them to treat only for the ſurrender of the ſword and garriſons; for which they offered to take the Proteſtants of Ireland under their protection, and to allow the Marquis his eſtate, or two thouſand a year for five years if he did not receive ſo much out of his own rents. Though their offer of taking the Proteſtants under their protection, was expreſſed in ſuch looſe and equivocal terms as that a good deal of time was ſpent in clearing up their meaning, yet the Marquis was allowed but four days, from the opening of the treaty, to give in his anſwer. The only overture on which they would treat, was on the delivery of the ſword and garriſons; and though the propoſal of reſigning was made expreſly on the condition of the King's conſent and direction, to whom the Marquis had ſent a copy of the propoſitions for the Parliament to tranſmit to him for his direction, yet they would not allow it to be ſent. This was a condition from which his Excellency could not well recede, on account of his oath when he took the ſword; and if he ſurrendered the Government, the Iriſh Parliament would be diſſolved, and the beſt ſecurity of the Proteſtants would be thereby deſtroyed. The Marquis therefore having no orders from the King, and the Commiſſioners having no inſtructions about his propoſitions for the ſecurity of the Proteſtant Clergy, of the civil and military Officers, and of the loyal Roman Catholicks who had never been concerned in the rebellion, and had many of them ſerved againſt the rebels though of their own religion, he told the Commiſſioners, that he could not, conſiſtent with his duty, part with ſo great a truſt in ſuch a manner, without the King's command. But till this could be procured, and their inſtructions from the Parliament could be enlarged, the Marquis propoſed to diſtribute their forces into his garriſons, if they ſhould ſubmit to his orders and to martial law, and if they would lend him three thouſand pounds to ſupport the army. Theſe propoſals were refuſed; and in a few days, they embarked on board their ſhips with all their men, which they carried into Ulſter, where they met with a reception from the Scots that was not at all agreeable.

The ſolemn engagement entered into with Lord CLANRICARDE by PRESTON and his Officers hath been already mentioned: and though his Lordſhip and Lord DIGBY, who was his aſſiſtant in this treaty, were fully perſuaded of the General's good faith and clear intentions to obſerve it, yet the Marquis of ORMONDE had a jealouſy of him, which all their importunity and Lord DIGBY's poſitiveneſs could not cure. Full of this ſuſpicion, his Excellency could not approve of an article in that treaty to which his two friends had conſented; which was, that a conſiderable number of the Iriſh forces were to be admitted into the chief garriſons that were under the King's obedience. They had indeed been cautious in avoiding to name any number or proportion of ſuch forces; and Lord CLANRICARDE was to command their army as Lieutenant General, with PRESTON under him as Major General, by commiſſions from the Lord Lieutenant. There were ſeveral other things in the engagement of leſs importance, to which the Marquis of ORMONDE made ſtrong objections; as being very unſeaſonable, and too prejudicial to his intereſts with his party for his Lordſhip publicly to approve of. But Lord DIGBY, who was violent in all his motions and ſanguine about their ſucceſs, became ſo importunate with the Lord Lieutenant, and both he and the Marquis of CLANRICARDE were ſo confident of the zeal and affection to the King's ſervice of PRESTON and his Officers, that at laſt they got the better ſo far of his Excellency, as to perſuade him to write a letter to that General. In this it appears to me, from his anſwer to them, that he acted againſt his judgment: but be this as it might. His Lordſhip aſſures him, "that if he makes a public declaration of his ſubmiſſion to the peace, and of his proſecution of thoſe who ſhall not join with them in that ſubmiſſion—whereby his Excellency may be juſtified to his Majeſty, and his own party, for the confidence and truſt he meant to repoſe in him—he and his Officers ſhould find all the encouragement of ſecurity and ſatisfaction in their ſubmiſſion, that they could expect, or that ſhould lie in his Excellency's power to afford them."

This was as far as the two noble friends could bring Lord ORMONDE to by their letters: but this not being far enough to fulfil their injudicious undertakings, they repaired inſtantly to Dublin; when Lord DIGBY's impetuoſity, and the known zeal of both for the King's ſervice—which they

represented

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repreſented to be at ſtake, as well as their own honour—prevailed on his Excellency's good nature to give them a further ſatisfaction. He wrote another letter to PRESTON, to aſſure him, and his officers, and his army, that his Lordſhip had ſo full a confidence in their integrity and affection to the King's ſervice, and to the peace of the kingdom, that he ſhould rely as much upon their fidelity, and employ them in all truſts in the field, and in his garriſons, as he ſhould any troops whatſoever. He therefore deſired a conference with the General the next day, in order to take the beſt reſolutions for the ſettlement of the kingdom; and in the mean time, he tells him, that he was taking care to ſupply the army with proviſions. But even this letter did not fully come up to the wild engagements in which Lord DIGBY had embarked the Marquis of CLANRICARDE; and which the latter thought he was bound in honour to get Lord ORMONDE to ſupport. To this purpoſe they prevailed upon him to write an oſtenſible letter to Lord CLANRICARDE of the ſame date; in which his Excellency aſſures him, "that he would carefully obey all ſuch commands as he ſhould receive from the King, to the advantage of the Roman Catholic ſubjects of that kingdom; or during his Majeſty's want of freedom, from the Queen and Prince of Wales; or ſuch as ſhould be ſignified to be the King's will and pleaſure by Lord DIGBY as Secretary of State; and that he would not execute any command to their prejudice, which ſhould be procured from the King through his want of freedom." But though the Marquis of ORMONDE complied thus far to get rid of Lord DIGBY's warmth and impetuoſity, yet in a month after this, when his Lordſhip was going to France upon one of his viſions, the Marquis deſired him in a letter "to be very careful, that the commands which ſhould be directed to him touching the Iriſh—if any were ſent from the Queen, or Prince—did not thwart the grounds he had laid to himſelf in point of religion; for in that, and that only, he ſhould reſort to the liberty left to a ſubject to obey by ſuffering:" and that his Lordſhip might not forget, or miſtake his meaning upon that point, his Excellency adds, "it is in what concerns any conceſſion that may ſeem to perpetuate to the Roman Catholicks either churches or church livings, or that may eſſentially take from ours, or give to their Clergy, eccleſiaſtical juriſdiction."

When the negotiation with Preston and his Officers was finiſhed to the ſatisfaction of all parties, the Lord Lieutenant and Lord Digby ſent a long diſpatch to the King with the ſtate of public affairs. This letter is not inſerted in Carte's collection; but it appears to have been then ſent, by an anſwer from his Majeſty to the Marquis of Ormonde, which will be recited in its proper place. At preſent we muſt turn to ſee what was doing in conſequence of the agreement made with Preston and his Officers; who had "engaged themſelves by the honour and reputation of Gentlemen and Soldiers, and by the ſacred proteſtation on the faith of Catholicks in the preſence of God, to conform themſelves entirely to the peace, and that they ſhould not think themſelves diſobliged from this engagement by any authority or power whatſoever; provided there was no hindrance of any further grace or benefit by it from his Majeſty, which he might be pleaſed to concede on the Queen's mediation, or any other treaty abroad." It is certain that this army was full of the higheſt reſentment againſt O Neil and the Ulſter forces; who being all of the old Iriſh race, had at the time of their lying before Dublin expreſſed an inveterate hatred of the old Engliſh, and their hopes that the whole kingdom would be ſoon all their own. O Neil himſelf had been very haughty, and diſcovered too much of his pretenſions with regard to Ulſter, and the power of the great O Neil; which had not only incenſed the Leinſter forces, but had diſcontented Sr. Phelim, and Macdonel, who were ready to deſert from him with their regiments.

It was the latter end of November when the treaty with Preston was concluded: and the Nuncio and his Council, as well as the congregation of the Clergy, being then aſſembled at Kilkenny, they proceeded immediately to condemn it. The firſt operations intended with Preston's army by the Lord Lieutenant, was to ſecure Waterford and Kilkenny. To this purpoſe, his Excellency gave them orders to march with as ſtrong a body as he could draw out of his garriſons to the latter place, where the Marquis promiſed to meet him with Lord Clanricarde and the royal army; that ſo being united they might compel the reſt to obſerve the peace. Preston accordingly began his march; but when the Nuncio and his Clergy heard of it, on the fifth of December, they ſent him an order to ſtop; to diſperſe his army into the quarters they had aſſigned them; and in caſe of his diſobedience they declared him excommunicate. The Nuncio knew him to be a thorough bigot, and full of ſcruples and tenderneſs on the point of religion: he therefore wrote to him in ſuch a manner as he thought would prove effectual; and on the tenth of December, an agreement, by the mediation of F. DARCY, was made between them. PRESTON promiſed on his part to do nothing, without the conſent of the Nuncio and the Clergy; and the Nuncio undertook on his, that no ſtain ſhould be thrown on the General's honour; that none who had joined with him ſhould ſuffer in their honour, perſons, or fortune; and that he ſhould be reſtored to his government of Duncannon. The next day, the Nuncio ſent him an indemnity in form for what had paſſed; which as ſoon as he received, he repaired to the Council at Kilkenny, and there like a true penitent confeſſed all his deſigns.

The Marquis of ORMONDE having received a very preſſing letter, written by PRESTON's order, to haſten his march, and to aſſure him of the firm reſolution of that army to join with him againſt O NEIL, on the ninth of December he left Dublin with eight hundred foot and the ſame number of horſe, accompanied by Lord CLANRICARDE, in order to join the Leinſter army for that purpoſe. But when they were come within leſs than a day's march of the place which PRESTON had appointed for their meeting, Lord CLANRICARDE, who had anſwered to the Marquis of ORMONDE for his integrity, received a letter from him to this effect: that his Officers, not being excommunication proof, were fallen from him to the Nuncio's party; and therefore he wiſhed the Lord Lieutenant would proceed no further, but expect the iſſue of a General Aſſembly at Kilkenny. The Marquis of CLANRICARDE was like one thunder-ſtruck, and the firſt word he uttered was TRAITOR; but the Lord Lieutenant, though diſappointed of his aim, was very little ſurpriſed. This new violation of faith obliged him however to alter his meaſures, and to march his forces into the county of Weſtmeath; in hopes of ſubſiſting them there till he ſhould ſee the reſult of this Aſſembly. He was not in a condition to make head againſt O NEIL, who continually alarmed them by ſome of his parties; and all that he could do was to raiſe a thouſand pounds from the Gentlemen of the county, and to ſubſiſt his forces for a few weeks in a country not ſo much waſted as that of Dublin.

It hath been obſerved that a long diſpatch had been ſent to the King by the Marquis of Ormonde and Lord Digby, after the treaty with the Parliament Commiſſioners had been ineffectual, and that with Preston had been concluded; as we may learn by the following letter given by Carte in his Appendix.

ORMONDE,

The large diſpatch from you and Digby, of the ſecond and third of December, with the full account of your London treaty, I have received by ſeveral meſſengers; thereby finding with great contentment that I am no ways deceived in my confidence of you. For I really and heartily approve of all that you have done hitherto, and in particular concerning Colonel Preston: but for further directions, I can only ſay that upon no terms you muſt ſubmit to the cw ik, and that you endeavour what you can to repiece your breach with the Iriſh, in caſe you can do it with honour and a good conſcience; both which are ſo rightly underſtood by you, that I will neither trouble myſelf nor you with more particulars. I command you to follow ſuch orders as the Queen and my Son ſhall ſend you: and ſo deſiring to hear often from you, I reſt

Your moſt aſſured, real, faithful,
constant friend,

Newcaſtle 5th January
1647.

CHARLES R.

Though one cannot be poſitive that the words in cypher in this letter muſt neceſſarily be underſtood to mean the Engliſh Parliament, yet they certainly may be ſo underſtood without any forced interpretation; and conſidering what went before and what followed, the cypher does not ſeem to be capable of any other. But if this was the King's meaning, the Marquis was obliged to act a part oppoſite to it. When he returned with his army to

Dublin, the inhabitants were ſome of them ſo diſcontented at refuſing the ſuccours ſent from England, others were ſo exaſperated at the repeated treachery of the Iriſh, and all of them were ſo impoveriſhed by the decay of traffick, that they refuſed to contribute any longer to the maintenance of his forces. He was obliged therefore to draw them forth again in the midſt of a cold and wet winter—half ſtarved and half naked as they were—to ſubſiſt in the enemies quarters; where he ſuffered no act of hoſtility to be committed, nor any thing to be taken but proviſions. In this uneaſy ſituation, he continued to expect the reſult of the General Aſſembly, called to meet in the beginning of January. For he ſuppoſed it impoſſible to be ſo conſtituted, but that it would abhor the violation of their former treaty, and the unwarrantable preſumption of the congregation of the Clergy at Waterford: in ſhort he expected that it would vindicate the faith of their nation and religion from the reproaches it lay under, and from the extravagant juriſdiction which the Nuncio had aſſumed to himſelf over the kingdom. Let us ſee how it anſwered his expectations.

In a ſhort time after the Aſſembly met, they ſet at liberty the members of the late Supreme Council, and the agents who had concluded the peace, who had been impriſoned by the Nuncio and his Council: declaring "that they had faithfully and ſincerely carried and demeaned themſelves in the ſaid negotiation, purſuant and according to the truſt repoſed in them." The debate however upon this declaration was carried on with great heat for three weeks together. The Nuncio inſiſted on the cenſure of the Commiſſioners with ſo much bitterneſs, that he had like to have loſt it upon the queſtion. At laſt it was ſettled, to add to the declaration above-mentioned—though it juſtified two actions contradictory to each other—"that they might not accept of, or ſubmit to the ſaid peace, and did thereby proteſt againſt it, and declare it invalid and of no force; and moreover that the nation would not accept of any peace not containing a ſufficient ſatisfactory ſecurity of the religion, lives, eſtates, and liberties of the ſaid confederate Catholicks." That the meaning of this ſecurity might not remain vague or uncertain, the Clergy, who were at the ſame time convened in Synod by the Nuncio, preſented to the Aſſembly theſe propoſitions: That Popery ſhould be eſtabliſhed throughout the kingdom, not only in their own but

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the Proteſtant quarters; that they ſhould retain the poſſeſſion of all churches, benefices, and dignities; that the common law, which gave the Crown any eccleſiaſtical power, ſhould be repealed; that they ſhould erect ſchools and univerſities under their own regulations; that they ſhould appoint proviſions to biſhopricks, dignities, and livings, and exerciſe their eccleſiaſtical juriſdiction in its full extent. The ſubſtance of theſe propoſitions, after many debates, was agreed to by the Aſſembly. But the point which occaſioned the greateſt altercation was a new oath of aſſociation, to be taken by all perſons for the continuance of their union, till all theſe propoſitions, which were to be annexed to it, were obtained and ſecured to their party. With ſome explanations, however, it was approved, annexed to the propoſitions, and taken by all the members of the Aſſembly.

The Marquis of ORMONDE had waited thus long, amidſt the greateſt difficulties and dangers, in expectation of the iſſue of this Aſſembly; and he now ſaw all the hopes, which his charity and compaſſion had hitherto kept up againſt his experience, entirely blaſted. The men, whoſe natures, intereſts, and diſpoſitions, made them moſt averſe to the Engliſh Parliament, grew more affrighted at the thoughts of falling under the power of the perfidious Iriſh. In ſhort the people of all humours and inclinations, who lived under his government, and had diſlike and jealouſies enough againſt each other, were yet united and reconciled in their opinions againſt the Confederates; who had not only deſpoiled them of their fortunes, and proſecuted them with cruelty, but who had made it evident by their late notorious perfidy, in breaking the treaty of peace, in their treacherous deſign againſt the Marquis at Kilkenny, and the like treachery intended by PRESTON and his party, that there was no ſecurity to be had under them. The diſtreſſes of the State and army, without proviſions, without ſtores, without money to procure them, and without credit, were further motives to induce the Lord Lieutenant to apply for ſuccours from ſome other quarter. But what among other important conſiderations made a great impreſſion upon his Excellency, was the knowledge of a deſign to alienate the kingdom from the Crown of England, and to extirpate the Proteſtants, and all the Catholicks of Engliſh race.

Upon all theſe conſiderations, the Marquis of Ormonde thought it beſt to depoſite the rights of the Crown of England, and the intereſts of the King and his Proteſtant ſubjects with the Engliſh Parliament; and it was accordingly unanimouſly reſolved in Council to apply to them for ſuccour. As ſoon as this application was known to the General Aſſembly, a propoſal was made by ſome of the members to treat of a peace, or an accommodation. The Nuncio oppoſed it: but the majority thinking it proper to excuſe themſelves from the charge of impoſing a neceſſity on the Lord Lieutenant to agree with the Engliſh Parliament, two agents were ſent to him with ſome overtures, which the Nuncio took care ſhould be inadmiſſible: And yet inſolent as they were—being an abſtract of ſuch as we have juſt ſeen—the agents refuſed to put them in writing; and when the Marquis had taken them down as they dictated them they refuſed to ſign them. To theſe therefore the Marquis made no other reply, than that he would conſider them, and ſend an anſwer by meſſengers of his own; and being in no haſte to do this, they ſent another agent to preſs him on that ſubject; to whom he only ſaid, that he could not aſſent to the propoſitions in the manner they were formed. In a ſhort time after he had ſent an offer to the Parliament Commiſſioners, to deliver up the ſword and garriſons under his command, on the conditions they had lately ſettled, the Parliament of Ireland met; and the two Houſes joined in an addreſs of thanks to him, "for his pious care and providence in preſerving them at the hazard of his life, and the expence of his fortune; and when he could no longer reſiſt a perfidious and bloody enemy, for transferring them into other hands that could preſerve them." To perpetuate his merit and their own gratitude to poſterity, this addreſs was ordered to be entered in the journals, and to be preſented by the Speakers of both Houſes. The Marquis received this honourable teſtimony of the wiſdom and integrity of his adminiſtration with his uſual modeſty; and in return aſſured them, that he had never received any other command from the King, but ſuch as beſpoke him to be a pious, wiſe, and Proteſtant Prince.

Lord Clarendon in his vindication of the Marquis of Ormonde, mentioned in the preface, and all the writers from him, have aſſigned as another reaſon for his Lordſhip's agreement with the Parliament, his having received

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a private verbal direction from the King, that if there was a neceſſity for his giving up Dublin and the other garriſons, he ſhould rather put them into the hands of the Engliſh than the Iriſh. It is not impoſſible that young Sr. G. Hamilton, who is ſaid to bring this meſſage, might take upon him to affirm, that he knew the King's mind well enough to know that ſuch a ſtep would be moſt agreeable to him. But that the Marquis of Ormonde thought it to be no authentic ſignification of his Majeſty's pleaſure, is very certain from the apologies that he makes for his conduct in this particular, in two letters to the King, in another to the Queen, and above all in a paper containing a ſummary relation of the affairs of Ireland, which he delivered to the King after his return to England; in which he ſets forth at large the reaſons which had determined him to make his agreement with the Parliament. Had he received ſuch a direction as theſe writers affirm, there would have been no occaſion for theſe apologies: nay if he had not believed that this part of his conduct was rather diſpleaſing to the King—and which confirms the interpretation of the cypher in the laſt recited letter—his Lordſhip would not have thought it neceſſary to labour his vindication of it in the paper above referred to, publiſhed in Carte's collection.

As ſoon as the application to the Engliſh Parliament was known, Lord Inchiquin, to whom the Marquis had applied, ſent him a ſmall cargo of powder for the defence of Dublin, and with the army which he had in Munſter gave a powerful diverſion to Preston's forces. Lord Lisle had for ſome time been arrived in the province of Munster as the Parliament's Lord Lieutenant, but we hear nothing of what he did there: he might perhaps direct, but every thing was acted by the Preſident. To ſtop his Lordſhip's progreſs, and to put Waterford out of danger, Preston was recalled by the Supreme Council: for O Neil would obey no orders, not even thoſe of the Nuncio, though his troops called themſelves the Pope's army and the defenders of the Clergy; whom their continual depredations rendered odious. The ſucceſs of Lord Inchiquin had ſtruck ſuch a terror in the new Council, the Aſſembly being broken up, that they thought it adviſeable to renew their overtures in the beginning of May for an accommodation: for a ſubmiſſion to the peace, and the King's authority, were now out of the queſtion. Father Leybourn chaplain to the Queen, was at this time arrived in Ireland under the name of WINTER GRANT, with letters from her Majeſty and the Prince, as well as blank powers ſigned by them ſeparately and jointly for the Lord Lieutenant; in order to eſtabliſh the peace, and then to aſſiſt the King. The Supreme Council had a little before refuſed a ceſſation propoſed by the Marquis of ORMONDE: but now being alarmed at the progreſs which Lord INCHIQUIN had made, and to clear themſelves to the Queen of the odium of driving the Marquis to ſubmit to the Engliſh Parliament, they employed GRANT to negotiate an accommodation with him.

As nothing had yet been done in conſequence of the Marquis's offer to the Parliament Commiſſioners, he had it ſtill in his power to comply with the Iriſh; if they were reaſonable enough to conſent to what would juſtify ſuch an agreement. But they ſent him a written meſſage, that they muſt inſiſt on the propoſitions of the Clergy agreed at Waterford—above mentioned—to which they had ſworn; and that if he would have a ceſſation with them, he muſt promiſe not to receive any force from the two Houſes of Parliament in ſix or ſeven months. The Marquis was perſuaded by Lord DIGBY—though not without more diſpute than had ever ariſen between them, as he tells GRANT in his letter—to ſend an anſwer to this overture; in which he offered not to receive any force from the two Houſes for the ſpace of three weeks, if during that time they would ſubmit to a ceſſation in which a full peace might be concluded; and to this he never received any reply. But O NEIL, foreſeeing the conſequence of compelling the Lord Lieutenant to leave the kingdom, and to put Dublin and the other garriſons into the hands of the Parliament, ſent his nephew DANIEL to him with this meſſage, "that if the Marquis would accept of a ceſſation for two months, which he believed the Supreme Council would propoſe, he would engage himſelf to continue it for a year, and in that time he would uſe his utmoſt power to procure a peace." To this the Marquis replied by another meſſage, that if O NEIL would give his word for a ceſſation for a year, he would accept it, and wave any further treaty with the Engliſh Parliament; provided that he received—and not otherwiſe—ſuch a poſitive effect of his overture as he expected within fourteen days. O NEIL accepted the conditions; and inſtantly diſpatched his nephew to the Supreme Council with

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a letter of advice, and another to his chief confident the Popiſh Biſhop of CLOGHER, with the reaſons at large which ought to induce the Nuncio to deſire ſuch a ceſſation. But the meaſure of their iniquity was not yet full. The Supreme Council, inſtead of taking this advice, or making any reply, perceiving the Marquis had limited O NEIL to fourteen days, impriſoned his nephew till the time was expired; and then releaſed him on condition that he ſhould no more return to his uncle's quarters. In this manner ended all negotiations with the Iriſh Catholicks: let us now turn to the treaty with the Engliſh Parliament.

The committee for the affairs of Ireland did not heſitate a moment in accepting the offer of the Lord Lieutenant; but there was a greater delay in ſending a relief to him than he required, or was conſiſtent with his diſtreſſes. This was partly owing to the diviſions in the Parliament itſelf, and partly to a diffidence leſt the treaty now propoſed ſhould be as ineffectual as the former. Therefore to remove the laſt difficulty, the Parliament propoſed that the Marquis ſhould ſend over one of his ſons, and three other perſons of quality or diſtinction, as hoſtages for his performance of the articles; which being done, they would order their forces now in Ireland, and ſome additional regiments to be ſent over, to be under his command till their commiſſioners ſhould arrive at Dublin, and the treaty ſhould be concluded. Lord R. BUTLER the Marquis's ſecond ſon, and three other hoſtages were ſent accordingly; the firſt remaining at Cheſter, and the others going to London with inſtructions from the Lord Lieutenant. The hoſtages being ſent, the Engliſh forces marched to Dublin; and ſoon after, three or four thouſand more, with the Commiſſioners, arrived from England. On the nineteenth of June, the treaty was perfected and ſigned; by which the Lord Lieutenant was to deliver up the ſword on the twenty eighth of July, or ſooner if required on four days notice. The Proteſtants were all to be ſecured in their eſtates; thoſe who had paid contributions to ſupport the Government to be protected in their eſtates and perſons; the Noblemen, Gentlemen, and Officers who deſired to accompany the Marquis of ORMONDE out of Ireland, to have paſſes; and the Popiſh recuſants who had not aſſiſted nor adhered to the rebels were encouraged to continue in their houſes and eſtates; in confidence of the favour of the

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Parliament, according as they ſhould demean themſelves in the preſent ſervice.

The Marquis of Ormonde having taken up above thirteen thouſand pounds on his credit, in order to ſupply the wants and compoſe the murmurings of the army, which he had promiſed to repay before he quitted the Government, a certificate from the Council of this diſburſement was ſent over with the Commiſſioners, who went on the firſt overture to the Parliament, in order to ſtipulate for their payment of this ſum. The Council indeed would have perſuaded him to demand what was due to him for his appointments and commiſſions, and his rents which the Parliament officers had received; and there is no doubt but theſe ſums ſo juſtly due would have been allowed him. But the Marquis was too jealous of his honour, and had too great a mind, to mix any thing of himſelf in this tranſaction. For this reaſon he demanded only the ſum that had been certified, and for which he ſtood engaged; three thouſand of which were to be paid in money before he left Dublin, and the reſt in accepted bills of exchange on France or Holland, one half at fifteen days ſight, and the other at ſix months. But the Commiſſioners did not fulfil their conditions honourably: the three thouſand pounds were not brought; and the Marquis was obliged to leave his Lady behind him to receive it, and diſcharge the debts which that money was intended to pay. The bills were brought for the remainder, but not accepted: and though he was told that he might depend on the honour and faith of the Parliament, yet the bill for the laſt ſum was returned proteſted, and above fifteen hundred pounds were never paid at all.

But notwithſtanding the Commiſſioners were thus ſcandalouſly wanting on their part of the treaty, yet they were very preſſing with the Marquis to perform what he had ſtipulated; and having gotten the power into their hands, they loſt no time to convince the world that they were poſſeſſed of it. The Engliſh Liturgy was then eſtabliſhed by law, the act of uniformity was ſtill in force in Ireland, and even no ordinance had paſſed in England for its ſuſpenſion. But theſe Commiſſioners, within four days after the treaty was ſigned, trampling the law under their own authority as their Maſters had done before them, publiſhed an order to diſcontinue the uſe of the Common Prayer, and for all miniſters of churches and chapels in the city to uſe the Directory. The Clergy repreſented to them the obligation they were under, by the only law then in force in that kingdom againſt Popiſh recuſants, to uſe the Liturgy; the pleaſure it would give the Papiſts to ſee them denied the liberty of their conſciences in divine worſhip; the offence it would give the Proteſtants who had little or nothing elſe now left them to enjoy; and the door which it would open for the Papiſts to enter into their pulpits and ſeduce the people. But this ſenſible remonſtrance was all in vain; and thoſe hypocritical pretenders to religious liberty directed their order to be executed with great rigour. Hence the Clergy ceaſed to officiate, and the Liturgy was left off in all the churches of Dublin. The Biſhop of Meath however, who was Provoſt of the College, perſiſted in uſing it in the College chapel: where he preached with a true apoſtolical freedom againſt the errors of the times, and where he was always attended with a very crowded audience. For people never feel ſo much zeal, and ſo thorough a ſenſe of religion, as in times of calamity and perſecution. The Marquis of Ormonde had put off the delivery of the Regalia till the latter end of July; in hopes of obtaining leave from England to carry ſome men into foreign ſervice, and to take meaſures for their levy and tranſportation. But this was denied him: neither did the Commiſſioners at Dublin keep within the bounds of common decency, and ſuch as their articles required. When he complained of this breach of honour, they did not pretend to aſſign a reaſon for their proceedings, but told him plainly that they were competent judges themſelves, and would not allow others to direct their actions. On the next day, they gave him notice to remove with his family from the Caſtle, and to deliver the Regalia within four days according to his ſtipulation. But it being inconvenient to him to embark ſo ſoon as they had fixed, and being not willing to ſtay after he had delivered up the ſword, he compromiſed the matter with them by quitting the Caſtle immediately, and deferring the ceremonial of the ſword till the day firſt agreed on. Upon that day, the Marquis, having left the Regalia to be delivered to the Commiſſioners, went on board a frigate, attended by many of the diſtreſſed Clergy with their prayers; whoſe families had been kept from periſhing by want through his own and his Lady's bounty, and failed for England. In this manner ended the firſt adminiſtration of the Marquis of ORMONDE; an adminiſtration attended with more difficulties and dangers, more diſtreſſes and oppoſition, than perhaps ever fell to the lot of any other Miniſter in the world: and yet no Miniſter ever acquitted himſelf with more wiſdom and integrity, and, notwithſtanding his ill ſucceſs, ever acquired a reputation of truer glory.

No ſooner had the Iriſh rebels compelled the Lord Lieutenant to leave the kingdom, than thoſe of the old Engliſh, and of PRESTON's party, were in a terrible conſternation; fearing the good men of the nation, well affected to the King and the peace of the country, would be ſacrificed with the bad who had no regard to either. O NEIL had been made by the new Supreme Council General of Conaght, and had a ſtrong party for him in that province. All that part of Ulſter which belonged to the Confederates was abſolutely in his power; and he was in poſſeſſion of three or four counties in Leinſter, upon which he quartered his forces which encreaſed every day. Hence he was grown very obnoxious to the old Engliſh, who apprehended that he deſigned their extirpation. The Earl of GLAMORGAN, who was no longer capable of ſerving the King by his airy projects, and contented himſelf with being a creature of the Nuncio's, had been made—as already mentioned—General of Munſter by his intereſt. But the Gentry of the province conſidered this as an affront, to have a ſtranger put upon them: and either for this reaſon, or becauſe they thought he would join with O NEIL and the Ulſter forces to ſupport the Nuncio's meaſures, of whom they began to be weary, they did not care to ſerve under his Lordſhip. Lord INCHIQUIN, as we have ſeen, was waſting the province with his forces, and had laid the greateſt part of it under contribution: but the common danger could not unite them. GLAMORGAN complained of the collectors of the money, who were combined againſt him by the artifices of Lord MUSKERY; and ſome of his Officers complained to the Council of the behaviour of that Nobleman and his friends. In the mean time he repaired to the army, where he had great intereſt; and in an hour's time they declared for him, and turned Lord GLAMORGAN out of his command. The Nuncio, being made acquainted with this ill treatment of his favourite, went to the Council at Clonmell, inſiſted on his

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being reſtored, and threatened Lord Muskery, if he did not reſign, with the cenſures of the Church. The Council ſent to know of his Lordſhip by what authority he had turned out the former General. He ſent them word that he had done it to preſerve his life againſt thoſe who aimed at it; and that being ſafe, he would take care that the orders of the Council ſhould be obeyed, which others ſlighted. Having ſecured this point, his Lordſhip and the Munſter Gentry preſented a remonſtrance againſt O Neil; in which having ſet forth the grievances which the Council and the country had ſuffered from him and from his ambitious views, they declared themſelves obedient ſons of the Church, and ſworn Confederates of the Catholic cauſe; but yet that they would join Ormonde, Inchiquin, or the Turk, rather than expoſe themſelves to be enſlaved by O Neil and his army. At laſt the matter was compromiſed: the Council interpoſed with the Nuncio to ſtop the proceedings of O Neil; Lord Glamorgan, as a ſalvo to his honour was reſtored in form to the command of the Munſter army for a few days, and then quitted it entirely to Lord Muskery.

The province of Leinſter had actually ſuffered more from the depredations of O Neil, than the people of Munſter had any reaſon to fear. He lay in the heart of that province with twelve thouſand foot and twelve hundred horſe, and was able to reduce it all under his power. For this reaſon, Preston and his Officers held a conſultation with Lord Muskery and the Gentry of Munſter; in order to take proper meaſures for their ſecurity, both againſt O Neil, and againſt the forces of the Parliament under Colonel Jones, the Governour of Dublin and the General of thoſe forces there: and that they might beget a greater confidence and union between the armies of the two provinces, it was agreed that Lord Taafe, of whom the Leinſter forces had a great opinion, and who was a particular friend of Lord Muskery's, ſhould have the command of the Munſter army in the room of the latter, that he might be at leiſure to attend and execute their meaſures in the Supreme Council. Taafe was a man of parts, and of invincible courage; a Catholick, but zealouſly affected to the King, and ſtrongly attached to the peace, and the Marquis of Ormonde. Preston had ſeen the miſtake of driving away the Marquis, when it was too late; and was willing to enter into any meaſures that were likely to lay a foundation for his return. The meaſures juſt mentioned were concerted chiefly by the advice of Lord DIGBY, who had not yet got away into France: and if they had preſerved with as much care as they had encreaſed their forces, the advice would have proved very effectual.

PRESTON was now at the head of eight thouſand men well appointed and well diſciplined, called the Leinſter army; and it was neceſſary to enlarge their quarters in that province. He went therefore at the head of a conſiderable party for this purpoſe, and JONES marched out of Dublin to oppoſe him. But the former, having ſecured the advantage ground, ſoon routed the Engliſh, killing many, and taking ſeveral priſoners; JONES himſelf eſcaping narrowly to Dublin. Encouraged by this ſucceſs, PRESTON continued advancing with his army; poſſeſſed himſelf of moſt part of the out-garriſons till he came within eight miles of the capital; and after taking in Trim, to which he laid ſiege, intended to inveſt that city. This occaſioned another ſkirmiſh, in which the Iriſh had the advantage: and theſe ſucceſſes, with an army that had been always beaten, or had always fled before the Marquis of ORMONDE, added a great deal to the diſſatiſfaction of the forces at Dublin, already enough uneaſy at the want of money and other neceſſaries. Amidſt this diſcontent, JONES was obliged to draw out above four thouſand men, and to march with ſome artillery to the relief of Trim; being joined with two thouſand more from other garriſons. On the approach of this army, PRESTON raiſed the ſiege; intending to get the ſtart of them and to make an attempt on Dublin. But JONES, having received intelligence of his motion and gueſſing at his deſign, marched with ſo much expedition that he overtook him the next day at Dungan-hill; where though PRESTON had the advantages of the ground and ſun and wind, and the Engliſh forces were in no order, yet his cavalry giving way at the firſt charge and breaking in upon his foot, the rout ſoon became ſo general, that above three thouſand—BORLASE ſays above five—were put to the ſword, and all their cannon, arms, and baggage taken. The Engliſh could not improve their victory for want of proviſions; and the Iriſh General in his retreat burnt the places he had lately taken, and retired into Carlow to recruit his army. The Supreme Council, being alarmed with this great defeat, ſent for O NEIL from Conaght, whither he had marched to

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take Sligo, and had not ſucceeded; but who laughed at PRESTON for being drawn to an engagement againſt his will. He therefore lay ſtill, till JONES, finding he could not force him to a battle, had diſmiſſed his troops to their former garriſons; and then he advanced towards Dublin, burning all the country up almoſt to the walls of the city. Having done this ſervice, which put the inhabitants and the army there into the utmoſt difficulties, he retreated without any other action.

The cauſe of the Confederates was not more ſucceſsful in the province of Munſter. For tho' the republican Lord Lieutenant ſeems to have been quite inactive, at leaſt in military matters, yet Lord INCHIQUIN who had laid the counties of Clare and Limerick under contribution, already mentioned, had now treated Tipperary in the ſame manner without oppoſition. He had no artillery, nor any more bread than the ſoldiers carried in their knapſacks; but he was ſo alert, that after taking ten or twelve little caſtles and paſſing the river Sure, he took by ſtratagem the impregnable fort of Cahir, which had formerly held out for two months againſt twenty thouſand men. It was the moſt important place in the whole province; commanding a paſs over the river, and opening a way into Tipperary, which had always furniſhed the principal contributions to the Munſter army of the rebels. But Lord INCHIQUIN drew another important advantage from this acquiſition: his army had nothing before to live upon but roots which they got out of the ground, and growing corn; for all the cattle had been driven away as they advanced: but now they ranged over the fineſt country in the kingdom, took great preys of cattle, and burnt above twenty thouſand pounds worth of corn, whereof no uſe could be made, all the mills in the country being deſtroyed or burnt. The ſudden reduction of the fort of Cahir, too ſtrong to be retaken, ſtruck all the neighbouring country with amazement and terror. Lord TAAFE, who commanded the rebel Munſter army, withdrew from Caſhell as Lord INCHIQUIN approached it: and the inhabitants leaving the gates open and deſerting their houſes retired to the Cathedral. This was a ſtrong and ſpacious building ſeated upon a rock near the walls of the city; which had of late been very well fortified, and provided by Lord TAAFE with a good garriſon. It was no eaſy matter therefore to reduce it: and INCHIQUIN offered before he attacked it to

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give leave for the garriſon and inhabitants to depart, on condition they would advance three thouſand pounds and a month's pay for his army. This propoſal was rejected, and the place taken by ſtorm: where a prodigious booty was ſound, and a moſt horrible carnage of the citizens and garriſon enſued before his Lordſhip entered; who put a ſtop to it immediately. He might have made a further progreſs; for Taafe all this while lay ſtill, either not to hazard his forces, as Lord Digby had adviſed him, or for want of money to draw them together: but Lord Inchiquin wanting proviſions diſtributed his army into garriſons. A great quarrel had ariſen between him and the other Generals in Munſter about the right of command, when Lord Lisle as Lord Lieutenant was to depart. It could not be ſettled by the Commiſſioners from the Parliament; and the Parliament was too much engaged in their own diſputes at that time to attend to any thing elſe. Though Lord Inchiquin was therefore left in the military as well as civil command of the province—which as Preſident from the Parliament he had a right to be—yet many ſuſpicions of him were entertained.

The inactivity of Lord Taafe, whilſt Lord Inchiquin was making ſuch an amazing progreſs, created a jealouſy in the Nuncio that it was owing to a concert between them. This jealouſy, and the clamour which the ſlaughter of near twenty Prieſts in the cathedral of Caſhell had made amongſt the Iriſh, obliged Taafe to aſſemble his army, at a time when the approach of winter ſeemed to forbid any further action. Lord Inchiquin being well informed of their motions drew his men out of their garriſons in order to oppoſe him; and in the middle of November, at a place called Knocknoneſs, the two armies met and engaged. The left wing of the Engliſh was broke, and purſued with great ſlaughter; and their cannon and carriages poſſeſſed by the enemy. But the right wing commanded by Lord Inchiquin, oppoſed the right wing of the Iriſh, led by Taafe, with ſo much courage, that the Munſter regiments of the Catholicks, after a ſingle fire, threw down their arms and ran away: nor could the General ſtop their flight though he ſlew ſeveral of them with his own hand. The right wing being thus victorious, the Commander haſtened to aſſiſt and rally the left; where he recovered his artillery, killed ſeven hundered brave Highlanders who had poſſeſſed it and ſtood their ground without an Officer, and gave quarter to the reſt. The Iriſh loſt all their arms, ammunition, and baggage, and about three thouſand men ſlain in the action; wherein the flower of the rebel Munſter army was cut in pieces. Colonel MONCK having been ſent over to be Governour of Ulſter for the Parliament, as JONES had been of Leinſter, they joined their forces about this time, and took ſeveral caſtles and garriſons in the hands of the Iriſh, without oppoſition; and having ſecured great preys of cattle and other pillage, the former took his party back to Ulſter, and the latter returned to Dublin. When the Engliſh Parliament were informed of the defeat of the two armies under TAAFE and PRESTON, they ordered a thouſand pounds to JONES, the ſame ſum with a letter of thanks to Lord INCHIQUIN, and ten thouſand pounds for the province of Munſter. No other action happening for the remainder of this year in the field, we muſt turn to ſee what was done in the ſeveral Councils.

At Dublin, where the ſovereign authority uſed to reſide, there was not ſo much as the face of a State to be ſeen; but every body ſaid what they thought, and did what they pleaſed. The Marquis of ORMONDE had not landed in England before the ſoldiers grew unruly, threatened the Parliament-commiſſioners, plundered the inhabitants promiſcuouſly, and beat their officers, if they pretended to reprimand them. JONES finding himſelf unequal to the difficulties of his poſt, deſired the Parliament to eaſe him of the burden of the Government, and to employ a perſon of quality and of honour to command in chief; as, he ſaid, it muſt be the work of Nobles to reduce and ſettle the kingdom. The time indeed then was favourable for that work: the leading men of the Pale had offered JONES to make their ſubmiſſion, if they might enjoy the benefit of the late peace. The chief Nobility, Gentry, and Officers of Leinſter and Munſter, were ready to come in upon the ſame terms, if they might be allowed a moderate exerciſe of their religion: and even many of the Clergy, and all the cities and corporations in their quarters, were ready to join with them. All this on the part of the Catholicks. The Proteſtants, except a few Sectaries, even thoſe who had ſhewed the greateſt averſion to the peace, being amazed and confounded with the ſtrange turns they had ſeen in the religious and civil Government, and dreading from a little what a great deal would produce, above all things deſired the return of the Marquis of Ormonde, with the ſame power and authority that he had enjoyed before.

The General Aſſembly met about the middle of November according to their adjournment. The nation had been ſo much devaſted with the ſhocking depredations of the forces under O Neil, and through the violent meaſures of the Nuncio and his Prelates, and their cauſe had ſuffered ſo much for their notorious breach of faith, and been ſo viſibly puniſhed in the opinion of many by the defeat of their two armies, that the members generally wiſhed for peace, to put an end to their miſeries, and to the apprehenſions they had of greater. It was the reſolution of many of the beſt and wiſeſt of them to meddle no more in public affairs: but at the earneſt entreaty of Lord Muskery and ſome others, they were perſuaded to make one puſh more to ſave the nation from utter ruin; which could only be ſaved by getting a majority in the Aſſembly. To this purpoſe they were ſo aſſiduous, that notwithſtanding the Supreme Council were for the moſt part the Nuncio's creatures, yet they ſucceeded in their deſign: but to balance this intereſt, he prevailed with the Council to ſummon by writs to the Aſſembly eleven Biſhops, whom he had recommended to Rome; tho' none of them were conſecrated, nor their Bulls come from thence. The Lawyers contended againſt their admiſſion; alledging that by the law of the land, no Biſhop, till he was conſecrated and poſſeſſed of the temporalities of his ſee, could ſit and vote in Parliament. The Nuncio pretended their Bulls were paſt, and threatened to conſecrate them himſelf; but fearing this would not be approved at Rome, he ordered the Biſhops elect to go and take their places in the Aſſembly, as having no doubt of their right, and ſee who would dare to turn them out. The Aſſembly, dreading the conſequences of ſuch a ſtep, with men under the influence of a Papal Nuncio capable of every violence, acquieſced in their ſitting; from whence he derived great advantage.

When the ſtate of the nation came to be conſidered, it was ſoon perceived by every one and admitted by moſt, that there was no way of ſaving it but by a peace. The difficulty was how to treat of that affair, ſince there was no body in the kingdom, now the Lord Lieutenant was gone, who had any power to treat with them on that ſubject. It was therefore reſolved to ſend agents into France, and to the Queen and Prince of Wales for that purpoſe: but the Nuncio being afraid that ſuch a deputation would end in bringing over the Prince and the Marquis of Ormonde, which would blaſt all his meaſures, oppoſed it with all his might. Some of his party propoſed the putting themſelves under the protection of a foreign power, and the Nuncio preſſed their chooſing the Pope; though expreſly contrary to the orders he had received from Rome. This motion however was ſtrongly combated by the Nobility; and it was concluded to ſend agents to Rome, and Spain, as well as France. The Nuncio laboured hard to defer all the embaſſies except that to Rome; and when he could not carry the point, he inſiſted that the agents to Rome ſhould depart firſt, and that thoſe ſent to France ſhould remain there till they heard from the others at Rome. In this reſpect he was complied with: but ſtill he had his terrors about the French negotiation; and what to do he could not tell. At laſt he thought of this device to fruſtrate it: he got the Prelates and Eccleſiaſticks to his houſe, and engaged them to ſign the following declaration; "that they would never conſent that either the Queen or the Prince of Wales ſhould be invited over, till the Pope's articles about religion ſhould be ſecured to them; or that any one but a Roman Catholick ſhould be Lord Lieutenant; or that the forts and armies of the Confederates ſhould be delivered up to Hereticks; or that any peace ſhould be made to leſſen the preſent ſtate and public exerciſe of their religion, let the Majority of the General Aſſembly determine on thoſe points what they pleaſed." That ſo weak a man as the Nuncio, who was a ſtranger and had no connections in the country, ſhould puſh the Iriſh to their deſtruction, in order to gratify his zeal and paſſion is no great wonder: religious zeal in the hands of a madman is a terrible engine: but that a ſet of Eccleſiaſticks ſhould avow more attachment to a foreign power than their rightful Prince, that they ſhould have no feelings of humanity for their native country, and ſhould reſolve to deluge it in blood, in deſpight of that authority—the General Aſſembly—which they had themſelves created, is ſuch a ſtain upon their character as no time will efface: and if it were owing to principle, and not to wickedneſs, who would be of ſuch a religion?

When the agents on the ſeveral embaſſies were to be named, the titular Biſhop of Clogher, a man of great influence among the Iriſh, was appointed to go with Lord Muskery and J. Brown into France. The Biſhop excuſed himſelf from the employment, as being particularly obnoxious to the Queen, and underſtanding neither French nor Engliſh: but the Aſſembly upon the queſtion reſolved that he ſhould be ſent: he then roſe up in his place, and with an air of contempt told them poſitively that he would not go. This inſult on the Aſſembly cauſed a great confuſion; the Biſhop was admoniſhed not to ſtir out of the city; the Lawyers moved for his impriſonment; the Nuncio took fire at the breach of the immunities of the Clergy; Preston went to join his army for the ſupport of the civil power, and O Neil was ſent for to aſſiſt the Biſhop. At laſt the affair was compromiſed, and the Marquis of Antrim appointed to go in his room. A draught of the inſtructions for the agents being preſented to the Aſſembly, the Clergy openly proteſted, that unleſs they might add to or expunge any of them, as they ſhould think moſt ſerviceable to their religion, they would not conſent to them. The ſeſſion was juſt then concluding; and as the diſcuſſion of every article would take up too much time, it was referred to the Clergy and the Supreme Council to ſettle them. The party that laboured for peace did not trouble themſelves ſo much about theſe inſtructions, as about the choice of the members of the Council which was to govern in the intervals of the Aſſembly. They propoſed the ſame perſons who had made the peace, and whom the Nuncio had impriſoned; and the Clergy abſolutely excluded them. It was then propoſed that an equal number ſhould be taken out of the two parties that had been for and againſt the peace: and this appearing equitable without any inconvenience, as eight out of the twelve were neceſſary to make any order valid, the propoſal was on both ſides aſſented to. But as ſeveral of the members might be abſent occaſionally, and ſo there might not be a ſufficient number to do any buſineſs, Lord Muskery propoſed with great art, juſt as the Aſſembly was riſing, that ſome ſupernumeraries might be appointed to ſupply the place of ſuch as might be abſent; upon which in a great hurry they named eight and forty, all of his own party. The Nuncio reproached the titular Biſhop of Fern's very ſeverely for ſuffering himſelf to be over-reached in this regulation; which would give the power of the Council into the hands of the Marquis of Ormonde's friends.

The agents to Rome were charged with particular inſtructions from the Nuncio, and a joint petition ſigned by eight of their Biſhops, as well as a letter from O Neil to the Pope, to make Rinuccini a Cardinal. The chief articles of their inſtructions were to inſiſt on having always Catholic Lord Lieutenants and Generals, the continuance of their preſent Government till a peace was ſettled, and in caſe no ſuch ſettlement could be procured, nor the nation preſerved without a protector, to ſollicit his Holineſs to accept the office. Beſides the firſt part of theſe inſtructions, the agents to the Queen and Prince, by the management of the Nuncio, were charged with others: they were not to invite the Prince over to Ireland till all the articles of the peace were ſettled and received; neither were they to ſettle thoſe relating to religion till they had heard the ſentiments of the Pope about them from the agents that went to Rome. The Marquis of Antrim having different views from his colleagues choſe to go to Paris by himſelf; full of hopes, from his own natural confidence and vanity, and from the favour he ſtood in with the Nuncio and the Clergy, that he ſhould be made the Catholic Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. But the Nuncio being determined to inſiſt upon ſuch an appointment, had recommended his thorough friend the Earl of Glamorgan for that poſt, and had ſent him ſome time before to Paris to ſollicit it. We muſt now leave the agents to purſue their journey; and turn to the affairs which were carrying on in the mean time in Ireland.

The quarrel between Lord Inchiquin, and Lord Broghill and other Parliament Generals, about the right of command in Munſter, hath been already mentioned: and the Parliament not having ſupported him in his right, and having ſent over but a ſmall part of the ſum that had been voted for his province, confirmed that diſlike which he had long entertained of their proceedings. Indeed to ſay the truth, he had never liked them from the beginning. For though his ill treatment at Oxford about the Preſidency had diſguſted him with the Court, and the infidelity of the Iriſh in breaking the ceſſation in Munſter, had driven him into the party of the Parliament, as we have ſeen, yet he was always ſtrong in principle for the Monarchy, and the Engliſh conſtitution. When he found therefore that the Independents were attempting to deſtroy both, to dethrone the King, to level the Nobility, to extirpate the eſtabliſhed Church, and to confound all orders and ranks of men, his principles got the better of his reſentment, and he determined at all hazards to ſerve the King again. The Parliament had long entertained a ſuſpicion of his diſaffection, from the many free remonſtrances he had made againſt their neglect of the Iriſh war and of his own army in particular; and this ſuſpicion induced them probably to ſend Lord Lisle over for a year to reſide as Lord Lieutenant in Munſter. But when Lord Inchiquin ſaw that the army in England had invaded the freedom and openly diſobeyed the authority of the Parliament, he publiſhed a declaration againſt their proceedings; copies of which he ſent to Monroe in Ulſter, and to the State in Scotland, with letters propoſing an union, and informing them of his reſolution to obey no orders from the Parliament, as long as it continued to be overawed by the Army. With this view he had correſponded with the Marquis of Ormonde whilſt he was in England; and the Marquis at this time ſent Colonel Barry over to him to concert meaſures with him, and to recommend his making a ceſſation with the Iriſh for ſome months, that he might be at leiſure to advance his Majeſty's ſervice wherever it might be neceſſary. Beſides the defeat he had given them under Taafe, already mentioned, he had juſt now taken ſeveral caſtles and forts, laid great part of the counties of Waterford and Kilkenny under contribution, and had made incurſions up to the very walls of the latter; which had put the Supreme Council in ſuch a fright that they had thoughts of quitting it: And though the approach of their own armies under Taafe and Preston had made them lay aſide that deſign, yet they were terrified enough by their late danger to be willing to prevent the like again by a ceſſation; and even the Nuncio thought it neceſſary to make one, either with Jones, or Inchiquin. The well affected part of the Council were for making it with the latter, as moſt likely to be ſerviceable to the King; and his Lordſhip had no other objection but to the time: becauſe ſuch a ſtep would be an open breach with the Parliament, from whom he ſtill expected ſupplies, and would diſcover his deſign too early.

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Lord Inchiquin however had conſented that Colonel Barry ſhould enter on the negotiation, when he received an account from the Marquis of Ormonde that he was going to France: that he had concerted ſome meaſures with the Scots and the King's friends in England; and that he ſhould repair again to Ireland, as ſoon as he had made a proviſion in France for the expedition. The Marquis had waited on his Majeſty ſeveral times at Hampton Court; in one of which he tendered the King his commiſſion of Lord Lieutenant, which had ſucceeded ſo unhappily in his hands: but the King refuſing it, ſaid, that either the Marquis himſelf, or no body, ſhould uſe it hereafter with better ſucceſs. In theſe conferences, he received a direction from his Majeſty, in caſe the Independents ſhould proceed to extremities with him, in what manner his Excellency ſhould behave himſelf, and comply with the Iriſh; if he could diſpoſe them to be inſtrumental in the King's delivery from his enemies. To that purpoſe he was alſo ordered to confer with the Scotch Commiſſioners then at London, to try if he could reduce that kingdom alſo to his Majeſty's obedience, and by their joint aſſiſtance eſtabliſh the tranquillity of his dominions. The Marquis ſtaid in London upon the laſt deſign, till directions were given by the ruling powers to apprehend him; and then he ſecretly tranſported himſelf into France, where reſolutions of the utmoſt importance to the King's ſervice were to be taken. When Lord Inchiquin received the account above-mentioned from him, he diſpatched one of his Officers to Edinburgh to attend the reſolutions of the Scotch Parliament, and to ſettle their joint concurrence in promoting his Majeſty's ſervice. But an accident prevented his waiting for their reſolution, and obliged him to declare himſelf much ſooner than he deſired. Some of his officers ſuſpecting his deſign, or hoping to recommend themſelves to the republican governors, formed a plot to ſeize Corke, and Youghall, whilſt the Preſident was abroad with the army. With this view they had ſent a ſhip to England for ſupplies, which were to be landed at Youghall; on the arrival of which they did not doubt to perſuade the greateſt part of his army to deſert him. But the conſpiracy was diſcovered and prevented; the conſpirators were impriſoned, and the Parliament ſhips in thoſe parts ſtood out to ſea, and blocked up ſome of his harbours.

Though this proceeding againſt the impriſoned Officers was neceſſary to his ſecurity, yet it obliged him to diſcover himſelf before he was ready to execute his deſign. Matters being thus unavoidably precipitated, he gave immediate notice of it to the Marquis of ORMONDE; adviſing his landing between Kinſale and Limerick, and earneſtly preſſing his coming over with a ſupply of money, if he could, but if not, without it. Having diſpatched this expreſs, the next care of Lord INCHIQUIN was to ſecure a ceſſation with the Iriſh for ſix months; for which he had before conſented that Colonel BARRY ſhould treat. The Colonel attended the Supreme Council with propoſitions upon that ſubject for a week; but did not find that readineſs to it in them which he had expected. This was owing to the Nuncio; who but three weeks before adviſed the making a ceſſation with JONES, or INCHIQUIN. But ſince he found that the latter had declared himſelf for the King, he oppoſed a ceſſation with him in the moſt violent manner; declaring it to be againſt his conſcience, now his Lordſhip was returned to his loyalty. BARRY preſſed the two Generals, Lord TAAFE and PRESTON, to ſettle the ceſſation by their own authority; but fearing their armies would not be proof againſt the excommunication which would be denounced, thoſe Generals durſt not attempt it without the concurrence of their Council. The Supreme Council were ſo preſſed by them, and by the Marquis of CLANRICARDE, to promote it, that they agreed to treat: and in order to give the greater weight to their proceedings, they ſummoned the provincial Aſſemblies of Leinſter and Munſter, and the ſupernumerary members added to the Supreme Council in caſe of abſence, to give their opinion on this ſubject. Theſe bodies, having conſidered the preſent ſtate of their affairs, and the condition of the two provinces above-mentioned, reſolved unanimouſly that they were too weak to oppoſe JONES, and INCHIQUIN; and therefore that a ceſſation with the latter was neceſſary; eſpecially ſince he had declared for the King, as he was a native, and had an eſtate in the kingdom, and conſequently was better diſpoſed than JONES to conſult its intereſt.

No ſooner was the Nuncio informed of this reſolution, than he poſted away to Kilkenny to argue againſt it. But he was driven to ſuch ſhifts to make an oppoſition to it, that he was obliged to forget that he had himſelf recommended a ceſſation to them juſt before; and ſo now argued that it was unlawful to make truces with Hereticks, and to leave any churches in the hands of Proteſtants. But this was not all: he was more ridiculous yet than this. He had before made Lord Inchiquin's return to his loyalty the only objection to a ceſſation with him; and now his other reaſon for oppoſing it, beſides what hath been mentioned, was, that the Marquis of Ormonde, Inchiquin, and Colonel Barry, were ſecretly in the intereſt of the Parliament, though they appeared ſo zealous for the King. He then appealed to the two Generals whether there was any neceſſity for a truce; and they both giving it againſt him, and their Council ſending agents to Lord Inchiquin to conclude it, the Nuncio had recourſe to his uſual practice. He got the Catholic Biſhops to his houſe: and undertaking to pay O Neil's army out of the Pope's money, which army, he ſaid, was able to deſtroy both Inchiquin's, and Jones's, and that he would himſelf bear the burden of the Munſter war, he prevailed with them to ſign a remonſtrance againſt the ceſſation. Five of theſe, with two others, ſigned another paper; delegating their power to the Nuncio and four Prelates more, to do in their abſence what they themſelves might do in matters of religion, in the declaration againſt the ceſſation, and in confirming the declaration by eccleſiaſtical cenſures.

The agents which had been ſent to Lord Inchiquin returned without concluding the treaty, not being able to adjuſt the quarters for both parties: but Taafe made a truce with him for fourteen days; and the Munſter Aſſembly then ſitting wrote a letter to their Council, inſiſting on the ceſſations being no longer delayed on a trifling diſpute of two baronies. The Supreme Council were apprehenſive from this letter, that if the ceſſation was delayed the Munſter Gentlemen would immediately make a private agreement with Inchiquin, which would ruin the confederacy. On this apprehenſion they conſulted their Biſhops; who had no expedient to offer but making a ceſſation with Jones, and calling O Neil into Munſter to oppoſe Lord Inchiquin. The firſt part had been obviated already in anſwer to the Nuncio; and O Neil had made ſuch havock in Leinſter, that the people of Munſter would as ſoon have admitted a body of Tartars as his army. However if the Clergy could ſhew any way how an offenſive war could be carried on in one province, and a defenſive in the other, their Council offered to decline the ceſſation: but the Biſhops confeſſing themſelves unable to ſhew any ſuch way, the Council ſent their agents again to renew the treaty. The Nuncio, finding this reſolution taken, ſtole privately from Kilkenny, and went to O NEIL. The Supreme Council ſent two deputies to invite him back; and to propoſe to him, if he would lend them ten thouſand pounds, to break off the treaty, and lay ſiege to Dublin. But he had no money, nor expectation of any; and yet he inſiſted that Lord TAAFE and PRESTON ſhould be diſplaced, and the Ulſter army regularly paid, and be aſſigned good quarters. Other extravagant propoſitions of ſubmitting every tranſaction civil and military to the Clergy, convincing the Supreme Council that he was obſtinately determined to go on in his own way, they confirmed the articles of the ceſſation agreed on by their agents on the twentieth of May, with a clauſe of mutual aſſiſtance againſt all ſuch as ſhould oppoſe it by force of arms; by that limitation not including the Clergy. For nothing could bring theſe people yet from the ſlaviſh ſubmiſſion of all that is dear to men, which they paid to their Eccleſiaſticks.

The Nuncio purſued his uſual methods: he cauſed the declaration which the Biſhops had ſigned againſt the ceſſation to be fixed on the doors of the Cathedral at Kilkenny; from whence it was pulled down by DR. FENNEL. He ſummoned the four Prelates on whom the others had delegated their power; but three of them excuſed their coming, and recommended pacific meaſures; declaring for the ceſſation, of which he had impoſed upon them a falſe account. Failing of this ſupport, he called three others to him in their ſtead, and iſſued out an excommunication againſt all that adhered to or favoured the ceſſation: and interdicting all cities, towns, and places which had received it, forbade all divine offices to be performed in them. The man was weak and vain enough to expect, that theſe cenſures would have produced the ſame effect as thoſe againſt the peace two years before: but the times, and circumſtances were altered; and he had not ſenſe or temper enough to conſider this difference, before he took a ſtep which expoſed him to contempt, and though it contradicted the inſtructions he had received from Rome. He had thundered out his cenſures on ſuch trifling occaſions, in civil and private concerns relating only to himſelf, that he had made them ſo cheap as they were but little regarded. Beſides, in the former interdict and excommunication he was joined by ſeveral in a public congregation: he had now but four to ſupport him, called privately together; and eight others had ſigned a paper juſtifying the ceſſation. On the thirty firſt of May, the Supreme Council appealed in form againſt his cenſures; and were joined by two titular Archbiſhops, twelve Biſhops, and all the ſecular Clergy in their dioceſes, by all the Jeſuits, Carmelites, and five hundred of the Franciſcans: the number, learning, zeal, and diligence of theſe Religious, in preaching and other applications, in a great meaſure defeated the Nuncio's meaſures, and brought his party into diſcredit. It was likewiſe of ſome conſequence that he had no money left; and he did not know how to raiſe any. But in truth, the whole nation had ſuffered ſo much by the diviſions and miſeries, which a breach of the peace, and the violent arbitrary meaſures of the Nuncio, had occaſioned, that the people were generally diſpoſed to pacific counſels. Lord TAAFE had ſo modelled his army, that all his Officers were excommunication proof. The Marquis of CLANRICARDE had a body of three thouſand of the ſame temper: and if PRESTON and his Officers were not ſo hardened, they were better united than they had been, and were reſolved to carry their point. They were encamped at Roſcrea when the cenſures were publiſhed; and might eaſily have taken the Nuncio, and O NEIL, who were at Maryborough with only eight hundred men. But they contented themſelves, in anſwer to his ſollicitations of ſtanding by him, to deſire he would not trouble them with any more letters, becauſe they were determined to obſerve no orders but what came from the Supreme Council, whom they were ſworn to obey; and then marched to Kilkenny. In this ſituation we muſt leave the affairs of Ireland for the preſent, in order to look into the negotiations which were carrying on by the agents in France, with the Queen, and the Prince of Wales.

It was the latter end of March when they arrived at the Court at St. Germains; and beſides the public inſtructions which have been mentioned, Lord MUSKERY and MR. BROWN had ſome private directions ſigned by Lord TAAFE, and PRESTON; to aſſure her Majeſty and the Prince, of their unalterable fidelity and attachment to the Crown, and of their power, if they were properly ſupported by the royal authority, to deſtroy the party that endeavoured to introduce a foreign juriſdiction: but as there was no way ſo likely to reduce their country under the King's obedience, and to make it uſeful to him, as the Prince's coming over with money, and arms, and a reſolution to gratify the moderate men of their party, ſo if his Royal Highneſs would condeſcend to take that meaſure, the Generals engaged to put ſuch a body of forces under his command, as would not only ſettle Ireland, but afford ſuch aſſiſtance alſo to England as might help to reſtore his Majeſty to his rights. Theſe were the inſtructions which the two agents juſt mentioned had moſt at heart: but they were obliged to join with the Marquis of Antrim in preſenting the public propoſitions to the Queen, with which they were charged. They were to make no demand about religion till they heard from Rome; and their other propoſitions were wild and extravagant, but had nothing new in them. The Queen received the propoſitions very graciouſly, and deſired time to conſider them. The Marquis of Ormonde was very luckily arrived at Paris a little before the agents; to whom ſhe communicated their propoſitions, and by whoſe advice ſhe determined to give her anſwer; ſo that what the King had abſolutely refuſed, ſhe might not be drawn in to grant. The advice given by the Marquis, was to expreſs in ſtrong general terms the King's gracious inclinations to the ſettlement of that kingdom, on ſuch conditions civil and religious as ſhould ſatisfy thoſe who deſired a peace. A more particular anſwer, till the ſucceſs of other negotiations with the Scots and Inchiquin were known, his Lordſhip thought very improper. For it was not only uncertain, whether any conceſſions in anſwer to their propoſitions would ſatisfy, and whether they would be of any uſe, but it was alſo certain that they would be canvaſſed in their General Aſſembly, and be objected to by thoſe whoſe ambitions were not gratified. To ſuch a general anſwer there could be no exception taken by the agents; who had declared they were not ready to make their demands on the point of religion, till they had heard from Rome; though the point of the greateſt difficulty of all, and on account of which, they ſaid, the late peace was broken. The Marquis thought it expedient however to let them know, that the King would not admit of the Pope's interpoſition in reconciling the difference between his Majeſty and his ſubjects; leſt no objection being made to it, the diſaffected might have a

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plauſible excuſe for their delay, when any conceſſions ſhould be made them. But it is probable that this laſt advice, which was ſo much for the King's honour to be taken, did not ſuit with the Queen's bigotry, and her reverence for the Holy See; which had always been ſuch a dead weight in his Majeſty's counſels againſt his intereſt. For the advice was not purſued.

On the tenth of May, the Iriſh agents had an audience of the Queen; in which ſhe deſired to know, whether they were ready to make their propoſals about religion, and whether they had power to alter, or recede from the propoſitions they had given in, or could conclude upon them. The Marquis of ANTRIM anſwered in the name of the reſt, that they were not ready to propoſe any certainty about religion, being directed in their inſtructions to be guided in that particular by the Pope: but that they expected to hear very ſpeedily from their agents at Rome upon that point; and if her Majeſty would be pleaſed to declare what ſhe would grant in that particular, they were in hopes to make uſe of that conceſſion for the King's ſervice. As to the other propoſitions they were ready to proceed upon them whenever they were required. In three days after, the Queen diſmiſſed them with an anſwer in writing, ſigned at the top by herſelf, and at the bottom by the Prince of Wales. In this paper, after reminding them very gently of their former infidelity in breaking the late peace, to which if the Catholicks had ſubmitted according to their duty, it would have put them by this time in a happy ſtate, "there was an aſſurance of great readineſs to give them all the ſatisfaction in the power of the Queen, and Prince, upon their propoſitions, conſiſtently with the honour and intereſt of his Majeſty: but as the agents were neither ready to make their propoſals about religion, nor had ſuch powers to alter, recede, or conclude upon the other points, as were neceſſary for a final ſettlement of their buſineſs, a more particular and concluſive anſwer could not be given. Nothing more could reaſonably be expected now, but to aſſure them that the Queen and Prince would ſpeedily give a power to ſuch as they ſhould approve of, to receive upon the place the full propoſitions of the Confederates, as well concerning religion and other public intereſts, as private grievances; who ſhould be inſtructed to condeſcend to whatever might conſiſt with juſtice, and the King's honour and intereſt, and thereupon to conclude finally with them."

It was obvious to common ſenſe that the perſon to be empowered could be no other than the Marquis of Ormonde; who was ſtill Lord Lieutenant by the King's commiſſion, and had authority under his Majeſty's hand in his letters, though not in form under the great ſeal, to obey any directions he ſhould receive from the Queen, and Prince of Wales, relating to Ireland; and which indeed was the only power which either of them had to give any directions. But it was thought prudential not to declare this, and to leave a door open for the Marquis of Antrim's imagination, to conceive from the favour he was in with the Queen—who had too good an opinion of him, ſays Lord Clarendon—that he ſhould be the great perſonage thus to be empowered. The two other Commiſſioners preſſed privately, it being contrary to their inſtructions, for the Prince's going over; in order to make good Lord Clanricarde's engagement—already mentioned—and to reſide among the Confederates as their Governour, till every thing could be ſettled by Parliament. They did not fail to ſet out the happy ſucceſs which muſt attend this meaſure, in breaking all the factions, and uniting the whole nation in his Majeſty's intereſt. But if this requeſt was not complied with, which they thought neceſſary to prevent the country from being waſted in the ſummer by war, and by famine in the winter, it was then deſired, that ſome eminent perſon acceptable to the nation might be deputed to command in chief, and make a peace. The Marquis of Ormonde being brother in law to one of the agents, and highly eſteemed by the other, they were let into the ſecret that he was the perſon intended to be ſent: and being aſſured that he ſhould go over as ſoon as they could procure aids from the Court of France, the agents left Paris very well ſatisfied with their negotiation. We muſt now turn to other affairs.

The King was at this time under confinement in the iſle of Wight; the Parliament was governed entirely by the army; and no care was taken by either for the relief of Ireland. Whilſt the Parliament of Scotland were debating whether they ſhould enter into the engagement, which their Commiſſioners at London had made with the Marquis of Ormonde for the King's ſervice, his Lordſhip was endeavouring to procure ſupplies of arms and money from Mazarin, in order to return to Ireland, where his preſence was ſo much called for. The Cardinal was ready at the firſt inſtance to make ample promiſes of every thing he deſired: and the Marquis, who did not know him, and was himſelf free from all diſſimulation, thought he had nothing to do but to appoint a place for his embarkation where thoſe ſupplies might be ſent to meet him. In this ſanguine expectation, he gave notice to Lord Inchiquin and his other friends, that he ſhould ſoon be with them in Ireland, with a notable ſupply of money, arms, ammunition, and ſome good officers; and accordingly prepared his own accommodations. But he had cauſe ſoon to find that there were but little hopes to be entertained of aſſiſtance from that quarter. When he informed Lord Inchiquin of his diſappointment, upon whom his greateſt dependance was in Ireland, his Lordſhip preſſed him very earneſtly to come over, though without any aſſiſtance; and in the mean time that his Excellency ſhould inform his friends among the Iriſh, who diſliked the Nuncio, to conſult ſecretly with his Lordſhip for the King's ſervice, to which they did not know that he was now inclined. Though he was at this time ſo ſollicitous for the Lord Lieutenant's coming over, even without aſſiſtance, yet he had at firſt inſiſted on his Excellency's bringing ſix thouſand pounds; as the loweſt ſum that was neceſſary to provide for his forces, and to preſerve their affections entire for his Majeſty's intereſt. In order therefore that theſe forces ſhould not be diſappointed of their relief, the Marquis of Ormonde, beſides his application to the French Miniſter, moved the Court of S. Germains to furniſh the neceſſary ſupplies, as well as the inſtructions for his expedition to Ireland. The little money the Queen had at command was in the hands of Lord Jermyn, who, let what would happen, was always determined not to want himſelf; and was averſe therefore to part with any ſums that might expoſe the Queen's Court to difficulties, no matter what were the diſtreſſes of the public ſervice. It was for this reaſon the beginning of Auguſt, before the Marquis could receive any money to begin his journey: even then the whole ſum that was promiſed, for it was not all then paid, was only three thouſand ſix hundred piſtoles; and he was obliged to leave Sr. G. Hamilton behind to receive the remainder. We muſt leave him under the mortification of being obliged to ſtay ſome weeks at Havre-de-Grace, and attend to what had paſſed in Ireland.

The Nuncio, and O NEIL, having been in ſome danger, as it hath been ſaid, of a ſurpriſe at Maryborough, the latter retired into Conaght and Ulſter, where moſt of his forces were then quartered, in order to ſtrengthen his army. The Nuncio made his retreat firſt to Athlone, and thence to Galway; where the Mayor had attempted to proclaim the ceſſation, but was hindered by the mob. All the other great towns however in the Iriſh quarters, except Wexford which was preſently reduced, received it very readily. The Nuncio, ſeeing thoſe cenſures now deſpiſed which had formerly carried all before them, endeavoured to make them more effectual by engaging the Clergy to confirm them in a body. With this view, he called a ſynod to meet at Galway in the middle of Auguſt; but the Supreme Council forbidding the Clergy to repair thither, and ordering all civil and military officers to ſtop their paſſage, he could not get a ſufficient number of them together. This ſtep enraged him: and finding the inhabitants for the moſt part approving the ceſſation, he put an interdict on the churches and chapels there, cauſing the doors to be ſhut up: but the titular Archbiſhop of Tuam procured them to be opened by force, which created ſuch a buſtle that one or two people were killed. The Marquis of CLANRICARDE made a paper war upon the Nuncio, in remonſtrances, and admonitions; but theſe being ineffectual to convince him, though he could not anſwer them, his Lordſhip ſhut him up in Galway, by beſieging it. Beſides his own forces, the Marquis had the command of all the confederate army in Conaght conferred upon him; and, being joined by ſome of Lord INCHIQUIN's army, had lately taken the caſtle of Athlone. Having afterwards recovered ſome other caſtles which O NEIL had taken, he drew his forces about Galway, hindering all acceſs of proviſions by land and water; ſo that the beſieged were forced to proclaim the ceſſation, to pay a conſiderable ſum of money, and to renounce the Nuncio and his adherents.

In the beginning of September, the General Aſſembly of the Catholicks met at Kilkenny; and conſiſted moſtly of Members that were well diſpoſed to a peace. They had readily approved a ceſſation with Lord INCHIQUIN as abſolutely neceſſary to their ſafety; and returned the Supreme Council thanks for their conduct in that affair. They had invited the Nuncio and his adherents to pacific meaſures; but he ſtill exerted himſelf at Galway

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and other places to raiſe new diſturbances. He publiſhed a declaration, "that it was a mortal ſin and perjury to ſuffer the ceſſation to be proclaimed, and that all perſons were obliged to loſe both lives, goods, liberties, and every thing that was dear to them in this world, rather than obey it." In anſwer to this, the Aſſembly publiſhed a counter declaration; in which they unanimouſly condemned the Nuncio's, "as wicked, malicious, traiterous, repugnant to all laws divine and human, and tending to the utter ſubverſion of the Government in church and ſtate." On the laſt day of September, they publicly proclaimed O Neil a rebel and traitor; and yet they were ſtill afraid of his power, and deſirous to keep meaſures with the Clergy. For after this proclamation, he and his principal officers joined in a letter to the Aſſembly, deſiring a ſafe conduct for a certain number of them to lay their grievances before the Aſſembly, and to impeach ſome of the members of the Supreme Council; and notwithſtanding the inſolence of this application, it was with the utmoſt difficulty that Lord Taafe could prevent their receiving into their protection a proclaimed traitor; and tho' by remonſtrating againſt him freely, he ſucceeded ſo far as to get O Neil himſelf, and ſuch as had been proclaimed rebels, excluded out of the ſafe conduct, yet it was granted to any other four of his officers.

It is pretty clear from this proceeding of the Aſſembly, if they had not been ſupported by the additional forces of Lord Inchiquin and the Marquis of Clanricarde, that O Neil, and the Nuncio would have carried their point, as they did before. But the Lord Lieutenant's arrival at this time, and ſome ſucceſſes in Wexford, gave the Aſſembly freſh courage. The Marquis of Antrim was returned from the negotiation in France, highly piqued and diſappointed at not being made Lord Lieutenant; of which his vanity had led him to be very deſirous, and his own conceit, and the Nuncio's flattery, very confident. In reſentment of this neglect, he ſet himſelf to oppoſe the ceſſation with a regiment of Highlanders which he had brought the year before from Scotland, and with the Cavenaghs, and Byrnes, in the county of Wexford. But they were totally routed by ſome of the forces of the Confederates; and Antrim himſelf went to Dublin, and entered into meaſures with Jones, who eſcorted him into Ulſter. The Catholicks in that province choſe him for their General in chief; and O

NEIL ſubmitted to act under him as his Lieutenant: but not performing the mighty promiſes he had made to bring all the Gentlemen of the North into their party, the good underſtanding between him and O NEIL was ſoon at an end; he was turned out of his command, deſpiſed by all the world, and found incapable of doing either good or harm but in the odious way of treachery. The Aſſembly had broke the ice with O NEIL, as we have ſeen; and they now aſſumed courage enough, upon the Marquis of ORMONDE's arrival, to draw up a charge againſt the Nuncio, for "the manifold oppreſſions, tranſcendent crimes, and capital offences, which he had been continually for three years paſt acting within the kingdom, to the unſpeakable detriment of their religion, the ruin of the nation, and the diſhonour of the See of Rome." With this charge, SR. R. BLAKE the chairman of the Aſſembly, a man of great activity, prudence, and integrity, ſent him an admonition to repair to Rome for his defence againſt it, and to intermeddle no more in the affairs of Ireland. Copies of theſe papers were at the ſame time ſent to the Mayor of Galway; with expreſs directions on pain of high treaſon to hold no correſpondence with, nor to favour nor obey any cenſures, decrees, or public acts of the Nuncio, and his adherents.

Colonel JONES having intelligence of theſe diſtractions among the rebels, thought it time to be ſtirring out; and therefore ſent ſome of his forces to recover a few ſmall garriſons which had formerly been ſurpriſed by the Iriſh. But he was afraid to ſtir himſelf, left ſome of his principal officers, who had ſerved under the Marquis of ORMONDE, and ſtill retained their affection to him, ſhould deliver up Dublin to his Excellency, then every day expected. Wherefore JONES, for the better ſecurity of the place when he ſhould be abſent, ſeized the principal officers whom he ſuſpected, and ſent them priſoners into England; upon no other grounds than his own jealouſy and miſrule; ſecuring ſeveral others in the caſtle. The Scots, having weakened the garriſons of Belfaſt, Colerain, and Carrickfergus, in order to join their national troops that were ſent into England, MONCK, who had been made Governour of Ulſter by the Parliament, formed a ſcheme to ſurpriſe thoſe towns: indeed he ſurpriſed Carrickfergus ſo effectually, that coming to it before break of day, and finding the gates open, he entered without reſiſtance, and ſeized Major General Monroe, whom he ſent priſoner into England, and whom the Parliament ſhut up in the Tower. The other two towns ſurrendered without any trouble. At the ſame time, he eſtabliſhed garriſons on the frontiers of Ulſter, to prevent the incurſions of the Iriſh; and gave the quarters the Scots had, to ſuch of the old Britiſh as he found well affected to the Engliſh Parliament. For theſe ſervices they ſent him five hundred pounds, made him Governour of Carrickfergus, and remitted five thouſand pounds to be equally diſtributed to the forces in Conaght and Ulſter.

In the mean time O Neil aſſembled his army, and made an offer to agree with Lord Inchiquin to leave all Munſter to him, if his Lordſhip would not diſturb him in the other provinces; but his offer was rejected. He then made a ceſſation with Jones; who was not ſo ſure of his own army as he wiſhed, and was willing enough to encourage the Iriſh to deſtroy one another. O Neil was enabled by this ceſſation to ſecure the families and herds of his Creaghts, and to march again with all his forces into Leinſter. But being diſappointed of his deſign to ſurpriſe Kilkenny and to ſeize the Supreme Council, which ſome had undertaken to betray to him and were diſcovered, he waſted the lands of Lord Mountgarret, took the caſtle of Nenagh, and found means to ſurpriſe fort Falkland on the ſide of the Shannon. From thence he marched to the relief of Athy, then diſtreſſed by Preston, who on his approach raiſed the ſiege. He was intending to proſecute the war on that ſide, in order to favour Jones's reduction of Ballyſonan and other places; when an expreſs brought him word that Lord Inchiquin had recovered Nenagh, and blocked up fort Falkland. Upon this advice, he marched back with all expedition to Ballaghnore—ſince called Owen Roe's paſs—and there encamped, with a deſign to cut off Lord Inchiquin's proviſions, and to ſtarve his army. In this manner they lay near one another without any action for a fortnight; when O Neil was catched in the ſnare he had laid for another. For the Marquis of Clanricarde coming up to the aſſiſtance of Lord Inchiquin, O Neil was ſtreightened to ſuch a degree, that his army muſt literally have been famiſhed, if they had not met with ſome green corn to ſubſiſt on, and which was their only ſuſtenance. Lord Inchiquin offered him battle;

but notwithſtanding his diſtreſs he refuſed it, being much weaker in horſe than his enemy, and in great want of powder. Whilſt the two armies were facing one another, a party of four hundred horſe fell upon his camp, and was near bringing off his artillery. Upon this Lord Inchiquin formed a deſign to attack his camp before day; but O Neil having notice of it marched off in the night, leaving an empty camp, and with a conſiderable loſs retired into the county of Cavan; where he continued till the ſpring without any action, except laying part of Weſtmeath under contribution.

In this ſituation of affairs, on the laſt day of September, the Marquis of Ormonde returned to Ireland, and landed at Cork; where he was received with all the reſpect due to the dignity of a Lord Lieutenant, by the Major General, and the officers left there by Lord Inchiquin, who was not then returned from his expedition againſt O Neil. Of the money which he had received in France, to prepare ſhips, and ammunition, and arms for this expedition, he had but thirty piſtoles when he landed left in his pocket. Unqualified to anſwer the expectation of a needy army, or to remove their wants, he was forced to pay them with promiſes, and by pretending to have bills of exchange on merchants at other ports—a ſtratagem ſuggeſted by Lord Inchiquin—till he could raiſe ſome money on his own credit to ſatiſfy them. A part of the Engliſh fleet had revolted from the Parliament; and the Prince of Wales, to whom they had ſurrendered, had aſſured the Marquis of their being ſent to ſome of the ports of Munſter, victualled and paid for four months; and that they ſhould convoy a number of merchant ſhips laden with corn, under a dearth of which the province and the army ſuffered extremely. The fleet would not only have given a great countenance to the ſervice, but by bringing in of prizes continually would have contributed alſo to the relief of a waſted country.

The King was engaged at this time in the treaty with the Parliament in the iſle of Wight; and on the ninth day of October, the Commiſſioners had deſired his Majeſty to give his aſſent to the propoſitions concerning Ireland: particularly that an act of Parliament ſhould be paſſed, " to declare and make void the ceſſation of Ireland, and all treaties and concluſions of peace, or any articles thereupon with the rebels, without the conſent of both Houſes of Parliament; and to ſettle the proſecution of the war in Ireland in both Houſes of Parliament in England to be managed by them; and his Majeſty to aſſiſt, and to do no act to diſcountenance or moleſt them therein:" to which propoſition his Majeſty gave his conſent as deſired. But on the next day after preſenting this propoſition, and his conſenting to it, the King wrote the following letter to the Marquis of Ormonde; to be found in Carte's collection.

ORMONDE,

Leſt you might be miſled by falſe rumors, I have thought fit by this to tell you my true condition. I am here in a treaty, but ſuch a one, as if I yield not to all that is propoſed to me, I muſt be a cloſe priſoner, being ſtill under reſtraint. Wherefore I muſt command you two things: firſt to obey all my wife's commands; then not to obey any public command of mine until I ſend you word I am free from reſtraint. Laſtly be not ſtartled at my great conceſſions concerning Ireland; for that they will come to nothing. This is all at this time from

Your moſt real, faithful, conſtant friend,

Newport in the iſle of Wight,
Oct. 10, 1648.

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Though this letter may ſeem a contradiction to the propoſition which the King had agreed to the day before, yet it muſt be obſerved in his favour, that he had ſtipulated with the Parliament at the entring of this treaty, that nothing ſhould be binding upon him or made uſe of to his prejudice, unleſs all was concluded; and it was eaſy enough for him to ſee by this time, that nothing was leſs intended by the Parliament than a peace. Here was a freſh authority however for the Marquis of Ormonde to obey the directions he ſhould receive from the Queen; which, upon his reaſſuming his poſt of Lord Lieutenant, and his power of making a treaty with the Iriſh being diſſolved by the late peace, ſeemed to be neceſſary: for this power therefore he had applied to the King, by letter; but his Majeſty had not received the application when he wrote the Marquis the letter above. The only poſſible means of extricating the King out of his preſent difficulties—and they ſeem not to have been very probable—was uniting all Ireland under his obedience. To this end the Marquis of Ormonde returned thither; after having ſettled with the Scotch Commiſſioners and ſome of his Majeſty's friends in England, a conjunction of their forces when the army from Scotland for the King's ſervice ſhould arrive in England. In a few days after the Marquis landed, he publiſhed a declaration, in order to ſatisfy the army under Lord Inchiquin, and the Proteſtants in the province of Munſter. After mentioning his delivering up Dublin to the Parliament, in hopes that upon a happy compoſure of affairs then expected it might revert to his Majeſty, but was now unhappily devolved on thoſe who intended to ſubvert the monarchy, the Marquis then proceeds to mention in the declaration, the ſenſe he had of the merit of that army in diſclaiming all obedience to thoſe uſurped powers, and the King's gracious acceptance of their fidelity to him. Out of a ſpecial regard therefore to their integrity and to their former ſufferings, and out of a deſire to prevent all diſtruſt from former differences of judgment, his Excellency thought himſelf obliged thus publicly to declare, that he was qualified with ſpecial authority from his Majeſty to aſſure them, that no diſtinction ſhould be made on any ſuch account, but that all perſons now engaged in the cauſe ſhould be treated with equal regard and favour. Moreover, he aſſured them on his own part, that no paſt difference of action or opinion ſhould be remembered by him to the prejudice of any member of the army; but that he would do to every one of them all the good that was in his power, uſe his utmoſt diligence to provide comfortably for their ſubſiſtence, and in return expected nothing but an honeſt perſeverance in their preſent engagement to ſerve the King with alacrity and affection.

Having publiſhed this declaration, the Marquis ſignified to the General Aſſembly—ſitting then, as we have ſeen, at Kilkenny—that he was arrived with power to treat and conclude a peace with the Confederate Catholicks; and purſuant to the paper delivered to their agents at S. Germains, that he expected to receive deputies and propoſitions from them at his houſe at Carrick. This place lying nearer to Kilkenny, than Corke where he had landed, and the King's ſervice requiring the greateſt diſpatch poſſible, his Excellency thought to be fitter for the place of treaty; his late experience having convinced him, that he could not conclude it effectually with any other power than the repreſentative body of the Confederates. On the eighteenth of September, they appointed their Commiſſioners: though the Marquis had always objected againſt treating with Eccleſiaſticks, and had obliged them before to recede in that point, yet they named a Biſhop in the commiſſion; and the Marquis, being determined to comply with them in what he could, hoping to make them moderate on their ſide with him, conſented. But inſtead of this moderation, they were reſolved to proceed upon the plan of former Aſſemblies, and inſiſted on the ſame propoſitions that had been ſent by their agents to France and Rome; that if they were rejected they might at leaſt ſay they had endeavoured to obtain them.

The ſtiffneſs of the General Aſſembly in returning the ſame propoſitions that had been offered and refuſed, was no good preſage to the Lord Lieutenant that he ſhould be able to conclude ſuch a treaty with them on the article of religion, as would give them contentment, and not diſguſt the Proteſtants: and yet ſuch was the ſituation of public affairs, that without an union of both theſe, nothing could be done for the King's ſervice. The inſurrections raiſed in his favour in England ſince his confinement were all quelled; and the army and Independents were abſolute maſters of the kingdom. The forces that had marched from Scotland under Duke HAMILTON, were either cut off, or ſold to ſerve abroad. Colonel MONCK had got poſſeſſion of all the North of Ireland, and of all the forts in Ulſter that were in Proteſtant hands; and the Munſter forces under Lord INCHIQUIN were far from being all of them thoroughly pleaſed. Among the Officers of his horſe indeed there were great caballing and diſaffection; intending to march in a body into Leinſter to join with JONES, and if they could not make their way to his quarters, to go to O NEIL. But Lord INCHIQUIN having diſcovered the plot, and ſent notice of it to the Marquis of ORMONDE, care was taken to ſtop their paſſage; and finding then that their ſcheme was fruſtrated, the Officers thought it the beſt way to ſubmit, to profeſs a repentance for their paſt unſteadineſs, and promiſe future conſtancy. Lord INCHIQUIN thought it improper to uſe ſeverity towards them at that juncture, whilſt there was a general uneaſineſs in his forces, on account of ſome unfavourable reports about the terms of the peace: wherefore he preſſed

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the Marquis of ORMONDE in the ſtrongeſt manner to repair immediately to his aſſiſtance, either to quiet the diſtraction of his forces, or to enable him to ſecure the heads of the faction againſt the peace.

The Marquis of ORMONDE was at that time at Kilkenny, whither the Aſſembly had invited him for the quicker diſpatch of the treaty; and was debating and adjuſting the propoſitions of the Iriſh with great hopes of ſucceſs. This importunity therefore of Lord INCHIQUIN threw him into great perplexity. If he did not go to ſatisfy the officers, that the terms of the peace in agitation were honourable to the King, and ſafe for his Proteſtant ſubjects, that army might be loſt, or thrown into a confuſion that would be irretrievable. On the other hand, if he put ſuch a ſudden delay to the treaty when the Aſſembly were in ſo good a temper, the Confederates might imagine there was no intention of concluding any agreement with them, or that it was to give way to contenting the army, which might incline them to diſſolve the Aſſembly; and then all thoughts of coming to a peace with the Iriſh muſt be laid aſide for ever. On a thorough deliberation within himſelf, he determined to riſk the delay of the treaty, rather than the army ſhould be loſt: and till he could get to Corke, he adviſed Lord INCHIQUIN to provide for the removal of thoſe Officers who had occaſioned the late diſturbance, that they might not have it in their power to make another; for which no doubt they were watching a more convenient opportunity. This removal, he ſaid, would facilitate the ſatisfaction of the well diſpoſed; and was neceſſary for their own ſecurity, as well as to convince the Confederates of the ſincerity of their proceedings with them. To theſe the Marquis repreſented the neceſſity of giving contentment to the army: and ſuch were his admirable talents of perſuaſion, and ſo great was the credit which the ſteadineſs and fidelity of his tranſactions with them had gained him with the principal perſons of that body, as that he prevailed with them to conſent to the delay of the treaty for fourteen days.

Conformably to this agreement the Aſſembly engaged to continue ſitting during the receſs; and ordered that no member ſhould depart out of the city without leave of the chairman, nor any leave be given but on a promiſe in writing to return by the end of that time. At this juncture, arrived the titular Biſhop of Fernes and Mr. Plunket, the agents which had been ſent from Rome, with an account of their negotiation at that court. Little more was contained in it, than that having repreſented to his Holineſs the deplorable condition of their kingdom, the little hopes they had of preſerving either their religion or their nation without good ſupplies, and the reaſon they had to expect them from him, according to his Nuncio's engagement to their Aſſembly, they waited four months before they could get any anſwer at all. At laſt upon their importunity, they were told that the Pope had as yet received no account how the money was diſpoſed of that he had already ſent; that there was a great dearth of corn about Rome which he muſt ſupply; that the treaſury was empty, the See in debt, and the Cardinals ſcarce able to maintain their families; therefore no ſupply could be expected there: that if the Nuncio had engaged for any ſuch thing, he had done it without any commiſſion, his Holineſs being reſolved to give no money on the event of war; and that, as it was not proper for him to appear in expreſſing his ſenſe of the conditions fit to be demanded for their religion, ſo he left them at liberty to proceed as beſt ſuited the good of the kingdom. This account putting an end to all expectations of foreign ſuccours, occaſioned very ſerious reflexions on their condition; and diſpoſed every one to moderate their propoſitions for a peace ſo neceſſary to their preſervation.

When the Marquis of Ormonde got to Corke, he uſed his endeavours ſo ſucceſsfully in conjunction with Lord Inchiquin, that they quieted entirely the diſtractions of the army. What facilitated their work, was the arrival of inſtructions and diſpatches from the Prince of Wales; in which there was an aſſurance that the fleet was coming into thoſe parts with ſupplies of ammunition and proviſion for the forces there. This of itſelf was ſufficient to raiſe the ſpirits of the ſoldiery: but when it was added, that the Duke of York would come with the fleet, and the Prince himſelf probably after as ſoon as he had recovered ſtrength enough from the ſmall pox, there was no more fear of a mutiny or diſaffection among the forces. The coming of the Prince was on many accounts of ſo much advantage, that the Marquis of Ormonde thought it his duty to preſs it at this time very warmly; but, as the reader will find, it did not take place. His Excellency leaving the Munſter army very well pacified, returned within the time he had appointed to Kilkenny. But he was immediately taken ſo ill, that he could not give in his anſwer to the propoſitions that had been delivered till the nineteenth of December. In the interim he received an anſwer to the application he had made to the King for a freſh authority, in the following letter, in Carte's collection.

ORMONDE,

I hope before this, mine of the tenth of this month will have come to your hands. I ſent it by the way of France. This is not only to confirm the contents of that, but alſo to approve of certain commands to you: likewiſe to command you to proſecute certain inſtructions, until I ſhall under my own hand give you other commands: And though you will hear that this treaty is near, or at leaſt moſt likely to be concluded, yet believe it not; but purſue the way you are in with all poſſible vigour. Deliver alſo that my command to all your friends, but not in a public way, becauſe otherwiſe it may be inconvenient to me, and particularly to Inchiquin. So being confident of your punctual obſervance of theſe my directions, I reſt

Your moſt real, faithful, conſtant friend,

Newport Saturday
28th Oct. 1648.

CHARLES R.

When the Parliament had received intelligence, that the Marquis of Ormonde was arrived in Ireland with a power to treat and conclude a peace with the Iriſh rebels, the Commiſſioners attending the King deſired his Majeſty's public declaration againſt any ſuch power, and againſt the proceedings of the ſaid Lord Ormonde. To this the King replied, "that ſince the firſt votes paſſed for the treaty—in Auguſt—he had not tranſacted any affairs concerning Ireland, but with you the Commiſſioners in relation to the treaty itſelf." If this is not a contradiction to the letter above, and to the other of the tenth of the ſame month before recited, it is ſurely a very deceitful equivocation unworthy of a King, and inconſiſtent with the character

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character of " a candid, ſincere, upright man," and " who was incapable of diſſimulation." On the twenty-fifth of November, his Majeſty conſented to write another letter to the Lord Lieutenant; acquainting him with the informations which he had received from the two Houſes of Parliament, concerning his Lordſhip's proceedings with the Confederate Catholicks of Ireland, and requiring him to deſiſt from any further tranſactions with them. The King knew, when he wrote this letter, that he had forbidden the Marquis to obey any public command from him whilſt he continued under reſtraint: and this direction being contrary to the two private letters which he had juſt before received, his Excellency proceeded to carry on the treaty, and to give his anſwer to the propoſitions that had been delivered.

Among theſe propoſitions there were ſome that were new — ſuch as inſiſting that the ſucceeding Lieutenants ſhould be Roman Catholicks — others that were impoſſible to be aſſented to, and a great many that were unreaſonable. This was owing to the different paſſions, humours, intereſts, and deſigns of the ſeveral perſons who compoſed the Aſſembly: and though the majority were well enough inclined to peace, yet there were ſeveral who endeavoured all they could to obſtruct it; and therefore got ſuch propoſitions to be inſerted as they knew would not be granted. But the report made by the agents of the negotiation at Rome had contributed very much to lower the pretenſions of the Confederates. The Marquis of Ormonde, when he gave his anſwer, agreed to repeal the penal ſtatutes which reſtrained the Papiſts from the free exerciſe of their religion, and to exempt them from the oath of ſupremacy: And though he did not conſent to grant them the churches and benefices of which they were in poſſeſſion, yet he aſſured them that they ſhould not be moleſted, nor the exerciſe of their juriſdiction reſtrained, till his Majeſty, upon a full conſideration of their deſires in a free Parliament in that kingdom, ſhould declare his further pleaſure. The Aſſembly voted this anſwer unſatisfactory; and it was debated ſeveral days between the Lord Lieutenant and the Commiſſioners, with ſo much obſtinacy on their ſide, that he almoſt deſpaired of any ſucceſs. This led him to remonſtrate with them very freely on their deſperate ſituation, without any viſible human means, except by a peace, of being ſaved from utter deſtruction; and that whoſoever retarded or oppoſed it upon any pretence, contributed as much as in them lay, if not maliciouſly, yet for ſelfiſh and ambitious ends, to the ſubverſion of monarchy, the extirpation of Popery, and the ſlavery of the kingdom to an uſurped power.

It may be doubted whether this repreſentation from the Marquis, which contained ſome remembrance alſo of their paſt behaviour, and which he preſſed home upon their conſciences, would have had the effect which he deſired: but the remonſtrance of the Engliſh army about a month before, which had been reprinted and ſent by Lord Inchiquin to Kilkenny, and which required the Parliament to bring the King to juſtice, and to eſtabliſh anarchy, had opened their eyes; and they began then to ſee their ruin in the deſtruction of the King. A remonſtrance, ſo openly avowing the ſubverſion of every thing that had been known for government in theſe nations, raiſed the utmoſt abhorrence in all parties. Its effect in Ireland was very conſiderable: it not only ſilenced all complaints in the Proteſtant army, but it removed moſt of the difficulties, which the Papiſts, in their zeal and bigotry for their religion, had thrown in the way of peace. The Aſſembly therefore "in conſideration of his Majeſty's preſent condition, and their own hearty deſires of ſpending their lives and fortunes in maintaining his rights and intereſt, reſolved unanimouſly to accept of the Marquis of Ormonde's anſwer to their propoſitions for religion." The Biſhops however made a difficulty of approving it; but when they ſaw the Aſſembly were determined to reſt ſatisfied with it, in whatever manner they might declare themſelves, they thought it beſt for them to concur in the approbation of it. Another difficulty aroſe about the interval government — as it was called — till a full ſettlement in Parliament: and as it was neceſſary to eſtabliſh ſome courſe for the aſſiſtance of the forces, the Marquis of Ormonde called Lord Inchiquin to his aſſiſtance upon that, and all the other articles.

As they take up ſeventeen pages in folio they could not be adjuſted very ſpeedily; and as they were but little or not at all carried into execution, the reader will not expect to find them here. The Lord Lieutenant had no doubt an inſtruction from the Queen and Prince, with his Majeſty's knowledge and conſent,—of which a hint is given in the laſt recited letter—to conclude a treaty with the Iriſh Catholicks upon theſe conditions: but they were ſo much to their advantage, and to the diſſatisfaction of the Proteſtants, that they were very near as obnoxious as the Earl of Glamorgan's treaty. The famous Milton publiſhed very ſevere obſervations on theſe articles of peace; and even in the preamble to the act of ſettlement by Charles the Second, the conditions are ſtiled difficult. In ſhort they give ſo much power to Papiſts who had been rebels, in the civil and military branches of Government in a Proteſtant State, that no commands of the King himſelf, nor any other circumſtance whatever, could excuſe the Marquis of Ormonde for conſenting to them, but a conviction that a peace in Ireland at that juncture, was the only poſſible means of preventing the ſubverſion of the whole frame of Government. Indeed he owns himſelf in a letter to the Prince, "that for want of force to keep any dependant on the King's authority only, and for obtaining ſuch a peace as might reduce the army and the Confederates under the King's obedience, he had been conſtrained to ſubject his Majeſty's power, againſt his will and not without ſome violence to his own nature, to compliances agreeable with neither." Among theſe articles, which were of ſuch ſerious conſequence to the Proteſtants, there was one of a very ludicrous nature, which ſhewed the ſtrong propenſity of the Iriſh to retain their old barbarous cuſtoms. As nothing could bring them to break theſe cuſtoms but acts of Parliament, ſo now that they might return to them, it was agreed by one of the articles of this treaty, that the acts which had probibited the ploughing with horſes by the tail, and the burning of oats in the ſtraw inſtead of threſhing them out, ſhould be repealed. The great point propoſed by the Marquis of Ormonde in this peace, was to ſend an army of above twenty thouſand men immediately into England, in order to prevent the impending fate of his Royal Maſter. This was certainly the Marquis's motive in concluding a treaty ſo diſhonourable to the King, and of ſuch diſadvantage to his Proteſtant ſubjects; and in this view we muſt acquit him of all ill intention to his country, or his religion. But in my opinion there is not ſuch another inſtance to be given of the weakneſs or the want of diſcernment in his Excellency, as to depend upon a people who had ſo often failed him; and not to ſee that the terms which he had granted them, and the ſcheme which

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be propoſed, would much rather haſten than prevent his Majeſty's ruin. No wonder that he was therefore diſappointed in his expectation. The Iriſh had delayed the concluſion of the peace too long to render it of any ſervice to the King, now brought to his trial; and they were extremely deficient in their promiſed proportions of men and money.

The articles having been red thrice, and fully debated, on the ſixteenth of January it was reſolved, "nemine contradicente," that they ſhould be eſtabliſhed and confirmed by the Aſſembly. The next day they repaired in a body to the Lord Lieutenant in his caſtle of Kilkenny; where ſitting on a throne of State, the articles of peace were preſented to him by SR. R. BLAKE, the Chairman, with all imaginable ſolemnity, and in an elegant and loyal addreſs. The Marquis then ratified them on his Majeſty's behalf, and diſmiſſed the Aſſembly with a long and excellent ſpeech, full of good advice and inſtruction, and of that temper and moderation, of that loyalty to the King and of affection to his country, which ſo eminently diſtinguiſhed him throughout his life. The peace being thus concluded, which is called "the peace of forty-eight," was immediately proclaimed at Kilkenny with great joy, and in other places that were under the obedience of the King, and the Confederates. On one ſide, nine of the Iriſh Biſhops joined in a circular letter to all the cities and corporations of their party; exhorting them to receive and obey the peace now concluded. On the other ſide, and on the ſame day the inſtruments were exchanged, the Marquis of ORMONDE publiſhed a declaration to vindicate the conditions granted to the Catholicks; none of whom, that had any hand in the barbarous and inhuman crimes which were committed in the beginning or courſe of the rebellion, were included in the act of oblivion that was to be paſſed: And as to thoſe, to whom any peace at all with the Iriſh, or the terms of this peace might be diſtaſteful, the Marquis added, "that he ſhould call upon them to teſtify hereafter, that as the full benefits of it could not without great injuſtice, and ſomewhat of ingratitude—conſidering the greater the King's neceſſity was, the more ſeaſonable was their ſubmiſſion—be denied them, ſo any blame of it ought to be laid upon thoſe alone who have impoſed the ſaid neceſſity, the ſaddeſt to which any King was ever reduced." Another part of the declaration was calculated to ſhew the iniquity of the late re-

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monſtrance of the Engliſh army; which plainly diſcovered the deſign of the Independents to blow up the conſtitution, and to bury the King, epiſcopacy, and preſbyterianiſm in its ruins. But the height of all iniquity and fanatical extravagance yet remained: and we muſt leave Ireland for a while, and turn to the public trial and execution of their Sovereign. Nothing could be found in the common or ſtatute law which could direct or warrant this proceeding: they were therefore to make a new form; and a new form they did make never heard of before, "an high Court of Juſtice to try his Majeſty for high treaſon in levying war againſt his Parliament." The reſt is too well known: I ſhall therefore drop the curtain, and conclude the book with a character of this unhappy Prince: and as I ſee no reaſon in this hiſtory to alter my opinion in his favour, I ſhall give the ſame character which I have given of him in another work already *.

Rapin hath obſerved, and I believe very juſtly, that there is not a fair and impartial Engliſh hiſtorian on this ſubject; at leaſt I have never ſeen one. I am ſenſible therefore of the delicacy of the taſk I have undertaken; and that our attachment to party in this country, though very abſurd, is yet ſo violent, that in giving a character of Charles the firſt, I ſhall be more likely to diſpleaſe all, than to gratify any one denomination of Engliſh readers. But I am too far embarked on this ſea already, and have proceeded with too much integrity and regard to truth in this hiſtory, to be terrified now with the apprehenſion of cenſure from party ſpleen: and yet I freely own, that I am not inſenſible to the conflict of the mind which every writer muſt feel, between the deſire of pleaſing, and the fear of offending by adhering ſtrictly to the truth. Wherever I differ from other hiſtorians in the character of King Charles, as differ I do from every one that I have ſeen, I do it on a calm and candid examination of all the facts in his reign from which his character may be known, and not from the principles of government which he might practiſe, and of which I may diſapprove: and if I had not known myſelf to be free from any of thoſe attachments, which tranſport men with prejudice towards the perſons they have occaſion to mention, and whoſe actions they are at liberty to condemn, I would never have engaged in this undertaking. The temper of

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* Eccleſiaſt. Hiſt. of England, Vol. II. A. 1757.

King Charles, is one of the few particulars relating to him, in which almoſt all hiſtorians are agreed: and if there are ſome inconſiſtences in this temper they are not peculiar to this monarch, but ſuch as are always to be met with in the human mind. He was very grave without any moroſeneſs, ſtately without pride, patient in debate and yet haſty in determination, compaſſionate but not bountiful, condeſcending and yet inflexible, courageous but not enterpriſing, chearful without gaiety, and of the ſame even diſpoſition in all turns of fortune. He was unqueſtionably endowed with very good natural parts; and neither wanted a quick apprehenſion, a juſt diſcernment of men and things, nor a very ſolid judgment. But he had ſuch a diffidence of his own abilities—and it was the leading ſtep to his ruin—that he conſtantly ſubmitted to the direction of thoſe about him, though he had ſeldom any Miniſter to whom he was not ſuperior in parts and knowledge. As his diverſions were few, he applied himſelf much to ſtudy, and had a good taſte of learning: but his ſkill in the liberal arts, eſpecially architecture and painting, was very extraordinary for a Prince. He was more a maſter of the eſſentials of divinity than his father had ever been; but without the allay of pedantry. He ſpoke ſeveral languages correctly, and with a ſingular good grace; and his ſtyle was eaſy, ſtrong, and clear when it was not intended to be ambiguous and equivocal. His principles of government were not what he had aſſumed, but what he had been educated in by his father; and though theſe tended greatly to make him abſolute, and to eſtabliſh arbitrary power, in which he perſiſted for the firſt fifteen years of his reign, yet it muſt be conſidered in his favour, that the bounds of the prerogative were not ſo fixed and aſcertained as they have been ſince; nor was the ſpirit of liberty in the Parliament ſo ſtrong, and ſo general among the people. Here however was the great blemiſh of the life of Charles: and how criminal ſoever the Parliament were, when he had redreſſed the grievances they were oppreſſed with, and given all the ſecurity which he could give againſt any more, yet their oppoſition to him till that period, was the oppoſition of a brave people ſtruggling for their rights and liberties againſt an arbitrary Prince, who made his will the law, and who intended to trample thoſe rights and liberties under his feet. But as it often happens when we endeavour to get free from one extreme that we run into another, ſo the Parliament turned the tables upon the King: his

Majeſty became as much too ſupple as he had been before too arbitrary; and the Commons exerciſed the tyranny they had been contending againſt in the perſon of their Sovereign. The ſincerity of King Charles's promiſes and declarations hath been called in queſtion by many people; or as Mr. Hume expreſſes it, "ſome hiſtorians have raſhly queſtioned his good faith:" and notwithſtanding that Gentleman's opinion, "that the moſt malignant ſcrutiny into his Majeſty's conduct affords not any reaſonable foundation for this reproach," yet with ſubmiſſion I apprehend that this charge is juſt. I do not ſay indeed, as many writers do, that the King always made uſe of doubtful and ambiguous terms, reſerving the explication of them as it might beſt ſuit his purpoſe, which is not very conſiſtent with good faith, but it appears to me, I muſt own, that he ſometimes uſed that artifice with a ſtudied intention to deceive the Parliament. But however this might be, which I am willing enough to leave rather probable than undoubted, yet it is notorious that he broke his faith, in denying to the Parliament his commiſſion to Lord Glamorgan to treat of the article of religion in a peace with the Iriſh rebels, in conſenting to the repeal of the penal ſtatutes againſt Iriſh Papiſts, in protecting and employing Papiſts, in compounding with recuſants, and diſpenſing with the penal laws againſt them in England. Nor is it leſs notorious, that his Majeſty broke his faith to the Parliament in the petition of right; and notwithſtanding his aſſurances to the Commons of his intention to maintain their privileges, that he violated them within a few days after. The King indeed ſeems to have learnt a leſſon from his misfortunes; which, if ever he had been reſtored to his throne, would probably have prevented this ſtain upon his honour for the remaining part of his life: becauſe in the laſt letter which he wrote to the Prince his ſon, he charged him very ſolemnly, among other excellent advices, "that if he ſhould be reſtored to his right upon hard conditions, whatever he promiſes he ſhould keep." His Majeſty had ſuch a violent attachment to his Queen, that he could refuſe her nothing: and he ſuffered more by her counſels after the commencement of the long Parliament, than by any indiſcretions or ill intentions of his own. The perſonal virtues of this Monarch were very extraordinary. His juſtice, temperance, humanity, and forgiveneſs, made him amiable even to thoſe who diſliked the meaſures of his government; and had he been a private Nobleman, they would have rendered him very deſervedly the delight of all mankind. In truth the King had but one vice; and that I may not leave it to be gueſſed at, I ſhall make no ſcruple to ſay, after the inſtances I have given, and others that occur in this hiſtory, that he was not faithful to his word and promiſes. But this perhaps did not merit the appellation of vice in the Court of CHARLES; though it is ſcarce conceivable how a King can have a quality much more criminal and pernicious. The regularity and the conſtancy of his Majeſty's devotion, were to be equalled by nothing but his zeal for religion as it was eſtabliſhed in the Church of England. His inclination therefore to Popery, though charged upon him in his reign, and by many hiſtorians ſince his death, is a malicious groundleſs imputation: and there never was a man, I believe, more ſincerely attached to the Proteſtant religion, with ſome mixtures of ſuperſtition, than this Monarch was. The Roman Catholicks indeed, as I have ſaid, out of a profound complaiſance to his Queen whom he loved very paſſionately, and perhaps on ſome occaſions from miſtaken reaſons of ſtate, were not only ſcreened from the rigour of the law, but encouraged and confided in. The King himſelf however was inflexible in his own religion: and this leads me to ſpeak to that part of his character, in ſpeaking of which I am ſenſible that the ground I tread on is extremely tender: but not to ſwerve from the rule of integrity which I have profeſſed to obſerve in this work, I preſume to ſay that I ſee no pretence at all for giving King CHARLES the title of a MARTYR. The Proteſtant religion in oppoſition to Popery was never the thing in queſtion; and there was too great a complication of cauſes which brought him to the ſcaffold, to aſcribe it ſolely, or principally to religion. But ſhould it be allowed that religion was the only cauſe of his execution, we muſt then diſtinguiſh it away to epiſcopy and the liturgy, and ſay that he died a martyr to the church of England; and yet at the treaty of Newport, he had reduced and ſuſpended epiſcopacy and the liturgy for three years, and in a great degree given them up. If he was a martyr therefore to any thing, it was to monarchy, which is abſurd: the truth is, properly ſpeaking, he fell a ſacrifice to the rage, ambition, and enthuſiaſm, of ſome fanatic leaders in the army; who, proceeding from one licentiouſneſs to another, had arrived at an implacable, republican, virulent ſpirit, regardleſs of all laws divine and human. But tho' there is a manifeſt impropriety in calling King

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a martyr—for he bore witneſs to no truth by his death—yet it is but juſtice to him to ſay, that he had not only many amiable endowments as a man, and many noble accompliſhments as a Prince, but that he had alſo ſo much zeal for his religion as to have died a martyr, if he had been called upon, to the truth of it. In ſhort, how much ſoever our indignation may be raiſed againſt him for his miſconduct in the former part of his reign, yet our humanity is ſo much ſhocked at the ignominious treatment which he met with in the latter part, and eſpecially in the laſt melancholy and unheard of ſcene, that we are ready to overlook and to forget all his faults, in order to indulge our commiſeration that ſo many virtues in him as a man, had not a happier fate as he was a Prince. His character ſhall be concluded in the words of his great friend and ſervant the Earl of Clarendon. "He was the worthieſt gentleman, the beſt maſter, the beſt friend, the beſt huſband, the beſt father, and the beſt Chriſtian, that the age in which he lived produced: and if he was not the greateſt King, if he was not poſſeſſed of ſome parts and qualities which have made ſome Kings great and happy, no other Prince was ever unhappy who was poſſeſſed of half his virtues and endowments, and ſo much without any kind of vice."

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THE
HISTORY
OF THE
REBELLION and CIVIL-WAR
IN
IRELAND.

BOOK VII.

THE proclamation of the peace, and the joy which it occaſioned amongſt the well affected was ſcarcely over, when Prince RUPERT came into Kinſale with ſixteen men of war, which greatly heightened the general ſatisfaction. But this was ſoon clouded with an account of the ignominious death of the King. As ſoon as the Marquis of ORMONDE could recover from the concern into which it threw him, he cauſed the Prince of Wales to be proclaimed immediately by the ſtyle of CHARLES the ſecond, in all the cities and towns that owned ſubjection to his authority. The Nuncio had hitherto lingered in the kingdom, waiting ſome favourable turn that might enable him to draw the nation once more into his

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CARTE.
CLAREND.
CASTLEHA.
BORLASE.
CLANRICA.
COX.
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MORRICE.

meaſures; but he had failed in all his expectations. He had ſeen the peace concluded, recommended by the Prelates and moſt of the Clergy, ſubmitted to by all the kingdom except O NEIL's and the Parliament's armies, and proclaimed in all the great towns, even before his eyes at Galway: And now he ſaw the execution of the King received with ſuch deteſtation univerſally among the Iriſh, that he judged they would all come in, and ſubmit to the Marquis of ORMONDE. Things being brought to this criſis, and no power now remaining in him, he thought it was high time for him to leave Ireland, till he could be fortified with new authorities from Rome, and there was a greater probability of raiſing a new flame in the nation. Having ſent directions to O NEIL to ſtand firm for the defence of the Pope's authority, on the twenty-ſecond of February, he went off at night in an obſcure condition on board his frigate. In this manner was RINUCCINI, a Nuncio from the Pope, who had aſſumed to himſelf the ſupreme power over the Catholicks of Ireland, in temporal and civil matters as well as eccleſiaſtical, who had held them in bondage for three years, who had been the cauſe of ſhedding the blood of many thouſands ſlain in fighting his battles, who had put the whole kingdom into a flame, and who had been the principal occaſion of the ruin of the King's, and even the Catholic intereſt there by his violence and ſuperſtition, compelled to ſeek his ſafety by ſtealing out of the kingdom: And all the ſatisfaction which the Papiſts received for theſe diſorders, was this ſhort reprimand from the Pope, "You have behaved yourſelf raſhly," and the Nuncio's confinement to his archbiſhoprick for the reſt of his life.

With what conſent and amity ſoever the peace was made by thoſe who had any pretence to truſt or authority in the nation, yet O NEIL, who had the greateſt influence on the old Iriſh, and who had ſtill the beſt diſciplined and the ſtrongeſt army, refuſed abſolutely to acknowledge it. The Lord Lieutenant was therefore to provide againſt him, as well as againſt the forces of the Commonwealth, who were poſſeſſed of Dublin and all the important places about it; and of whoſe ſupplies with men, and money, and ammunition, together with whatever elſe was neceſſary, there could not be any doubt. The Scots in Ulſter, who abhorred the Republicans, and were not well with O NEIL, might give the Marquis ſome aſſiſtance, and they were numerous and well provided: but they were not inclined to the peace made with the Papiſts, nor to a full ſubmiſſion made to the authority of the Lord Lieutenant, as not being ſanctified by the covenant. The Marquis of ORMONDE determined to try what he could do with all theſe ſeveral parties; and O NEIL had intimated obliquely to Lord CLANRICARDE, that he ſhould not be diſpleaſed to be upon good terms with his Excellency. A treaty was therefore ſet on foot through his nephew DAN. O NEIL: but he inſiſted on ſuch conditions for himſelf and his army, as thoſe who were joined in authority with the Lord Lieutenant—called Commiſſioners of truſt—who had always hated, and now began to deſpiſe O NEIL, were not willing to grant. The Marquis well knew the conſequence of that General's agreement to the peace; that it would unite the whole nation in vigorous endeavours to promote it, and enable him without difficulty to drive the Commonwealth forces out of the kingdom. His Excellency therefore was for conſenting to his conditions: but the Commiſſioners of truſt—without whoſe concurrence by the articles of peace he could do nothing in it—were obſtinate; and O NEIL's agents returned without any agreement. This was the firſt fruit of admitting the Confederates to a ſhare of the Government with the Lord Lieutenant.

The ſcheme of ſecuring O NEIL to his Majeſty's intereſt proving abortive, the Marquis of ORMONDE tried next what he could do with JONES, and SR. C. COOTE. He wrote himſelf a kind letter to JONES, inviting him and his forces to return to their duty, and to ſubmit to the King's authority. But JONES being influenced by his intimacy with CROMWELL and the great promiſes he had given him, pretended he was obliged in honour to obey thoſe who had entruſted him with the command he held, and refuſed the overture. SR. C. COOTE had often openly profeſſed, that if at any time he ſhould diſcover the leaſt inclination in the Parliament of England to change the government, or to wrong the King either in his perſon or poſterity, he would ſooner beg his bread than be a miniſter to their proceedings. Some of thoſe who had been witneſſes of this declaration thought it a proper time now to remind him of it; and it was judged adviſeable that the Marquis of ORMONDE ſhould write him a letter on the ſubject. The Marquis knew him ſo well, that he did not believe SR. CHARLES was

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to be gained; or if he ſhould ſeem to be ſo, that he was to be truſted. In compliance however with the deſires of the old Scotch Officers in Ulſter, and that he might leave no ſtone unturned for the King's ſervice, the Marquis wrote to COOTE; but it had no other effect than to produce proteſtations that had no meaning. To make ſome little amends for this ill ſucceſs, ſeveral Officers of the old Scotch regiments in the North ſent to aſſure the Lord Lieutenant of their duty to the King, and of a powerful body of forces devoted to his ſervice; if his Excellency would ſend them commiſſions to authorize, and a body of a thouſand horſe to ſupport, their undertaking. the Marquis was very agreeably ſurpriſed with this engagement, ſent the Commiſſions deſired, and aſſured them that Lord INCHIQUIN ſhould be with four thouſand foot at Athlone, in order to march to their aſſiſtance very ſpeedily, but the horſe could not join them for want of graſs. This advice had ſcarce reached thoſe Officers before they found themſelves neceſſitated to take arms, and to block up SR. C. COOTE in Derry.

The difficulties which the Marquis of ORMONDE had to ſtruggle with at this time are hardly to be conceived. The expectations and ambitions of different perſons for commands in the army did not a little perplex him, and diſturb the ſervice. The Marquis of CLANRICARDE ſaw ſo much of this emulation and ſelfiſhneſs when he was at Kilkenny on the concluſion of the peace, that as ſoon as he returned home, with a noble diſintereſtedneſs and love of his country—in which few have ever equalled, none have ever exceeded him—he ſent his commiſſion of Lieutenant General to the Lord Lieutenant, that he might make a friend with it. The Generals of particular provinces were now ſuppreſſed; ſo that there were fewer poſts of that nature to be diſpoſed of, and conſequently fewer perſons could be gratified, and more would be diſguſted. The laſt was the caſe of ſeveral perſons of quality whoſe affections were not well ſettled: but the Marquis of ORMONDE, though he was not acceſſary to theſe diſcontents, yet did not know how to avoid them; unleſs there had been poſts enow to ſatisfy the pretenſions of all who had intereſt and ambition. To add to theſe difficulties, Lord INCHIQUIN had been allowed to retain the ſole command and ordering of the forces and garriſons which he brought with him to the King's obedience; and had almoſt the whole province of Munſter aſſigned him for their maintenance: and though the Confederates had engaged to keep on foot an army of ſeventeen thouſand five hundred men, yet pretending now that the provinces could not ſupport them, a conſiderable number was diſbanded, which joined O NEIL. The Commiſſioners of truſt ſeemed more intent on getting honours, places, and employments, for themſelves and their friends, than on the public ſervice: they took but little care, either to raiſe the money applotted upon the counties, or to fill the magazines, which his Excellency propoſed to be erected, with corn and proviſions for the army. When the month of March came, in which he propoſed to take the field, they pleaded that it would require a great deal of time to collect the money; and that it would be better to borrow it of particular perſons, cities, and towns, by mortgaging to them the King's revenues. In ſhort they were ſo dilatory in their proceedings, that at the end of March, when Lord INCHIQUIN was to be with his forces at Athlone, ſcarce any proviſions had been ſent into that magazine.

Nothing remained ſingly in the Lord Lieutenant's power but the private revenue of the Crown: with this the Commiſſioners of truſt had nothing to do, and with this therefore, if with any thing, he was to make the beſt proviſion he could for an early campaign; on which the ſucceſs of all his meaſures chiefly depended. With this view he went himſelf to Waterford, thence to Limerick, and thence to Galway; in which ſeveral places he procured a loan of more money, corn, and ammunition, than the Aſſembly had ever been able to do. But this coſt him ſo much labour and time, and the ſupplies were ſo ſlowly advanced, that it was the beginning of May before he could draw his forces together. There was one remedy for all the inconveniences which he ſuffered, and he had preſſed this on his firſt arrival, and again when the peace was finiſhed, which was the King's repair into Ireland. If the reaſons were good upon which he adviſed this before, when his Majeſty was only Prince of Wales, they were much ſtronger now he had ſucceded his father in the ſupreme authority. But the Scots having proclaimed him, and engaged to crown and receive him for their King, if he would come thither and take the Covenant, which they earneſtly ſollicited, it was conſidered whether it would not be the beſt ſtep his Majeſty could take to go firſt and eſtabliſh himſelf in Scotland.

One would have thought there had been ſuch a recent proof of their ignominious treatment, and their treacherous dealing in the perſon of the father, as to have deterred the King and his Council from entertaining any thoughts of putting the Son into the hands of the Scots. As ſoon as the Marquis of Ormonde was informed that ſuch a ſtep was under deliberation, he wrote his ſentiments to the King, and Sr. E. Hyde; and they are the ſentiments of a wiſe and faithful Councillor. In the end he ſaid, "as the Covenant was inconſiſtent with the peace he had concluded, it was expedient that the Government of Ireland — by what Governors, and by what Council the King ſees fit — ſhould be immediately ſettled: and if his Majeſty went into Scotland with intention to conſent to the Covenant, and to the impoſing of it on all his ſubjects, he muſt deſire that any thoughts of employing him might be laid aſide."

The King, upon the news of his father's death, immediately renewed the Marquis of Ormonde's commiſſion, and confirmed all that he had done in virtue of it: and when he received the articles of the late peace in a few days after, he ſent an entire approbation of all and every part, and an aſſurance that he would make all the haſte he could into Ireland. The advantages indeed of that meaſure were too viſible to be denied. The power of the Commiſſioners of truſt, with which the Lord Lieutenant was cramped and ſhackled, at the inſtant of the King's landing was to be at an end; the diſputes about commands in the army would be prevented, or removed; the forces under Jones which were already deſerting every day, and perhaps Jones himſelf, would probably come over to him; but it was very certain that O Neil and his army would immediately ſubmit: nay, they had already ſent letters of credence to his Majeſty, to aſſure him of their ſubmiſſion upon the terms of being concluded in the act of oblivion, of enjoying liberty of conſcience, of O Neil's commanding an army under the King's authority provided for like the reſt, and of his being advanced to the dignity of an Earl. The deſire of the laſt condition was probably ſuggeſted to him, by Preston's having been made a Viſcount, and by obtaining eight hundred a year in lands to ſupport the honour. Why theſe terms which O Neil propoſed, which would have ſecured all his army, were not complied with, does not appear. After what had been already conſented

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to, there was nothing in them unreaſonable, or improper: and if theſe terms had been granted, and the King had gone at this time to Ireland, he would probably in a few weeks have been maſter of the whole kingdom. But the King had not only factions in his Court to contend with—as all diſtreſſed, if not all other, Princes have—but alſo the want of money for procuring arms, and ammunition, and other neceſſaries: and the jarring intereſts of theſe ſeveral factions, and the vain expectation of ſupplies in Holland where the King then was, proved of infinite detriment to his affairs.

The reader hath been informed of the arrival of a fleet of ſixteen ſhips in the ports of Munſter ſoon after the death of the late King, under the command of Prince Rupert; and he may wonder that he hath heard no more of it. The truth is, that as it was not ſubordinate to the Lord Lieutenant, nor ſubject to his orders, it was entirely uſeleſs as to any ſervice he expected from it with reſpect to Ireland. The people who knew Prince Rupert, and the fickle diſpoſition of the Iriſh, knew this was a conſequence to be expected. The Prince was very reſerved and uncourtly in his temper; and ready to aſſume more authority than he had, or was conſiſtent with the King's ſervice: of a factious diſpoſition himſelf, he encouraged it in his ſervants and officers under him; and they taking advantage of his rank, and thinking every thing was to give way to him, were careleſs in their behaviour, and unconcerned whether they pleaſed or diſpleaſed their ſuperiors, though the beſt friends perhaps the King had. All this was viſible in the late reign, when his Majeſty had the authority of an uncle over him; and therefore the ſame, or much more, might be expected in the preſent reign, when the relation was leſſened, and the King was very young. In a few days after the fleet came to an anchor, the Prince deſired leave of the Lord Lieutenant to raiſe a thouſand land-men for the better manning his ſhips: leave was granted immediately, the men were raiſed, and, contrary to the articles of peace, maſs was ſaid in the ſea-ports: but this did not ſatisfy the Iriſh, nor the Prince's attendants: they behaved with ſuch inſolence to the Proteſtant ſoldiers and inhabitants, that it required all Lord Inchiquin's prudence, application, and authority, to prevent great diſturbance. The Prince himſelf held a correſpondence with Lord Antrim,

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O Neil, and the diſcontented Iriſh, which encouraged them to perſiſt in their rebellious meaſures: he went much further: he ordered one of his gentlemen to write to a German engineer at Galway, who had ſerved the Iriſh, that the Prince deſired an inſtrument might be drawn and ſigned by ſuch Officers and cavaliers as would ſerve their country, religion, and king, in an oppoſite way to the Lord Lieutenant and the preſent government; and that upon the ſight of ſuch an authority from them, the Prince would furniſh them with all neceſſaries by ſea. Several Colonels, and other Officers, ſigned an inſtrument accordingly; and on the condition of being furniſhed with five hundred pounds, and the value of that ſum in ammunition, undertook to bring five thouſand men into the field. The Lord Lieutenant being informed of this combination, thought proper to write to the Prince upon it; but in a manner as though he did not believe it had any other foundation than a contrivance of the engineer's to get a little money: the engineer denied the fact, and the Prince detained him in his ſervice.

Whatever were the views of Prince Rupert, it was very hard upon the Marquis of Ormonde, to be engaged in a work, which, with all the aſſiſtance that could be given, ſeemed impracticable, and to be traverſed in his meaſures by thoſe from whom he had reaſon to expect aſſiſtance. Be the occaſion what it would, the fleet from which he had promiſed himſelf great advantages gave him none. The Engliſh frigates lay at this time in the bay of Dublin, which were of great uſe to Jones in furniſhing him with proviſions, of which he ſtood in the utmoſt need, and the frigates were eaſily to be ſurpriſed: but though Lord Ormonde recommended this ſervice to the Prince, yet it was not ſo much as attempted. When his Excellency drew out his army for the ſiege of Dublin, he ſent two Officers to the Prince, deſiring him to block up the harbour with his fleet in order to prevent its relief, as a ſervice of the utmoſt importance to his Majeſty's affairs in that kingdom. The forts of Derry and Culmore were then beleaguered ſo ſtraitly, as that it was impoſſible they ſhould hold out, if any ſhips were ſent to lie in the river to intercept the ſupplies of all ſorts that were coming from England. The Marquis ſent an expreſs with this advice; and acquainted the Prince that the reducing thoſe places by means of ſome of his ſhips, would not only put all that ſide of the North into the King's hands, but enable his Excellency to procure a great aſſiſtance for reducing ſome other parts of the kingdom. The King had given directions to the Prince to furniſh the Marquis of Ormonde with ſome money for the public ſervice, of which he put his Highneſs in mind; deſiring if money could not be had, ſome goods might be aſſigned to that purpoſe, and ſent to Waterford; and if part of them were in corn it would be as uſeful, in order to enable his army to take the field. But it was all in vain: neither money, nor goods were ſent, nor a ſhip employed in either of theſe, or any other ſervices, whilſt the fleet lay on the coaſt, and was abſolute maſter of the Iriſh channel. How extremely neceſſary therefore was it for the King to repair to Ireland for the advantage of his affairs there!

The King had not only aſſured the Marquis of Ormonde that he would ſpeedily be with him, but before he left Holland, his heavy baggage and inferior ſervants, and thoſe of his Miniſters and Officers who were to accompany him, were ſent away in two ſhips, and actually arrived in Ireland. But the Queen, who wanted to retain the ſame influence in this reign which ſhe had fatally had in the laſt, having preſſed the King by many letters and meſſages to go to her, it was reſolved againſt the opinion of the wiſeſt part of his Council, and very unhappily for Ireland, that he ſhould take France in his way. Though the Queen could have no diſlike of the reſolution that had been taken for his Majeſty's going to Ireland;—for in truth there was no other place for him to go to—yet ſhe was exceedingly diſpleaſed that any reſolution at all ſhould have been taken before ſhe was conſulted. She was angry too that the Councillors had been choſen without her directions, and looked upon all that had been done, as done in order to exclude her from medling in his affairs. The King however made no apologies to her as ſhe expected; nor any profeſſions of reſigning himſelf up to her advice: on the contrary, he did as good as deſire her not to trouble herſelf in his affairs. This, to a woman of high ſpirit who had abſolutely governed his father, and had a ſtrong paſſion for power, was a mortification ſhe could not digeſt. After ſome time ſpent at Paris, the Queen being diſappointed of the dominion ſhe had expected, and conſequently not ſolicitous for his ſtay, the King embarked for the iſle of Jerſey which ſtill continued under

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his obedience; in order to tranſport himſelf from thence when it ſhould be ſeaſonable into Ireland.

The reader who has ſeen how neceſſary the King's preſence had been ſome time before in Ireland, will think it very odd to be told that it was now unſeaſonable. This will therefore require ſome explanation. Inſtead of coming to Ireland as the Marquis had adviſed, his Majeſty went to France to ſee his mother; and while he ſtaid at Paris a great revolution took place in Ireland, which it is our buſineſs now to relate. The gaining of the city of Dublin, which in effect was gaining the whole kingdom, was the enterprize therefore of all others to be firſt undertaken by the Lord Lieutenant: but the magazines of the Confederates were in a manner empty, without proviſion or ammunition, and the country was to the laſt degree impoveriſhed. The applotment made by the Commiſſioners of truſt had as yet brought in nothing to the public cheſt: there was no money to pay the ſoldiers, and no corn to ſuſtain them in the field, till the ſeaſon allowed the army to be ſupplied with cattle. It was the beginning of May before the Marquis could get two thouſand foot and three hundred horſe together: theſe were ſent under Lord Castlehaven to reduce the forts held by O Neil in Leinſter, which it would be dangerous to leave behind them when the army ſhould advance to Dublin. Theſe troops, which for the moſt part were commanded by Engliſh officers that had always followed the fortune of the Marquis of Ormonde, were during the expedition in great diſtreſs, being ſometimes two or three days without eating; but they executed their orders and reduced the garriſons. His Excellency, in the mean time, was aſſembling all the forces he could raiſe in order to lay ſiege to Dublin; there not being ten days proviſions in the place. Of this he gave notice to Prince Rupert, and a ſecond time deſired him to block up the harbour, which would be a means of reducing the place immediately. But the Prince, though not then blocked up as he was afterwards by Blake, was not to be moved; and the Marquis had the mortification of ſeeing an enterprize of ſuch conſequence, ſo eaſy in the execution, and ſo ſure of ſucceeding, loſt for want of a ſmall aſſiſtance which it was infamous to refuſe. Cox has made an excuſe for this inactivity of the Prince, by ſaying that he was not ſure of his men which deſerted from him, and that he was in want of neceſſaries. But if he had ſent his ſhips to ſea the men could not have deſerted; and as they had taken many prizes and three corn ſhips they could be in no great want; neither doth any thing of this appear by any anſwer to the Marquis of Ormonde.

This however was not the only mortification which he met with in his command. It was impoſſible for him to keep the forces of the Confederates under any kind of diſcipline; and every fatigue, though but of common marches and duty, was thought inſupportable by them if they were not fed with money, which was impracticable. The army under Lord Inchiquin, was no leſs preſſing for money than the other; and though they were under more obedience, yet their mutiny or diſcontent were more to be apprehended, becauſe they would deſert to the Engliſh. It was his Excellency's buſineſs therefore to provide for both as well as he could, though every delay was fatal to the deſign on Dublin. Notwithſtanding theſe difficulties, he muſtered an army on the firſt of June, of ſix thouſand foot, and two thouſand horſe near Carlow, but could not march a mile till he had borrowed eight hundred pounds, and got a little meal upon credit; which enabled him to move, and take three or four places. But even with this ſupply he was obliged to remain on the weſt ſide of the Liffy; and ſo could not engage Jones, who had marched with a force much inferior out of Dublin. All theſe difficulties however not being ſufficient to wean the affections of the army from the Marquis, which had been tried at by ſome of Preston's officers, a deſign was formed with the concurrence of that General to aſſaſſinate the Lord Lieutenant. The hiſtory of all ages ſhew to what a length of wickedneſs the diſappointments of pride and ambition will ſometimes carry men; and numberleſs inſtances might be given of the fatal effects of ſuch reſentments in public affairs. But providence preſerved him to execute deſigns, in which none but a man able, great, and good, as the Marquis of Ormonde, could have ſucceeded.

Amidſt all theſe difficulties and dangers, having been ſupplied with ten thouſand pounds which Lord Castlehaven had collected, on his quitting the army till ſome diſpute in his command had been adjuſted, and with three thouſand more which Lord Taafe had brought him, in the middle

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of June, he moved with his army towards Dublin, and was joined with two thouſand of Lord Inchiquin's foot. In a Council of war held at Naas, which the Marquis had taken upon his march, it was debated whether the army ſhould move directly to Dublin, or firſt take in Trim, and Drogheda, and ſome other garriſons. The opinion of the Generals was unanimous, to loſe no time in attacking Dublin, before the ſupplies which were expected arrived from England. The army moved accordingly; and on the nineteenth of June in the morning, found itſelf at Caſtle-knock in view of the city. Jones had drawn out all his horſe into the green not far from the walls; to face which the Marquis ſent a party of horſe and muſketeers, and advanced with the reſt of the army within cannon ſhot of the gates. Having ſpent part of the day in that poſture, expecting the well affected within the town—of which he knew there were many—might raiſe ſome commotion that would be uſeful, after ſome ſlight ſkirmiſhes between the horſe, he drew off and encamped at Finglas, two miles from the city. On this motion, Jones ſent the greateſt part of his horſe to Drogheda; which the Marquis of Ormonde no ſooner knew, than he detached Lord Inchiquin with a ſtrong party to follow them. His Lordſhip followed them indeed with ſuch ſucceſs, that he ſurpriſed a whole troop, and then encountring Colonel Coote at the head of three hundred more, he made a great ſlaughter, and thoſe that could eſcape flew in great diſorder into Drogheda. No time was loſt in ſending word to the Marquis of his ſucceſs, and of his believing that if he purſued his advantage, and attempted the town before the enemy had recovered their conſternation, it would make but little reſiſtance. Theſe advices occaſioned another Council of war; in which the ſtrength of Dublin being conſidered, it was thought a deſperate action to hazard the army by an aſſault; that they had not forces enow to inveſt the place, eſpecially while O Neil, and Monck, and the garriſons of Trim and Drogheda, lay ſo convenient to put them between two fires; and that the reduction of the latter would ſecure a correſpondence with the North, and give great encouragement to the Scots in Ulſter. Upon all theſe conſiderations it was reſolved, that the Marquis of Ormonde ſhould continue in his camp, with five thouſand foot, and fifteen hundred horſe, to ſtreighten Dublin and countenance any revolt in the city, and that Lord Inchiquin, with the ſame number of horſe, and two thouſand foot, ſhould block up Drogheda. But he choſe rather to try to ſurpriſe it; and he had ſo far ſucceeded, that he had one night fired two of the gates, and got two hundred men into the town, but the horſe of the garriſon drove them out. On the next day, the Lord Lieutenant ſent him two pieces of battery; but as ſoon as they were planted, the place ſurrendered. Such of the garriſon as choſe it had leave by the articles to march to Dublin with the Governour: however no more than a hundred and thirty five, out of a thouſand, attended him thither; the reſt taking on in his Majeſty's ſervice.

This great ſucceſs at Drogheda encouraged Lord Inchiquin to make an attempt upon Dundalk; and receiving intelligence on his march thither, that O Neil had ſent a Lieutenant General with five hundred foot and three hundred horſe to convoy ſome ammunition which Monck had lent him—which Ludlow ſays falſely was lent to Lord Inchiquin—his Lordſhip ſent ſix troops of horſe to intercept them. They luckily met in a plain open road; and the convoy was attacked with ſo much vigour and ſucceſs, that it was totally routed, not above forty of the foot eſcaping without being ſlain or taken priſoners. By a fate perhaps peculiar to that war, and to that nation, and which was principally at firſt a war of religion, the armies were now divided: in one place was to be ſeen ſtill the Proteſtants fighting againſt the Papiſts, and the Papiſts againſt the Proteſtants: in another, both Papiſts and Proteſtants joining together under Popiſh and Proteſtant Generals againſt Proteſtants only: in a third, an army under leaders of the two religions fighting againſt Papiſts only: and what is yet more extraordinary, ſome of the Proteſtant Chiefs, whoſe pretence was to ſubdue the Papiſts, ſupplying the Popiſh General O Neil with money, and ammunition, in order to enable him to ſubdue the principal Proteſtants in that kingdom. In two days after Dundalk had been inveſted, the ſoldiers obliged Monck who commanded it to deliver it up to Lord Inchiquin; where he found a good magazine of ammunition, clothes, and other warlike neceſſaries, and the greateſt part of the garriſon, officers and men, inclined to enter into the King's ſervice. The leſſer garriſons of Newry, Trim, and other places, ſurrendered with little or no trouble; after which

Lord Inchiquin returned with his detachment to the Lord Lieutenant in his camp at Finglas.

Notwithſtanding the garriſons in the neighbourhood of Dublin were thus reduced, his Excellency was very doubtful of the iſſue of the enterprize againſt that city. For though Jones's horſe were in a manner ruined, yet he was ſtill too ſtrong in foot for attempting it by aſſault; and as there was no other way of reducing it but by a blockade, little hopes of ſucceſs that way could be entertained, whilſt the ſea remained open to bring the ſupplies, daily expected too, from England. He had for eight months together been preſſing the King to repair to Ireland, whoſe preſence there he thought abſolutely neceſſary to the peace, and to eſtabliſh his Majeſty's authority in that kingdom. The reaſons for his coming there ſtill ſubſiſted; but the ſituation of affairs was now much altered, by Prince Rupert's fleet being blocked up, and by the vaſt preparations making then in England for ſupplies of all ſorts, and a great army, to be ſent to Ireland. The Marquis therefore altered his advice, which occaſioned the King's going to Jerſey, as above mentioned; and recommended his ſtaying abroad at leaſt till the fate of Dublin was decided, and the deſigns and motions of the Commonwealth in England were better known. Upon a review of the army at Lord Inchiquin's return, it was found to conſiſt of ſeven thouſand foot and four thouſand horſe; which was not ſufficient for a regular ſiege of ſo large a city as Dublin, and defended by ſuch a numerous garriſon. A good body of troops from the North might have been a reinforcement ſufficient for that purpoſe: but the ſituation of affairs was much altered there. O Neil upon the invitation of Sr. C. Coote, backed with five thouſand pounds, had raiſed the ſiege of Derry. The old Scotch officers who had revolted, as was ſaid before, and beſieged that place, when they found that Lord Ardes, and Sr. R. Stewart, and ſome others, had received Commiſſions from the King whom they had proclaimed in their camp, and that the covenant was likely to be overturned, deſerted the ſervice: and the people of that country as well as the army being bewitched by the covenant, every thing there was in confuſion. No reinforcement therefore being to be had from thence, the Lord Lieutenant was compelled to do the beſt he could with the army which he had. In a Council of war at the latter end of July, it was reſolved to encompaſs the city of Dublin on all ſides; which had hitherto been ſtreightened only towards the North. But as his Excellency was marching a part of the forces to encamp for that purpoſe at Rathmines, he heard that the Colonels REYNOLDS and VENABLES were arrived in the harbour with two thouſand foot, and ſix hundred horſe, together with ſupplies of money, and all other neceſſaries of which the garriſon ſtood in need. This, how diſcouraging ſoever, was not the worſt part of the ſtory. For the ſame ſhips which brought theſe ſuccours to JONES, brought intelligence alſo from good hands to the Marquis, and Lord INCHIQUIN, that this ſupply was deemed ſufficient for the defence of Dublin; but that CROMWELL lay ready with a great army at Briſtol to embark for ſome port in Munſter, where it was known that the Republicans had many friends. We muſt leave Ireland therefore for the preſent to view the tranſactions in England relating to it.

There was no part of the conduct of the Engliſh Parliament, ſince the commencement of the war with the late King, which had made them more obnoxious to well diſpoſed people, and the reproaches of which they could bear with leſs uneaſineſs, than their ſcandalous neglect of Ireland. Therefore when they had gotten rid of the King, and ſettled the form of their Commonwealth, it was thought neceſſary to take ſome care of the Proteſtant intereſt in Ireland; or to ſpeak much more juſtly, to take care of their own intereſt there in oppoſition to the King's, which was in a fair way of ſucceeding. The government of Ireland was a poſt which CROMWELL thought not unworthy of his own acceptance: and though it had been intended for LAMBERT, whoſe nomination he had ſupported in the Houſe, yet by his dexterity at intriguing he himſelf was unanimouſly choſen to fill the dignity of Lord Lieutenant. He was no ſooner appointed to this poſt, than he beſtirred himſelf with his uſual diligence and adroitneſs, to prepare money, men, ammunition, proviſion, and every thing that was neceſſary to his wonted ſucceſs, in great quantities: for how inſufficient ſoever he let other people depart for their ſeveral commands, he took care to be always well furniſhed himſelf. But before we proceed to his operations we muſt return again to what preceded them in Ireland.

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On the arrival of the ſupplies and the intelligence before mentioned, the Marquis of ORMONDE called a Council of war; at which were preſent beſides himſelf, the Lords INCHIQUIN, CASTLEHAVEN, and TAAFE, PRESTON, and three Generals more. There was no doubt that CROMWELL had good intelligence from Munſter, and that he knew that almoſt all the men who were fit for ſervice in that province were drawn out of it for the army; which was his reaſon probably of going thither inſtead of coming to the relief of Dublin. For if he became maſter of that province, the beſt ports in the kingdom would fall into his hands; and the King's fleet blocked up by a ſuperior force would not only be loſt, but thoſe parts of the country from whence the principal ſupport of the army was taken would be in their poſſeſſion. Should Dublin be taken, which was now extremely doubtful, and thoſe places were loſt, which, guarded as they now were, they certainly would be, it would prove but an ill exchange: and ſhould they be loſt, and the enterpriſe upon Dublin not ſucceed, the army muſt come to nothing, and the whole kingdom would be ſubdued. Upon theſe conſiderations, it was reſolved to ſend Lord INCHIQUIN with two regiments of horſe, and his own guards—making up in all, ſays Lord CASTLEHAVEN, eleven hundred—to ſecure the province of Munſter. To ſend off eleven hundred horſe from the army, which was already not ſtrong enough for the work they had in hand, was a ſtrange meaſure: but to ſend eleven hundred horſe only to ſecure a whole province, the ſecurity of which it had been owned was of infinite importance, and this againſt a numerous well appointed army under the command of CROMWELL, whoſe ſucceſſes had given terror to his name, was ſtranger ſtill. Such however was the reſolution of the Council of war.

The next conſideration, was whether they ſhould continue the blockade of Dublin, or retire to Trim, and Drogheda, and the adjacent garriſons; and from thence either make an offenſive or defenſive war as occaſions ſhould be offered. There were ſeveral objections againſt retreating ſo far off; and it was reſolved therefore that the army ſhould continue in the preſent camp till Rathſarnam was taken, and ſhould then remove to a ſecurer quarter. Rathſarnam was the next day taken by ſtorm; but not a man, woman, or child put to the ſword. The army was then to have removed to Drumnagh, according to the reſolution of the Council of war; but the officers and ſoldiers expreſſing uneaſineſs at retreating, and being confident that the town might be reduced with their preſent ſtrength, that reſolution was ſuſpended. The enemies horſe were now increaſed to twelve hundred; and they had no place to graze in but a meadow near the walls on that ſide, adjoining almoſt to which was a village called Baggatrath: if this little village could be poſſeſſed and fortified, it would deprive them of the only paſture they had, and in five days time the horſes muſt be ſtarved: beſides it was eaſy from thence to approach to the river ſide, and by caſting up a work on the ſhore to prevent any further ſuccours from being thrown into the city. Lord CASTLEHAVEN, General PRESTON, PURCELL, and ſome others, were ſent to view the place, in order to know whether it were capable of being ſo ſtrengthened in one night, as to cover and ſecure the party to be poſted in it. When they returned, they gave their opinion that it was a place very fit for the purpoſe, and with fifteen hundred men might be made tenable in one night's time. Hereupon orders were given to PURCELL to go thither in the beginning of the night with that number of men, and all the neceſſary materials to execute the work. As ſoon as it was dark, he marched accordingly; but though it was not a mile from the camp to Baggatrath, yet their guides had led them ſuch a round-about way, that they did not arrive thither more than an hour before day.

The Marquis of ORMONDE had been up all night; as well to be ready in caſe the enemy made a ſally, as to finiſh ſome diſpatches he was ſending off to the King. As ſoon as the day broke, he rode down to the place, which he found not ſo ſtrong as he expected, and the work not at all advanced; but he ſaw ſome ſtrong parties of the Engliſh, who had been alarmed, drawn out under their works, and hiding themſelves the beſt they could in ſeveral places. Hereupon he conſidered whether it were beſt to go on with the work, or draw off the men: he thought neither could be done without danger, unleſs the whole army was drawn out to ſupport them; and therefore that the work might as well be countenanced as their retreat. The Marquis's military conduct in this action hath been cenſured; and as no particulars have been named, I preſume it muſt be here, in not retreating with his men when he found the intended work was not, and could not now be executed, ſince the enemy had diſcovered them; it being better to riſk the loſs of ſome of theſe, which at that early time of the day could not have been many, than to endanger his whole army. But be this as it might. The Marquis having rode about with Purcell and Vaughan, the two Major Generals of horſe and foot, and ſhewn them the places where he would have them drawn up—being confident that Jones would hazard all to interrupt their work—he went back to his tent, in order to refreſh himſelf with a little ſleep before the action began—for an action he was ſure there would be—and in his way he ordered all the regiments to ſtand to their arms. As ſoon as Jones received intelligence of what was carrying forward, he drew out his twelve hundred horſe and four thouſand foot with all expedition poſſible, and attacked the Iriſh. The Marquis had not ſlept above an hour, when he was awakened with vollies of ſhot: and before he could get an hundred yards from his tent, all thoſe whom he had left at work were beaten out of their poſts, Vaughan was killed at the head of his men, and the right wing of the army was wholly defeated. The Marquis of Ormonde did all that was in his power to do, to rally the horſe, and recover the battle; but the Iriſh were ſeized with ſuch a pannick, that he could get but two regiments to ſtand, with which he charged the enemy; and theſe being overpowered with numbers, and ſoon broken, he was obliged to quit the field. In this engagement, which is called the battle of Rathmines, three hundred officers and fifteen hundred ſoldiers were taken priſoners;—Borlase, and Cox after him, ſay above two thouſand five hundred—many of thoſe belonging to Lord Inchiquin enliſting under Jones. Not above ſix hundred, ſays Carte, were ſlain—about four thouſand ſay the two other hiſtorians—and of thoſe, more than half were put to the ſword, an hour after they had laid down their arms upon a promiſe of quarter; and ſome even after they were within the walls of the town. The defeat however was a thorough one: all the plunder of a well furniſhed camp, the artillery, tents, baggage, carriages—and Ludlow ſays four thouſand pounds in money—fell into the hands of the enemy. The Iriſh had the impudence to caſt this miſcarriage ſolely upon the Marquis; whereas ſo great a defeat could not have happened had their officers and men done their duty: and in all human probability, the undertaking would have ſucceeded, and Dublin muſt have ſurrendered, if the party had got in due time to Baggatrath, and had had the whole night to work in. But when REILY, the titular Primate, was proſecuted four years after by the Republicans, for burning the caſtle of Wicklow and murdering thoſe that were in it during the ceſſation, he had the impudence and the profligacy to plead the merit of having ordered the guides to lead the detachment ſo much aſtray, as that it ſhould not be able to reach the place of its deſtination time enough to do any good; and this plea of treachery to his country ſaved his life. It was however the firſt, and only loſs, that ever fell upon any army or party of which the Marquis of ORMONDE had ever had the title of the chief commander; and of this he had little more.

The conſternation in his forces had been ſo great, and they were ſo much diſperſed, that he ſent orders to thoſe on the ſide of Finglas who had not been in the action, to march part of them to Trim, and the other part to Drogheda, in order to ſtrengthen thoſe garriſons againſt any attack from JONES, whilſt he went himſelf to Kilkenny. In his march thither the next day, which was the third of Auguſt, he made a halt with the few horſe he had rallied together, and joining a party with which he had before blocked up the fort of Balliſhannon, ſummoned the Governour to ſurrender. The Governour believing that the Marquis was returning from his ſucceſs in the ſiege of Dublin, ſurrendered that important fort without heſitation. When his Excellency got to Kilkenny, he iſſued out the neceſſary orders to rally the ſcattered forces, to raiſe new levies, and to provide as well as he could for the defence of the places he had gained in the campaign. In a week after the defeat, he was able to get but three hundred horſe to him; but having appointed a place for a rendezvous, he marched with them to Trim, in order to relieve Drogheda that was inveſted by JONES as he expected: and JONES, upon his approach, raiſed the ſiege and returned to Dublin. The loſs of men was much eaſier to be ſupplied than the loſs of arms and artillery, or than to find money to pay and ſupport the army. The city of Limerick pleaded poverty, and offered only one hundred pounds: Wexford refuſed poſitively to furniſh any: and Galway, which had not paid above half the loan which had been ſtipulated ſix months before, was viſited by the plague, and could pay nothing. The ſame diſtemper had ſpred over

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a great part of Conaght; which had obliged the Marquis of CLANRICARDE, now the Preſident of that province, to remain for a long time inactive.

Amidſt all theſe diſcouragements, the Lord Lieutenant had hopes, if any thing ſhould interrupt the coming of the forces with CROMWELL into Ireland, to be able to make a ſecond and a ſucceſsful attempt againſt Dublin, if not to be maſter of the whole kingdom before the ſpring. O NEIL had made a ceſſation with MONCK, which was to expire on the eighth of Auguſt; at which the Council of State in England, as they called themſelves, appeared to be much offended; and MONCK was recalled, and for ſome time laid aſide. O NEIL, finding this ceſſation was not to be renewed, ſent an agent to London; propoſing a ſubmiſſion of his army to the Common-wealth of England, if they might obtain indemnity for what was paſſed, and an aſſurance of their religion and eſtates for the time to come. But his conditions were refuſed by the Council of State. It was neceſſary however to provide for himſelf and his forces by ſome means or other; and no other way being left but by the Lord Lieutenant, he ſent his Excellency an intimation, juſt before the battle of Rathmines, that he was ready to renew the treaty. The Marquis was very uneaſy at the firſt refuſal of his demands by the Commiſſioners of truſt; and was therefore as ready as O NEIL to try if they could be now complied with. But he was obliged to write to him—for he could get no body of conſequence enough to go to the furtheſt part of Ulſter to him—and to ſend powers to the Biſhop of Rapho and Colonel MERVYN to ſettle the forms of his ſubmiſſion.

Whilſt the Marquis of ORMONDE was pleaſing himſelf with the hopes of this negotiation, he received intelligence that CROMWELL was landed at Dublin with eight thouſand foot, four thouſand horſe, two hundred thouſand pounds in money, and a vaſt quantity of all kinds of ammunition and warlike neceſſaries. It was firſt intended that General IRETON his ſon in law ſhould go with a party to Munſter, and CROMWELL go with the reſt to Dublin: but the wind blowing a ſtrong gale from the South, the whole fleet was obliged to put into the bay of Dublin. CARTE alledges

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ſome other reaſons for Cromwell's not going to Munſter, which are too improbable to be true; but I have given the account as Ludlow gives it, who muſt certainly know the reaſon, and in this caſe may be believed, as it is a caſe quite indifferent. The hopes of the Marquis of Ormonde were now blaſted; and the ſcene was ſo much altered by this event, that he had no other chance for any thing better than a defenſive war. His firſt care was to repair the fortifications at Drogheda, as the moſt expoſed of any of the frontier towns, and which would probably be Cromwell's firſt attempt, and to get as much proviſions into the place as the time would allow. Sr. A. Aston a Catholick, and a ſoldier of great experience and reputation, was, with the approbation of the Commiſſioners of truſt, appointed Governour: a garriſon of two thouſand foot and a good regiment of horſe, all picked men, and many Gentlemen and Officers were ſent into it, with as much ammunition as the Governour aſked. Drogheda being thus provided for, the Marquis retired with his horſe and the ſmall remainder of his foot, in order to aſſemble his other forces at Tecroghan; whither Lord Inchiquin was directed to bring all he could from Munſter. The Biſhop of Rapho had executed his commiſſion with O Neil; from whom, except civility, he could get nothing but an aſſurance, that he would enter into a treaty as ſoon as he ſhould remove from thence, and in the mean time his forces ſhould not commit any hoſtilities, nor do any thing to the prejudice of the King's ſervice. But the Marquis thinking theſe delays almoſt as ruinous as hoſtilities, ſent the nephew, D. O Neil, to finiſh the treaty with his uncle, and to engage him to march immediately to the aſſiſtance of the Lord Lieutenant. The General was within twelve miles of Derry when Daniel met him: and determined, with the conſent of the chief officers of his army, which was ſix thouſand foot and five hundred horſe, to agree and join with the Marquis of Ormonde. Even Heber Mac Mahon, the titular Biſhop of Clogher and faſt friend of the Nuncio, had opened his eyes now to ſee—what indeed one would think, if "God had not ſent them a ſtrong deluſion," all the Catholicks muſt have ſeen from the beginning—that there was no chance for the exiſtence of their religion in Ireland but in that conjunction; and became zealous for it. He found an expedient for taking off the Nuncio's excommunication, without any examination of the matter, for the better union of the Iriſh, and

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for healing thoſe diviſions which threatened the ruin of their country. But O Neil was ſtill detained in thoſe parts: and to finiſh his ſtory at once that it may give us no more interruption, though it is two months ſooner than it ſhould be, notwithſtanding the treaty with him was concluded and he accordingly advanced with his army, yet being poiſoned with a pair of boots which had been given him by one Plunket, he died on the ſixth of November before he could join the Lord Lieutenant.

Some little time was neceſſary for Cromwell to reſt and refreſh his army, and to ſettle the civil and military government at Dublin: and this being over, he marched on the thirtieth of Auguſt with ten thouſand men for Drogheda, ſending his proviſions and artillery by ſea. He lay before it above a week without doing any thing very material; and the Governour ſent the Marquis word, "that he would find the enemy play, and therefore adviſed him to hazard nothing by precipitating to his relief." But on the ninth of September, the ſummons having been rejected, Cromwell began to batter the place; and continuing to do ſo till the next day in the evening, the aſſault was made, and his men twice repulſed with great bravery: but in the third attack which he led himſelf, Colonel Wall being killed at the head of his regiment, his men were ſo diſmayed, that they ſubmitted to the enemy offering them quarter, ſooner than they need to have done, and thereby betrayed themſelves and their fellow ſoldiers to the ſlaughter. The place was immediately taken by ſtorm: and though his officers and ſoldiers had promiſed quarter to all that would lay down their arms, yet Cromwell ordered that no quarter ſhould be given, and none was given accordingly. The ſlaughter continued all that day, and the next, and the Governour and four Colonels were killed in cool blood: "which extraordinary ſeverity"—ſays Ludlow with a coolneſs not becoming a man—"I preſume was uſed to diſcourage others from making oppoſition." But are men to diveſt themſelves of humanity, and to turn themſelves into Devils, becauſe policy may ſuggeſt that they will ſucceed better as devils than as men! Such is the ſpirit of religion, when it is deprived of truth and reaſon, and turned into zealous fury and enthuſiaſm! When Cromwell had finiſhed the carnage, by leaving only about thirty alive whom he ſent away to Barbadoes, except a few that miraculouſly made their eſcape, he went on to Dundalk: And though the Marquis had given orders for that place, and Trim, to be diſmantled and burnt, yet the garriſons of thoſe towns were in ſuch a terror with the news they heard from Drogheda, that they did not execute his orders; ſo that the enemy thought it worth their while to poſſeſs them and put garriſons into them.

The Lord Lieutenant had not now with him above ſeven hundred horſe, and fifteen hundred foot; ſome of which were of ſuſpected faith, and many were new raiſed men: And though Lord INCHIQUIN was preparing to march to his aſſiſtance with a good body of horſe and foot from Munſter, and Lord ARDES was in readineſs with a conſiderable number of the Ulſter Scots, yet the Marquis had neither money nor proviſions for a ſingle day to keep them together. The Commiſſioners of truſt were diſperſed; and their collectors not ſo diligent as they ſhould have been in getting in corn or money. In this diſtreſs, the Lord Lieutenant iſſued out his own warrants for raiſing them: but this ſtep, ſo abſolutely neceſſary for their exiſtence, was complained of by the Commiſſioners as a breach of the articles of the peace; and they even talked among themſelves of treating with the enemy. Any other man in the world, but ſo good a man as the Marquis of ORMONDE, who had ſacrificed his eaſe, his happineſs, and fortune to the ſervice of his country, and who had for ſeveral years hazarded his life almoſt daily in it, would have abandoned ſuch a worthleſs, perfidious, ungrateful ſet of men to their own deluſions: but his patience was invincible, and their puniſhment was not ſo ſoon to be at an end. The moſt adviſeable thing to be done in the preſent ſituation of their affairs, was to put their men into garriſons in the moſt conſiderable places; and as winter was approaching, to proſecute the levies of men, and train them to exerciſe and diſcipline. But his Excellency had not the power to make any new garriſons, nor to change the Governors of the old ones, without the conſent of the Commiſſioners: and they had not influence enough with the chief cities and towns, which were the moſt likely to be attacked, to perſuade them to receive garriſons. Limerick, Waterford, and Wexford, declared openly that they would not admit of any ſoldiers; nor would they obey any orders whatſoever that were ſent them, of which they themſelves did not approve.

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To remedy this confuſion, and to prevent many other evils which it was eaſy to foreſee, the Marquis of ORMONDE had again recourſe to the expedient of his Majeſty's repairing thither immediately. This would abſolutely put an end to the power of the Commiſſioners, which had been ſuch a clog upon his authority; and if any thing could, it would unite the nation in his Majeſty's ſervice. The King was ready, and waited only for the word from the Marquis to embark for Ireland. To this purpoſe he ſent Colonel WARREN, and another Gentleman of his bed-chamber, to learn a true ſtate of his affairs there from the Marquis; and by them the King ſent him the George and Garter, having conferred that order upon him juſt at this time, together with the Prince Palatine, and Duke of BUCKINGHAM. The Marquis, and every body with whom he conſulted, were clearly of opinion for the King's coming immediately with all the ſpeed that was conſiſtent with his ſafety: And as the fleet of the Common-wealth had quitted their ſtation ſince their forces were landed in Ireland, a free paſſage by ſea was now become open to Prince RUPERT. The Marquis of ORMONDE took great pains to fit out the Prince's ſquadron, and to ſupply it with ſeamen and proviſions, that it might ſail to Jerſey to bring over the King. But by the time that the advice which he had ſent his Majeſty arrived in that iſland, other meaſures were taken. The King, in his preſent ſituation, had nothing properly to loſe but his reputation; which depending on his own conduct, could not be taken from him juſtly by any body but himſelf. He had determined to adhere to his father's principles and friends: he deteſted the Covenant, and all the ends for which it was calculated: but his old Councillors being all out of the way, and his new ones having no other project to propoſe than a retreat to Scotland, whither the Parliament of that kingdom had given him a ſtrong invitation, with very flattering promiſes of the mighty things they would do for him, their former perfidy was forgotten, and he conſented to meet their Commiſſioners at Breda; Jerſey being judged by them unſafe, to enter upon a treaty: and thus all thoughts of Ireland were as fatally as abſurdly laid aſide.

That CROMWELL might loſe no time in extending his conqueſts, being informed of the diſſenſions amongſt the Ulſter Scots, he ſent VENABLES with two regiments of horſe, two of foot, and two troops of dragoons into the

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the North; the artillery and proviſions being on board a frigate which was to attend upon the expedition. The firſt place they attacked was Carlingford; which beat a parley on the ſecond day before the cannon were planted, and ſurrendered upon articles. The ſame thing was done at Newry: but in their march to Liſburn, ſucceſs having made them careleſs againſt an enemy they deſpiſed, they were ſo roughly attacked by a good body of horſe under Colonel TREVOR, that had his orders been obſerved the whole party would have been cut off. But ſeveral accidents ſaved them; and they marched the ſame day to Liſburn, and thence to Belfaſt, both which ſurrendered upon articles. Colerain had been betrayed to SR. C. COOTE; who had likewiſe made himſelf maſter of all that country, except the caſtle of Carrickfergus, which was beſieged. Whilſt theſe ſucceſſes were carrying on with ſuch great rapidity in Ulſter, CROMWELL having been well informed of the fatal diſagreement among his enemies, who ſeemed to conſpire to bring on their own deſtruction, marched his army to Wexford. But to avoid all obſtructions in his march, and to be well ſupplied with proviſions, he took his way by the ſea-ſide through the county of Wicklow, his fleet attending his motions all the way: and further to provide againſt accidents, and to engage the country people to ſupply him with neceſſaries, he publiſhed a proclamation at his leaving Dublin, forbidding his ſoldiers upon pain of death to hurt any of the inhabitants, or to take any thing from them without paying for it in ready money. This order being obſerved, and the people being aſſured that theſe forces were for the liberty of the commoners, that they ſhould all enjoy their religion, and that thoſe who ſerved the camp ſhould pay no contribution, the country people flocked in vaſt crowds to his army with all ſorts of proviſions. Three or four places ſurrendered to him on his march; and on the firſt of October, he ſat down before Wexford with nine thouſand men. It is hardly to be ſuppoſed that CROMWELL would have expoſed his army, which was much weakened by ſickneſs, in a ſiege at ſuch a ſeaſon, if he had not had intelligence that the place would be given up to him.

There was all the reaſon in the world for the Marquis of ORMONDE to believe that this was intended. He had ſent Lord CASTLEHAVEN to view the place, and provide for its defence: and though they had before refuſed

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to receive a garriſon, yet when CROMWELL's fleet appeared before the harbour, the inhabitants were terrified to the laſt degree. Lord CASTLEHAVEN appointed SYNNOT, Lieutenant-colonel of PRESTON's regiment, to be their Governor; a man choſen by the Mayor as a confident of the titular Biſhop of FERNS: but the people were in ſuch a fright, that if SR. E. BUTLER had not come himſelf, they would have oppoſed SYNNOT's entrance with his men, and have delivered up the town at the firſt ſummons. This was in a great meaſure owing to the treachery of one ROCHFORT the recorder; who had been a violent partiſan of the Nuncio's, and now correſponded with CROMWELL by the canal of MR. N. LOFTUS. The town was capable of being made very ſtrong at a ſmall expence; but the corporation had too long deferred providing for their own defence. The Marquis of ORMONDE however reſolved to do all that he could for their preſervation: and with this view, having aſſembled all his forces, with thirteen hundred ſent him out of Conaght by Lord CLANRICARDE, and two regiments of horſe by Lord INCHIQUIN, he cauſed them to march to Roſs; and went himſelf with only his own retinue to the fort of Duncannon, which Lord CASTLEHAVEN had repreſented as utterly unprovided, and in danger of being loſt. The Governor was one ROCH put in by the Nuncio, a creature of the titular Biſhop of FERNS, and who kept a regular correſpondence with LOFTUS above-mentioned; ſome of whoſe intercepted letters the Marquis of ORMONDE had in his hands. He did not however diſcover to ROCH that he had any knowledge of his treachery, nor expreſs the leaſt diſtruſt of him: but ſurveying very exactly the condition of the fort, diſtributing ſome money among the ſoldiers, aſſuring them of his conſtant care for their relief, and encouraging them to hold out till it came, returned the ſame night to Roſs and joined his army.

The town of Wexford had been inveſted on two ſides, before the Magiſtrates would conſent to receive any other garriſon than the few that came in with SYNNOT: but their fears increaſing with their danger, they were contented to receive ſome aſſiſtance from the Lord Lieutenant, provided the men were all Catholicks; and he immediately ordered fifteen hundred men to be conducted by Lord CASTLEHAVEN, who had the good fortune to throw them ſafe into the town. The Governor was in ſome apprehenſions for the place on account of a ſcarcity of proviſions: and he ſent word to the Lord Lieutenant, that if five hundred men more, and a ſuitable quantity of proviſions were ſent him, he made no doubt of defending it againſt the enemy, who already wanted forage. Upon this, his Excellency reſolved to attempt the relief of the place in his own perſon, and with what forces he had to throw in ſuccours, to change the Governor who was thought to be too young, and to receive the uſeleſs people in order to ſave ſome proviſion. Leaving therefore Major General Taafe with a Conaght regiment to garriſon Roſs and finiſh the fortifications, he marched with the reſt of his army, and arrived ſafe at the ferry on the North ſide of Wexford. From thence he ſent notice to the Mayor, that he was there ready to afford them whatever ſuccours they pleaſed: and ſome of the Aldermen were ſent to congratulate his ſafety after ſo hazardous a march, to expreſs their obligations to him for the danger he had undergone for their preſervation, and to inform him that they were willing to receive any number of men he pleaſed. Some were ferried over immediately: and as the town was willing to admit Sr. E. Butler, who was Governor of the county, to the ſame command in the town, he was ſent in with ſix hundred men to reinforce it, and to take the command.

The Lord Lieutenant having finiſhed the work of putting a ſecond relief into Wexford, began his march back towards Roſs: but Cromwell having had intelligence of this, ſent Jones with a conſiderable detachment from his army to intercept the Marquis on his return. His Excellency ſaw them drawn up on a hill, and ſuſpected their deſign: but conſidering the condition of his own forces, the jealouſies that reigned among them, and the diſadvantages that he muſt ſuffer in an engagement, reſolved to avoid it. He marched therefore in the cloſe of the evening a contrary way to what he had done before; and fetching a compaſs over the mountains of Wicklow, he arrived in two days at Leighlin bridge. There Colonel Butler overtook him with the melancholy news, that Wexford was betrayed into the hands of Cromwell, by Strafford the Governor of the caſtle, and that he himſelf had eſcaped by ſwimming over the ferry; which Sr. E. Butler attempting received a ſhot in his head, and was unfortunately drowned. The Lord Lieutenant would before the ſiege have removed

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Strafford; but he being a Papiſt put in by the Supreme Council, the Commiſſioners of truſt would not conſent to it. The caſtle was ſeated at ſo ſmall a diſtance from the town, that there was no cutting off the communication: and as ſoon as Cromwell had ordered his batteries to play on a diſtant quarter of the town, on his ſummons being rejected, Strafford admitted his men into the caſtle, from whence iſſuing ſuddenly and attacking the wall and gate adjoining, they were admitted, either through the treachery of the townſmen, or the cowardice of the ſoldiers, or perhaps both; and the ſlaughter was almoſt as great as that of Drogheda. The Marquis of Ormonde was exceedingly troubled at this fatal miſcarriage; which defeated the principal hopes he had remaining. For he flattered himſelf that Wexford would hold Cromwell long enough in play, till his forces, which were unuſed to the climate of Ireland, would be ſo conſiderably reduced by the fatigues of the ſiege at ſuch a ſeaſon, as that his Excellency ſhould be in a condition to give him battle.

But this was not the only mortification which he met with at this time. He received letters from Lord Inchiquin with an account of a conſpiracy among his Officers, in which he believed too many of them were engaged, to ſecure the town of Youghall for the Engliſh Parliament, and to ſeize his perſon: and though he had prevented the treachery, he had not force enough to puniſh it as it deſerved. He further advertiſed his Excellency of his ſuſpicions of ſome of the Officers and men of the two regiments of his horſe which the Marquis had with him; but he hoped ſoon to reduce others which yet held out againſt him at Corke. Amidſt theſe misfortunes, the Marquis had the comfort of knowing that Lord Taafe, and D. O Neil, were advancing as faſt as they could, which was very ſlowly for want of ſubſiſtence, with near four thouſand of O Neil's army to his aſſiſtance. The Marquis of Ormonde in the mean time endeavoured as well as he could to provide for the defence of Roſs, and Duncannon, not knowing which of them would be firſt attacked. He put Major General Taafe, a Catholick, with fifteen hundred foot into Roſs; and leaving his horſe to refreſh themſelves after their long marches, went to Waterford, to provide a ſupply of proviſion and ammunition, and a better Governor and garriſon for Duncannon. It was eaſier to ſupply the fort with men than with proviſions; which were ſo incredibly ſcarce in the army, that Lord Ormonde could never procure eight and forty hours proviſion at a time: and even a place ſo near Waterford was in danger of being loſt through want of victuals and ammunition. The inhabitants of that city were either not ſufficiently ſenſible of the importancce of the fort for their own ſecurity, or they had reſolved within themſelves to ſubmit to the firſt ſummons from Cromwell. But theſe were not the only people who were affected with the terror of Cromwell's name. The Commiſſioners of truſt, who were aſtoniſhed at the loſs of Wexford—though owing entirely to the treachery of their own Governor—were on the point of deſerting Kilkenny, and ſent to conſult the Lord Lieutenant on their removal; but he diſſuaded them from it as being very needleſs and unſeemly. When his Excellency firſt provided for the defence of Duncannon, he appointed Colonel Wogan to command equally with Roch; and left him there with his own life-guard of a hundred and twenty Engliſh Officers, whoſe fidelity had been approved. But on ſecond thoughts believing that a co-ordinate command would be ſubject to inconveniencies, he recalled Roch from the fort. The Commiſſioners of truſt took fire, as uſual, at this breach of the articles of peace: and notwithſtanding the Marquis had intercepted ſome of his letters, which were a proof of his perfidy, and that Roch himſelf had declared he could not defend the place, yet they undertook for his fidelity, and inſiſted on his being ſent back to his command.

Though the ſiege of Wexford had been very ſhort, yet Cromwell's army were not at all pleaſed with a winter campaign; and complaining of great hardſhips began to mutiny. In order to quell their diſcontent, he was obliged to promiſe that he would put them on no other ſervice for that year after taking Roſs; which he aſſured them would be delivered to him without any trouble. In the middle of October, he marched from Wexford with the groſs of his army for that place; and at the ſame time ſent a detachment to take Duncannon. The Marquis of Ormonde marched with his forces—much diminiſhed by the loſs of thoſe ſlain at Wexford, and the running away of all Lord Inchiquin's foot home to Munſter—and encamped over againſt Roſs on the other ſide of the river. The Governor,

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Major General TAAFE, came to his Excellency's camp; and being ſupplied with all things neceſſary for his defence, deſired an order under the Marquis's hand for the defence of the town as long as it was poſſible, and for the ſurrender of it when a Council of Officers ſhould judge it to be untenable. The Council of war who were conſulted thought it a reaſonable requeſt: the order was given: TAAFE returned to his garriſon; and the Marquis went part of the way that night to Kilkenny, in order to meet a party of O NEIL's army which was advancing thither to join him. As he was upon his journey early the next morning, he heard CROMWELL's cannon: and within twenty-four hours after the artillery began to play, the town of Roſs, through the treachery or cowardice of General TAAFE, was delivered up; on condition that the garriſon ſhould march out bag and baggage, and be ferried over into the county of Kilkenny.

But Colonel WOGAN was neither to be terrified with the artillery, nor to be bribed with the money of CROMWELL: and the Council of war had determined before the ſurrender of Roſs, to try the fate of a battle rather than loſe ſo conſiderable a fort as that of Duncannon. With this view, all the foot were ordered to rendezvous at the paſs of Graig, ſix miles from Roſs; and Lord INCHIQUIN, being juſt returned from Munſter, was ordered to repair to the horſe quarters and bring them thither. Lord ORMONDE ſtaid a few days longer at Kilkenny, to make the beſt proviſion poſſible for the army, now on the point of encreaſing by O NEIL's forces under General FERRAL. But advice having been received, that twelve hundred foot and three hundred horſe were to go from Dublin, in order to enable CROMWELL to return thither, and that they might be eaſily intercepted, Lord INCHIQUIN imagined that this would be the leaſt hazardous way of ruining the Engliſh army. The Marquis of ORMONDE was unwilling to delay the former reſolution of attempting to relieve Duncannon; eſpecially as CROMWELL had began a bridge of boats at Roſs to paſs his army over into the county of Kilkenny. His Excellency went however to meet the General Officers, and confer with them on the enterprize: and they all thinking it feaſible, and the Commiſſioners of truſt approving it, Lord INCHIQUIN was ſent with all the horſe and a thouſand foot upon that expedition; the Marquis going to the camp to wait the iſſue of it. Had none but friends been entruſted with the deſign, there is no doubt but it would have ſucceeded: but it was no ſooner reſolved on than communicated to Cromwell, and the Dublin party. For this reaſon that party reſted two days on their march, and were to be met at Glaſcarrig by a ſtrong detachment of horſe from the army. By ſome accident they did not meet: but by another accident they were appriſed of Lord Inchiquin's attack, where he was not expected, which ſaved them. In the end however, two of his Lordſhip's ſtandards were taken, ſeveral conſiderable Officers killed, and ſome others dangerouſly wounded. But though they did not ſucceed by a ſurpriſe, they would not have been routed in the engagement, if the Iriſh horſe had not run away without ſtriking a ſtroke.

In the mean time, the Marquis of Ormonde had ſent Lord Castlehaven to look after the relief of Duncannon, which his Excellency had much at heart. The ſiege was commanded by Ireton, and ſome Parliament ſhips lay before it: but his Lordſhip ventured in a boat one morning and got into the place. Having been ſhewn every part of the fortifications by Colonel Wogan, his Lordſhip could ſee from the higheſt part of the rampart how the enemy lay; and having well conſidered every thing, he offered to ſend him fourſcore horſes that night by ſea, with ſaddles and piſtols, if he would mount them with ſo many of his Engliſh Officers, and with theſe and ſome foot make a ſharp ſally before day upon the enemy. The Colonel liked the propoſal extremely, but doubted much the performance, it being three miles by ſea: but his Lordſhip aſſured him he ſhould ſhortly be ſatisfied of what had been undertaken. Having thus concluded, he took his boat, returned, and immediately ſet himſelf to his buſineſs; becauſe the tide ſerved in the beginning of the night to waft them over. The boats being made ready, he cauſed the horſe to be taken to the ſea-ſide, and ſaw them ſafely ſtowed in the boats, and ſent away. They all arrived ſafe at Duncannon; and every thing being executed as he deſigned, a great ſlaughter was made, the cannon ſeized, and the Governor retired with his party before day into the fort. The enemy, who knew there were no horſe there, were in the utmoſt confuſion; not imagining that this was a ſally only of the garriſon, but a falling in of an army from

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abroad: they raiſed the ſiege therefore immediately, and were in ſuch haſte to march away that they left two braſs cannon behind them. This was the firſt place that had made any thing like a ſtand againſt CROMWELL's army in Ireland; and at this place they failed.

Whilſt this ſiege was carrying on, he himſelf was buſy, as was ſaid before, in making a bridge of boats over the river at Roſs, for the paſſage of his army into the county of Kilkenny; and by the time that the party employed in that ſiege rejoined him, the bridge was almoſt finiſhed. The Marquis of ORMONDE, not having force enough to oppoſe that work, had recourſe to ſtratagem for deſtroying it: but Lord TAAFE who propoſed, and who was ordered to execute the plan, failed in the attempt. Over this bridge CROMWELL's forces were daily pouring; and therefore Lord ORMONDE retired three miles nearer to Kilkenny, to wait till the horſe under Lord INCHIQUIN were refreſhed after their unfortunate expedition: this however could not be done ſo ſuddenly, but that CROMWELL had time to appear before the Marquis's quarters with his whole army in order of battle: and the want of horſe, with the backwardneſs of ſeveral of his chief Officers, ariſing from their being of ſeveral parties, and their jealouſies of each other, made his Excellency retreat, without fighting, to Kilkenny. But meeting there with General FERRAL, and the reſt of the Ulſter forces, the Marquis made all the preparations he could to engage the enemy; being determined to fight upon any diſadvantage rather than to be beſieged. To this end he drew up a declaration, ſetting forth the condition of the kingdom; that if poſſible he might reſtore ſuch a confidence and unanimity among the ſeveral parties, as was requiſite before their engaging in a battle. He deſired Lord INCHIQUIN to communicate this declaration to the Munſter and Conaght forces, and General FERRAL to the Ulſter Officers; and to deſire a ſpeedy ſignification of their opinions and reſolutions under their hands. In their anſwer, they declared it to be neceſſary to fight the enemy; and they all engaged chearfully to obey his Excellency's commands according to their duty. The day after this aſſurance was given, the Lord Lieutenant marched from Kilkenny with all his forces, and ſeven days proviſion, in order to ſeek an opportunity of giving CROMWELL battle; who had marched to Carrick, which had been ſurpriſed. But when the Marquis

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drew near that place, he found that Cromwell had paſſed there with all his army over the Sure; and, notwithſtanding the promiſe given his men, was marched to the ſiege of Waterford.

The Lord Lieutenant, conceiving that city to be in danger, had made Lord Castlehaven Governour; and ſent him with a thouſand men to ſecure it, and to defend fort Paſſage over againſt Duncannon on the Waterford ſide: but the town would not admit his troops to enter, and had treated him with ſuch diſreſpect that he was obliged to leave the place. The Citizens notwithſtanding, being now alarmed at the bridge of boats at Roſs, had the aſſurance to deſire that Major Cavenaugh, and two hundred men, might be ſent to them for their ſecurity; which the Marquis ordered accordingly, though he thought the inhabitants had uſed him very ill, in refuſing the Governour and troops which he had ſent them. But when he found that Cromwell inveſted the city on the twenty fourth of November, the Marquis determined to relieve it. The Council of war however did not think proper to leave Carrick behind them; and the titular Biſhop of Clogher, who had the greateſt influence over the Ulſter forces, was very zealous for ſtorming the place immediately. Wherefore the Marquis, having led the army within muſket ſhot of the walls, left the conduct of that affair to the Lords Inchiquin and Taafe, and marched away with the reinforcement which he intended to throw into Waterford. About eight o'clock at night they arrived there; when he informed the Mayor and Aldermen that he had brought General Ferral with fifteen hundred men for their defence, and had inveſted him with the military government of the city, not in the leaſt doubting of their chearful concurrence in a matter intended only for their preſervation. Their fears diſpoſed them to receive him: the Marquis left the city the ſame night, repaſſed the river Sure, and marched till midnight with his life guard to a place called Dunkit. Early the next morning he went for Carrick, expecting he ſhould find his army in poſſeſſion of it. But when he got within a few miles of it, he met Colonel Power, diſpatched by Lord Inchiquin to inform him that the enterprize had failed, through want of pickaxes and other materials to break the walls, and that the army was retreated to Clonmell, having no proviſions. This diſap-

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diſappointment—which was the more vexatious, as the place, according to Ludlow, was defended only by a few horſe, who had no arms but their ſwords and piſtols—obliged the Marquis to march twenty miles about before he could join the army.

When he arrived at Clonmell, he diſpatched letters to the Commiſſioners of truſt, to aſſure them that his forces could be no longer kept together without a ſupply of proviſions: but if a conſiderable quantity might be obtained, he would march with them to the relief of Waterford, which he was afraid would otherwiſe be given up. Finding it impoſſible to get the proviſions neceſſary for the whole army, he marched by night with a conſiderable part of it to conduct B. O Neil's horſe, and ſome more foot to Waterford; and early the next morning drew them up upon a hill oppoſite to the town, from whence he could plainly ſee Cromwell's camp. The Marquis had not been long in this ſituation before he ſaw the Engliſh army marching away in diſorder, which had been diminiſhed by ſickneſs and hard ſervice: and judging the opportunity very favourable for falling upon Cromwell's rear, he went immediately into the town to get his men ferried over to that purpoſe. But the Magiſtrates finding their danger was at an end, and ſuſpecting the Marquis might leave them there in winter quarters, feigned many frivolous difficulties and excuſes till the opportunity was loſt. They conſented to admit B. O Neil's horſe and ſome few of the foot; and of theſe, in two or three days, they complained as an intolerable grievance, and that the city would be ſtarved if they were not removed immediately. This ſervice being performed, his Excellency returned again to the army at Clonmell, where a ſtrange ſcene was opened.

A good deal of the treachery of Lord Antrim hath appeared already in many parts of this work. Theſe need not be repeated: but after many little intrigues to the prejudice of the King's ſervice when he was ſtripped of his command in the North, as above related, as ſoon as Cromwell landed at Dublin, he ſent his Prieſt to ſettle a correſpondence with him, and to propoſe or encourage the attempt on Wexford. He had done all the miſchief he could at Waterford, by corrupting the minds of the ſoldiers and inhabitants againſt the Royal party; and thence he went to Clonmell, to perſuade the corporation that the kingdom was betrayed, that the Ulſter forces would deſert from the Lord Lieutenant, and that they would do well not to receive a garriſon from him. Having done this buſineſs, he intended to have gone to Limerick on the ſame notable errand: but the army came hither unawares upon him; and Lord INCHIQUIN demanded ſatiſfaction of him for an injury done to his honour. Articles of agreement had been forged, as though framed between JONES and Lord INCHIQUIN, whereby the latter had engaged to betray the King's cauſe and armies; and this inſtrument ſigned with his Lordſhip's name, and letters from JONES confirming it, it was currently reported by ANTRIM's confidents could be produced. Lord INCHIQUIN receiving intelligence of this forgery, and tracing it up to ANTRIM, whom he luckily met with now at Clonmell, he laid hold of him, and gave him a challenge: but ANTRIM, not caring to fight, was contented to make a ſolemn acknowledgment of his crime before the Marquis of ORMONDE, and four of the Commiſſioners of truſt; confeſſing that he had forged the inſtrument in concert with JONES, in order to ſow ſedition in his Majeſty's army, and to exaſperate the Iriſh againſt Lord INCHIQUIN. After a confeſſion of ſuch infamous treachery to the army, ANTRIM ought to have loſt his life by martial law: but he was ſuffered to depart without any other puniſhment than the conſciouſneſs of his villany; probably becauſe he had baſely injured the Marquis of ORMONDE, and his puniſhment might have been attributed more to his Excellency's reſentment, than to his crime againſt the army and Lord INCHIQUIN. His Lordſhip not only publiſhed a vindication of himſelf, but he wrote a letter to JONES incloſing ANTRIM's confeſſion, and deſired to know whether the part of it relating to him were true; becauſe it was to be ſuppoſed, that a ſenſe of his own honour would make him vindicate himſelf from having had any hand in ſuch a diſhonourable contrivance. But JONES died a few days after of the plague, which had ſpred into both armies; and ſo that matter ended.

It was impoſſible for any one to be more ſincere and zealous in the King's ſervice than Lord INCHIQUIN; but his officers had not the ſame affections. Two or three conſpiracies amongſt them, to carry off his horſe, to ſecure the poſts of Munſter for the Parliament, and to ſeize upon his perſon, have been already mentioned: but his Lordſhip imagining they were rather deluded by artifice than malice, and that they would never ſeparate from him, he did not alter his conduct upon the proofs they had given of their inconſtancy, as a wiſe man ſhould have done, but left his garriſon ſtill in their hands; and it ſoon appeared how little they deſerved that confidence. Lord Broghill, ſon of the Earl of Cork, had always been employed and was very zealous in the ſervice of the late King; and ſo well diſpoſed towards the preſent, that he had correſponded with Lord Ormonde when in France, and had determined to wait upon the King in Holland in order to go with him into Ireland, whither the King was then intending to repair. But when he was arrived at London in order to proſecute his voyage, he was much ſurpriſed with a viſit from Cromwell; who informed him that his deſigns were well known to the Council of State, and that he would have been ſent to the Tower immediately on his coming to town, if he himſelf had not interpoſed that he might confer with him, and try if he could not draw him off from his intended purpoſe. To this end, knowing well how uſeful his Lordſhip had been in the Iriſh war which was now committed to Cromwell's care, he had leave from the Council of State, he ſaid, to offer his Lordſhip, if he would ſerve againſt the Iriſh, that he ſhould have a General Officer's command, and ſhould have no oaths nor engagements required from him, nor be obliged to fight againſt any but the Iriſh. Having no other alternative if he refuſed, but the loſs of his liberty in the Tower, his Lordſhip accepted the offer. According to his promiſe he came to Ireland, raiſed a troop of horſe of Gentlemen, and a regiment of fifteen hundred foot well appointed. With theſe he put himſelf under the command of Cromwell, and did great ſervice againſt the Iriſh in many places. His chief ſtrength and intereſt lay in his native province of Munſter: and having received intelligence of the defection of Lord Inchiquin's officers, Cromwell ſent him with a ſtrong detachment thither in the middle of November; and all the garriſons there received him, and declared for the Common-wealth of England.

This general revolt of thoſe important places furniſhed Cromwell's army, the horſe eſpecially, with excellent winter quarters; without which, beſides being harraſſed by a long march in the midſt of winter to Dublin,

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and perhaps attacked and endangered by the Iriſh, they would have ſuffered extremely for want of accommodations, and of dry forage. But this was not the worſt of this terrible blow: it put an end at once and for ever to all truſt and confidence between the Iriſh and the Engliſh under the command of the Lord Lieutenant. The Iriſh declared that they ſuſpected all the Engliſh nation; and made this treachery of the Munſter officers the grounds of a jealouſy of thoſe who had given proofs of the moſt unſhaken fidelity: the Engliſh reproached the others with numberleſs inſtances of their perfidy; and complained of the little authority that was left to the Lord Lieutenant, by which means the army was never recruited, diſciplined, nor provided as it ſhould be, their towns not garriſoned, and ſuch Governours ſet over them as treacherouſly or cowardly gave them up. It was impoſſible for the Marquis of ORMONDE to remove theſe jealouſies, or to take any vigorous meaſures for their common ſafety: but it behoved him to diſtribute into winter quarters an army which he had no money to pay, nor proviſions to ſubſiſt for four and twenty hours together. It was highly neceſſary to the ſervice, and he propoſed it to the Commiſſioners, that the ſoldiers ſhould be put into garriſons and quarters in the great towns and cities, where they might be conſtantly exerciſed, and ready to be drawn out on any emergency: but thoſe corporations had for many years acted like ſo many petty republicks independent of all other government, and ſubmitting to no orders of which they did not approve; and even now continued refractory. Kilkenny had indeed complied; and Clonmell now agreed to admit HUGH O NEIL with an Ulſter party into garriſon: but all others refuſed to be burdened with any ſoldiers, and obſtinately perſiſted in that refuſal. Even in the towns moſt expoſed of any to danger, ſtanding moſt in need of a garriſon for their ſafety, there was an inſurmountable averſion to receive orders from any but their own Magiſtrates.

A remarkable inſtance of this obſtinacy the Lord Lieutenant met with at this time at Waterford. Having had the merit of relieving them and of forcing CROMWELL to raiſe the ſiege, he was in hopes he might prevail with them, from the reaſonableneſs of the thing, and the neceſſity of their affairs, to admit a greater number of forces into their city, which was now become a frontier garriſon. To this purpoſe he went thither himſelf; and

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as he entered the city, he met General FERRAL marching out with a party of foot, in order to ſurprize or aſſault the fort of Paſſage; which CROMWELL had taken when he lay before Waterford, and which greatly incommoded the commerce of that city. He had been gone but a few hours before Lord ORMONDE went to ſome place of proſpect in the town to look after them; and diſcovering a ſtrong party of horſe marching in good order to the fort, and concluding intelligence had been ſent to the enemy of the deſign, he immediately ſent for the Mayor, and ſhewing him the inevitable danger the party was in unleſs inſtantly relieved, deſired boats might be got ready as faſt as poſſible, to tranſport, from the north ſide of the river where he had left his troops, a regiment or two of his horſe, with which he would endeavour to reſcue them. But all his inſtances were in vain: evident as the danger was, he could not prevail with the corporation to ſuffer any of his horſe to march through the town; and without going through the town they could not relieve FERRAL. Full of rage and indignation at this treatment, and very deſirous to preſerve the party, though he had not been conſulted with on the enterpriſe, he cauſed the friends and retinue he had with him to the number of fifty to mount, and led them with all the expedition he could towards the fort. He had not gone far before he met FERRAL and his men flying towards Waterford, and the enemy's horſe in purſuit of them: his own party was not ſtrong enough to encounter thoſe horſe; but drawing his men up on the ſide of a hill, which made the enemy imagine their number was much greater than it was, they ſlackened their pace, and Lord ORMONDE ſkirmiſhed with them long enough for the foot to eſcape, which were about half the number, and which muſt otherwiſe have been cut to pieces or taken priſoners as the other were. The priſoners he might have recovered, and have taken Paſſage, if the corporation would have permitted his horſe to be ferried over, and to march through the town. In ſhort they carried their inſolence and jealouſy to ſuch a height, that when his Excellency offered them to reduce Paſſage, from which they were much annoyed, if they would only allow his forces to quarter in huts under their walls, where they ſhould not be burdenſome to the city, but maintained by the adjacent country, they abſolutely refuſed their conſent. They complained of being eaten up, and on the point of ſtarving, through the conſumption made by the garriſon; and they had rather endure any inconve-

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niences from the fort than run the hazard of a famine. Nay to ſuch an extravagant pitch of ingratitude and villany they had arrived, that it was propoſed in the Common Council of the city to ſeize his Excellency's perſon, and to cut off all that were with him as their enemies. The majority indeed did not agree to the propoſal, but it met with no other reprehenſion.

The Marquis of Ormonde, being informed of what had paſſed, thought it high time to conſult his ſafety; and it being the middle of December, to diſtribute his forces into any quarters where there appeared a likelihood of their ſubſiſtence. By this means they were ſcattered all over the kingdom: and from this time, he never did, nor could, with all his endeavours, draw together a body of five hundred men. A little before the diſperſion of the army, the Iriſh Clergy met at Clonnacnoſe; above twenty of their Biſhops being preſent. Many warm debates aroſe upon the Nuncio's interdict and excommunication; but at laſt they were compromiſed, according to the expedient of the titular Biſhop of Clogher, already mentioned. Lord Antrim being ſtill at liberty, through an ill judged lenity of the Lord Lieutenant's, made uſe of it to render him ſuſpected by the Clergy, and to procure a proteſtation from them againſt his government. This was not purely owing to the malignity of his nature, though he had an infinite deal: he hoped to ſuccede Lord Ormonde in the dignity of Lord Lieutenant. But at this time the titular Biſhop of Clogher baffled all his meaſures. The Popiſh Prelate had by frequent converſations formed the higheſt opinion of Lord Ormonde's talents for government, and of his zeal for his country; and he endeavoured to inſtil the ſame opinion into the Aſſembly: in which if he did not ſucceed, he prevented any public oppoſition to him. The Biſhop was a man of better ſenſe than moſt of his brethren; and he ſaw the neceſſity of the whole nation uniting as one man in its defence. For this reaſon he laboured ſo earneſtly with the congregation of the Clergy, that he perſuaded them at laſt to enter into a ſuperficial union for burying in oblivion all that was paſt; to declare that no ſecurity for life, eſtate, or religion, could be expected from Cromwell; to expreſs their deteſtation of all animoſities between the old Iriſh and Britiſh; and their reſolution of puniſhing all the Clergy that ſhould encourage them. Theſe decrees were publiſhed in Engliſh: but there were other proceedings

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in this congregation, which laſted three weeks, by which it appeared that ſome of the members had not wholly laid aſide their deſign of raiſing new troubles, and that the proteſtation againſt Lord ORMONDE was only deferred.

The King's affairs in Ireland were now reduced to a very miſerable condition: the reader will be convinced of it without any recapitulation. The Lord Lieutenant had done every thing in his power to prevent, and was ready to do every thing he could to remedy, this ill ſtate of the kingdom. To that end he made ſeveral propoſals at this time to the Commiſſioners of truſt: but ſome of thoſe Gentlemen held a cloſe correſpondence with the moſt ill affected Clergy, who cheriſhed all the bad humours and jealouſies of the people, and the others ſeemed willing to withdraw from a declining cauſe; ſo that he called upon them for an anſwer in vain. He thought it his duty therefore to ſend the King a full and true account of the ſtate of his affairs there; that he might either provide what was neceſſary to put them in a better condition, or not be deceived in thinking that he had a kingdom and armies at his command, when without thoſe neceſſaries neither that kingdom nor thoſe armies could be of any continuance. Having laid theſe things before his Majeſty, he informed him that "all the misfortunes of the nation, the negligences, cowardice, and treachery of others, were all attributed to him, by the mean and unworthy ſuggeſtions of malevolent people: and though he ſhould not think himſelf unhappy or prejudiced, by having nothing more to do with a people that could be wrought upon by ſo ſhallow an engine as ANTRIM, yet till his Majeſty ſhould think fit to recal the power entruſted with him, he ſhould not willingly let it fall for their pleaſure. But as the ruin of both ſides muſt be the iſſue of the contention, ſhould the Clergy and their party proceed on his removal, and ſhould it not be ſubmitted to by him, he humbly deſired his Majeſty's commands to withdraw himſelf from the kingdom, when unavoidable neceſſity ſhould drive him away." This was what his enemies deſired, and were at this very time endeavouring to obtain.

Lord ANTRIM having failed in engaging the Clergy openly to demand the removal of the Marquis of ORMONDE from the Government, ſent over

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Rochfort and a Prieſt to Jerſey, to repreſent that ſtep as abſolutely neceſſary, and to ſuggeſt that Antrim was the fitteſt perſon for the government, as being moſt agreeable to the nation. At the ſame time that this paltry intrigue was carrying on at the King's court, the party of Prince Rupert ſollicited ſtrongly for his Highneſs to be made Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. The King rejected both propoſals with indignation; and with a gratitude that became him towards ſuch a Miniſter, told Lord Byron, "that he would ſooner loſe the kingdom, than offer ſuch an affront to the Marquis of Ormonde." The King was young, but he had a ſtrength of mind upon this occaſion which all King's ought to have; and the want of which alone, is often as productive of the unhappineſs of their people, as the moſt obſtinate miſrule. A firm adherence to an incapable and a worthleſs favourite, is the ready way for a King to ruin himſelf: but to diſcard able honeſt Miniſters, in order to pleaſe a favourite, or to gratify the pride and ambition of others, or even to ſilence the unjuſt and factious clamours of the people, is the way to unhinge and perplex his Government at home, and to make it deſpicable abroad. No ſubject had ever ſacrificed his eaſe and fortune for his Prince, with more zeal and conſtancy, or ſerved him with greater abilities and integrity, than the Marquis of Ormonde had ſerved the King and his father: and for his Majeſty to have ſuffered ſuch a Miniſter to have been whiſpered out by a favourite, or his removal to have been the condition of the ſervices of others, would have loaded his memory with weakneſs and ingratitude to the lateſt poſterity. It was however eminently the caſe afterwards of this very King with regard to this very Miniſter, as well as to the Earl of Clarendon: and the indignation and contempt with which his Majeſty's character hath been treated by all honeſt men ever ſince upon that account, hath not deterred other Princes from copying his example.—I ſhall now return to the hiſtory.

Though the King complied with Lord Ormonde's requeſt in granting him a licence to leave the kingdom, yet it was to be kept a ſecret till he ſhould have a proper occaſion to make uſe of it: and in the mean time, his Majeſty endeavoured all that was in his power, to procure thoſe ſupplies which were ſo much wanted in Ireland. To this end he made applications to the court of Sweden for arms, and to the King of Spain for money: and as Prince Rupert had taken many rich prices in the Mediterranean with the fleet which the Marquis had fitted out, orders were ſent to his Highneſs to remit him ten thouſand pounds: but what the King moſt depended upon for the preſervation of his intereſt in Ireland, was the hopes he had of being able to divert the money and forces of the Commonwealth of England. With this view he had agreed to enter into a treaty with the Scots at Breda, already mentioned, in order to engage them to ſend a powerful army into England in the ſpring for his aſſiſtance; and in the mean time the Lord Lieutenant was to make the beſt ſhift he could. But what ſhiſt could that be, when an univerſal jealouſy and diſcontent reigned all over the nation, when every one ſeemed to have abandoned the care of their defence, and to have laid aſide all thoughts of uniting for their common ſafety? It was impoſſible to do any thing with effect to that purpoſe, without reſtoring the confidence of the people, and redreſſing the diſorders which then univerſally prevailed. But how to do this was the queſtion: he could do nothing himſelf of any conſequence without the conſent of the commiſſioners of truſt: and therefore he deſired they would examine where any miſdemeanors had been committed that they might be puniſhed, and from whence the ſcandal and calumnies proceeded, that the minds of the people might be compoſed. The Commiſſioners adviſed that an authority might be given the people to ſend deputies from every county to preſent their grievances, and the means they had to propoſe for their relief: this was judged the beſt expedient to inform the country how groundleſs their jealouſies had been, and to diſcover the artifice with which their affections had been corrupted: but the Marquis of Ormonde judged otherwiſe: he thought it would be a tedious inconvenient method, and in the end rather advance than ſuppreſs the ſedition then on foot. He ſaw however at the ſame time, if he did not comply with this propoſal, he ſhould be reproached with an unwillingneſs to hear or to remedy the grievances of the people: he conſented therefore that the Commiſſioners might ſend their circular letters into the counties for the purpoſe above-mentioned; and when the agents came to Kilkenny, he received them very graciouſly, and promiſed them a ſpeedy anſwer. Whilſt they were employed in drawing up a remonſtrance of their grievances, about which they could not agree, they were alarmed with the approach of part of Cromwell's army, and deſired they might adjourn to Ennis in the county of Clare. This leave

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was granted; but they could not agree in the particulars they were to complain of: and though many of them were perſuaded, upon a conference with the Commiſſioners, who had been witneſſes of all Lord Ormonde's conduct, how groundleſs the ſlanders of him were, yet many others made the ſame ill uſe of their meeting which he had foreſeen.

It was well known how ſmall a force the Lord Lieutenant had at Kilkenny; and Cromwell thought this a good opportunity, when there were ſo many people in the place not well affected to his Excellency, to make a puſh againſt it. This alone however would ſcarce have determined him to ſuch a march in the month of January, if he had not held a correſpondence in the city with Colonel Tickle, who had undertaken to betray it. As ſoon as his forces appeared before it, the Marquis with great difficulty got together about five hundred foot, and mounting his friends and ſervants made up a body of an hundred horſe: With theſe, and with the townſmen who appeared very ready for their defence, he looked on the enemy with ſo good a countenance, and Tickle failing in his engagement, that Cromwell thought fit to retire without any action. Some of the Colonel's letters being intercepted, whereby the treachery was diſcovered, the Marquis cauſed him to be put to death. The plague raged terribly in that country at this time; and the Marquis giving the government of Kilkenny and the whole province of Leinſter to Lord Castlehaven, went himſelf in the middle of February to Limerick, and the county of Galway, in order to concert meaſures with the Marquis of Clanricarde for an enterpriſe which he had projected.

In this depreſſed ſtate of the King's affairs in Ireland, the Lord Lieutenant apprehended he had but two reſources left: the one to join the Conaght and Ulſter forces, and the other to try the titular Biſhops; whether among theſe who had obſerved ſo much moderation in the ſynod abovementioned, he might not find ſome that knew their own intereſt, and who would be as induſtrious in uſing means to preſerve the kingdom, as others were in labouring to deſtroy it. His Excellency wrote therefore to four and twenty of them, deſiring they would meet him and others of the Nobility at Limerick, to confer together on the ſtate of the nation. When they

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met, he told them plainly, that unleſs the people could be brought to place a full confidence in him, and the city of Limerick be perſuaded to receive a garriſon and obey his orders—both which they had refuſed—it was impoſſible for him to do any thing againſt the Engliſh: and therefore he deſired, that they would either procure a due obedience to be yielded to him, or recommend ſome other way by his quitting the kingdom how it might be preſerved. After ſeveral general indeterminate propoſitions, they recommended two remedies to remove the diſcontents of the people: the one was that the receiver general ſhould be called upon to clear his accounts of the money levied ſince the peace: this was calculated to flatter the jealouſies of the people about the miſapplication of the public money, and the Marquis agreed to it to undeceive them: the other was that a Privy-Council might be appointed, framed of Peers, and others, natives of the kingdom, as well ſpiritual as temporal: this was to aggrandize themſelves, and to get the Government into their own hands; but this was not in the Marquis of ORMONDE's power to grant. However rather than any thing ſhould be wanting to ſatisfy the people, he told them that if they would ſpecify any acts formerly done by the Privy-Council which were neceſſary now to be done, and could not be done by him and their Commiſſioners of truſt, he would qualify perſons who were free from juſt exceptions with ſuch powers. The company appeared to be ſatisfied with his anſwers: they publiſhed a declaration that they would endeavour to root out of mens hearts all jealouſies and ſiniſter opinions conceived againſt his Excellency or the preſent Government; deſiring his further directions, and promiſing they would omit no induſtry nor care in their execution. They employed the titular Biſhop of the place, and their Archbiſhop of CASHELL, to perſuade the city of Limerick to receive a garriſon. The Marquis of ORMONDE had before uſed all imaginable pains, and deſcended to all the arts of perſuaſion, to engage the Magiſtrates and the citizens to that ſtep; as the only means of ſecuring their perſons, their fortunes, or their religion. But they did not treat him with thoſe outward forms of reſpect which had been denied him no where elſe. The Officers that commanded the city guards, neither came to him for orders, nor imparted them to him: no Officer of his own army, nor any other perſon, could be admitted to him without leave of the Mayor, though to receive his Excellency's commands for oppoſing the

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enemy, who at that time ranged over the neighbourhood. They even imprisoned Lord Kilmallock, though a Popiſh Peer and an Officer of the army, for only quartering a few horſemen one night, by the Marquis's own orders, within the liberties of the city. Theſe inſults being too intolerable to be endured, and the plague beginning to ſpread, the Marquis removed to Loghrea, whither the Biſhops followed him the next day: but here a ſtrange ſcene of the duplicity of ſome of theſe holy men was opened. When the Marquis of Ormonde, and Lord Inchiquin, who had been with him at Limerick, conferred together on the paſſages at that meeting, they diſcovered to each other an application that the Biſhops had made them ſeparately: to the Marquis they declared, that all the frowardneſs and jealouſies of the people aroſe from the prejudices they had contracted againſt Lord Inchiquin, on account of his rigour and animoſity, and the revolt of his Officers and towns; but if his Excellency would diſmiſs him, and the troops that yet remained under his command, not only the city of Limerick, but all the nation would be as one man at his diſpoſal: to Lord Inchiquin they affirmed, that as he was of the moſt ancient extraction in Ireland, and under that notion looked upon by the Iriſh with great affection, if he would join heartily with them and aſſume the Government to himſelf, they would put all the power into his hands; and he would ſoon grow ſtrong enough to oppoſe the enemy, and recover his country. The deſign of this treacherous double dealing is too obvious to be pointed out: but leſt it ſhould not ſucceed, they uſed their inſtances with the Lord Lieutenant to remove all the Engliſh Officers and ſoldiers under his command out of the kingdom; as an effectual means to cure the jealouſies which the Iriſh had entertained of him on their account. Inſolent and ungrateful as this propoſition was, the Marquis conſented to it; provided it were done in ſuch a manner as to avoid a national diſtinction, and that the troops diſmiſſed might have their arrears, and a compenſation for the horſes and arms they ſhould leave behind them: the condition was accepted, but very ſorrily and ſlowly performed.

The only ray of hope that was left of getting together any thing like an army, was with the Iriſh in Ulſter, and Lord Clanricarde's forces in Conaght: and with theſe it was thought it might not be difficult to recover

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the places that had been taken by Coote and Venables in the North. The great difficulty was to agree about a Commander in chief; it being doubtful whether the Ulſter Iriſh would ſubmit to the command of the Marquis of Clanricarde in their own country, whom the Lord Lieutenant intended for that poſt. No General had yet been choſen for that province ſince the death of Owen O Neil: the Gentry were divided into parties about a ſucceſſor: many of them were not inclined to the King's ſervice: all of them were ſtiff in point of command; and it was to be feared would ſerve under no General in their own country but who ſhould be of their own election. Lord Ormonde therefore wrote to the titular Biſhop of Clogher, and ſome others in Ulſter, to repreſent the importance of the ſervice, to preſs their concurrence, and to remove the difficulties with regard to the command. The vain and buſy ſpirit of Antrim was never at reſt: he was lately gone into that province to ſollicit the poſt of General, though they had turned him out of it before; and did all that little malice and cunning could ſuggeſt to exaſperate the Iriſh againſt any conjunction with the Scots: in a time of jealouſies like theſe his practices could not fail of rendring an union of different parties impracticable: they had in truth ſuch an effect, that the country not only ſubmitted to pay contributions and to take protections, but even the forces were inclined to join the enemy. The people of Conaght were ſo exhauſted, and the plague had made ſuch a havock, the army and the inhabitants were ſo divided, and every one was ſo indolent and dejected, that Lord Clanricarde could neither raiſe the force that he had propoſed, and was neceſſary to the undertaking, nor get proviſions and money to maintain them in the field. Thus was the enterpriſe defeated: we muſt now return to what was doing in Leinſter.

Lord Castlehaven having appointed the Governors of the caſtle and city of Kilkenny, and having taken all the meaſures he could to furniſh it with men, proviſion, and ammunition, he marched out himſelf to a rendezvous which he had fixed at Carlow; leaving a thouſand foot, and two hundred horſe, in garriſon behind him. He had wrote to Lord Dillon for the men under his command, amounting to two thouſand five hundred foot and ſix hundred horſe, to meet him at Carlow: in their ſtead he re-

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ceived a letter from his Lordſhip, as though he were ſending them in great haſte; but notwithſtanding repeated orders they never came. In the mean time, Cromwell taking advantage of the fair weather, and knowing that nothing could be ſo deſtructive to the Iriſh, who wanted neceſſaries, as an early campaign, in the latter end of February, he marched out of his winter quarters with three thouſand men: and whilſt he himſelf with one part ſat down before Callan, Ireton with the other part took ſeveral caſtles, and then joined him. An Iriſhman, having been taken by Lord Castlehaven's guards at this time, deſired to ſpeak privately with his Lordſhip: and when he was brought in, he produced a yellow piece of wax, pretty round, which he was to ſwallow if he ſhould be ſeized: within the ball there was a note to Cromwell from Colonel Hewson, to inform him that his forces were on the march to him from Dublin, but as Lord Castlehaven lay in his way deſired orders what he ſhould do. His Lordſhip copied the note; and the fellow having aſſured him of his return with Cromwell's anſwer, the note was rolled up as before, and the meſſenger ſent away: within two or three days he returned with another ſuch ball of wax incloſing Cromwell's orders to Hewson, which Lord Castlehaven kept: the Colonel however held on his march and paſſed the Barrow, eight or ten miles below his Lordſhip. But though he had not ſtrength to meddle with theſe armies, yet he made ſome advantage of his intelligence: for whilſt they were joining, he marched to Athy eight miles above him, where Cromwell had a magazine with ſeven hundred men in garriſon: and coming before it an hour before ſun-ſet, his Lordſhip took it by ſtorm with all the garriſon priſoners at diſcretion. The place not being tenable, and having no men to ſpare, he ſlighted it: and, not knowing what to do with his priſoners, made a preſent of them to Cromwell; deſiring him by letter to return the compliment, if any of his Lordſhip's men ſhould fall into his power. But Cromwell was a ſtranger to any ſuch civility: and in return, a few days after, having taken Callan, and Gowran being ſurrendered by the ſoldiers on promiſe of quarter for themſelves, the Officers, being againſt the ſurrender and delivered at diſcretion, were ſhot to death. The Engliſh army were much waſted by ſickneſs and hard duty, as well as the plague: and the greateſt part of thoſe he had brought with him had periſhed: but the fatal revolt of the Munſter forces had recruited him with men, habituated to the climate, and inured to the hardſhips of an Iriſh war. All the caſtles within his reach ſubmitted without making any defence; and the whole county of Tipperary agreed to pay him contributions. There was ſcarcely one caſtle or ſtrong houſe in Leinſter, which the huſband or wife was not for giving up, and receiving conditions from the enemy. It muſt be owned that all theſe places wanted ammunition for their defence; but the general terror which ſeized the inhabitants was the reaſon why they were yielded before a gun was fired againſt them.

Encouraged by theſe ſucceſſes the ſiege of Kilkenny was next attempted; the garriſon of which was reduced by the plague to three hundred men, and the inhabitants diminiſhed greatly. Having ſummoned the town, he ſurrounded it; and his cannon having made a breach, he cauſed it to be aſſaulted: but his men were beaten off twice, and could not be prevailed upon to make a third attack: the breach was repaired, and Cromwell was on the point of raiſing the ſiege, when the Mayor and citizens ſent to invite him to ſtay, and to aſſure him of the place. The Governour, who was a relation of the Marquis of Ormonde's, notwithſtanding this treachery, repulſed them in ſeveral places with conſiderable ſlaughter. But Ireton coming up with fifteen hundred freſh men, and Lord Castlehaven not being able to ſend them any ſuccours, the garriſon being few in number, and thoſe worn out through want of reſt, the Governour reſolved to execute his Lordſhip's order; which was, if he ſhould not be relieved the day before by ſeven o'clock, not to expoſe themſelves to a maſſacre through any punctilio of ſoldiery, but make as good conditions as they could by a timely ſurrender. A parly was accordingly beaten; a ceſſation agreed on till twelve o'clock the next day; and the town and caſtle to be then ſurrendered upon honourable terms. When the Governour and officers marched out, Cromwell ſaid they were gallant fellows; that he had loſt more men in the ſtorming of that place againſt ſo ſmall a garriſon than he had loſt in taking Drogheda; and that he ſhould have gone away without it, had it not been for the treachery of the townſmen. This treachery indeed was become univerſal, through the corruption of ſome, and the cowardice of other garriſons; and was the principal cauſe of the loſs of moſt of the ſtrong places which were taken.

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Kilkenny being ſecured, CROMWELL marched to Clonmell; and his ſummons being rejected, ſat down before it. The place was defended by H. O NEIL, with a garriſon of twelve hundred Ulſter Iriſh. The cannon having made a breach in the wall, CROMWELL ordered the aſſault to be given, but with ſo little ſucceſs, that he loſt above a thouſand of his beſt men in the ſtorm: he made a ſecond attack, but failed again as before: he reſolved therefore to wait till he could reduce it by famine. There being no way to diſpoſe of Lord INCHIQUIN's forces, that the titular Biſhops had inſiſted ſhould be diſmiſſed the kingdom, but through CROMWELL's quarters, Colonel DANIEL, and Dean BOYLE, applied to him here for a paſs to that purpoſe: but he wanted recruits for his forces ſo much that he deſired extremely theſe ſhould enter into his ſervice. The agents having no power to treat of any ſuch thing, he conſented to the capitulation; and offered a paſs for the Marquis of ORMONDE, and Lord INCHIQUIN. Tho' the Dean had poſitive orders not to aſk any thing on the behalf of either, yet the paſſes being offered, he accepted them, to the Marquis's great diſlike: he ſaw it would turn to his diſhonour, and be made uſe of, as it was made uſe of, to corrupt the Iriſh garriſons to take conditions: he returned it therefore by a trumpet, accompanied with a letter expreſſing his reſentment at the Dean's imprudence, and "aſſuring CROMWELL for his unſought courteſy, that when he ſhould deſire a paſs from his Lordſhip, and it ſhould be granted, he would not make uſe of it to corrupt any that commanded under CROMWELL." Whilſt this affair was tranſacting, CROMWELL ſent a letter to Lord BROGHILL to inform him of the diſtreſſed condition in which his army was; that his men, who were very ſickly, had been beaten twice with great loſs; and that he muſt of neceſſity raiſe the ſiege, and go off with diſgrace, and the ruin of his army, if not immediately relieved. Wherefore he conjured his Lordſhip, by all the ties of duty and of friendſhip, to deſiſt from all other deſigns whatever, and to come to his aſſiſtance without delay. At the ſame time that he received his Lordſhip's anſwer that he would be with him in three days, he received a ſupply of money, a regiment of foot, and above two hundred horſe from England; with an order from the Parliament to repair thither immediately, on account of an armament carrying on in Scotland for the King. But he could not raiſe the ſiege without the loſs of his reputation. The garriſon however began to be diſtreſſed through a ſcarcity of ammunition, and proviſion; and it was not in the power of the Marquis of Ormonde to ſend them any relief. He had given orders to Lord Castleconnel and the Sheriff to raiſe the county of Limerick; and the Gentlemen met, and agreed to raiſe three hundred horſe, and eleven hundred foot for the ſuccour of Clonmell: but this was prevented by the Commiſſioners of truſt, who diſliked and forbade that method of riſing. Lord Castleconnel therefore appointed another meeting, and ſent to the Commiſſioners for their directions; deſiring them to be preſent at it themſelves, ſince they diſapproved, and would not allow him to obey, the Lord Lieutenant's order. But the Commiſſioners having been ſatisfied with defeating that order, neither went nor vouchſafed an anſwer: ſo that the Gentlemen not knowing how to proceed, nothing could be done.

The Marquis of Ormonde, whoſe patience was not to be overcome by the perverſeneſs and ingratitude of theſe people, applied next to Lord Roche, to deſire him to raiſe a body of men in his country, and attempt the relief of Clonmell. A party of foot, conſiderable only for their number, and three hundred horſe, rendezvouſed at Macroom; but Cromwell detached Lord Broghill with five hundred horſe and fifteen hundred foot in order to attack them. Lord Roche, upon their approach, retired further weſtward into a faſtneſs; being unwilling to engage with new raiſed and unexperienced men: theſe diſperſed and ſecured themſelves in adjoining woods with little loſs; but the titular Biſhop of Roſs, who was with them, was taken and executed the next day. Lord Roche endeavoured to rally his men about Killarney; and ſent to Lord Inchiquin for a reinforcement of horſe from the county of Clare, reſolving to make another attempt to raiſe the ſiege: but Lord Broghill advancing, he was prevented. At laſt, H. O Neil, having ſpent all his powder and proviſions, and ſeeing no proſpect of relief, withdrew all his garriſon by night over the bridge with ſo much ſecrecy and expedition, that the enemy knew nothing of it; and the townſmen obtaining good conditions, on the eighteenth of May it was ſurrendered, and the next week Cromwell embarked for England. It is aſtoniſhing to obſerve the falſe and inaccurate account which is given by Ludlow in his memoirs of the proceedings of Cromwell in Ireland: he has jumbled together the places that were not taken in one and the ſame campaign; and the ſiege of Clonmell, which laſted near two months, and which, if the powder and proviſion of the beſieged had not failed them, CROMWELL would never have taken, LUDLOW ſays was at an end the night after the breach was ſtormed. Inſtead of his ſending CROMWELL to England after the ſiege of Clonmell, we are told that he received the letters of recal to England, whilſt he was preparing for the ſiege of Waterford: whereas the firſt ſiege of that place was raiſed in the year preceding, and the ſecond ſiege was not undertaken till CROMWELL had been gone near three months out of the kingdom. In ſhort there never were more errors crouded into ſo few pages of hiſtory, than in theſe memoirs of LUDLOW, with reſpect to Iriſh affairs before he went thither: my ſubject does not lead me to correct him in other things.

About this time Colonel SYNOT, an agent from the Duke of LORRAIN, arrived in Ireland, in order to raiſe recruits and levy men for his ſervice, as he had been formerly allowed to do, and which was all that was ſaid in the Duke's letter to the Lord Lieutenant: but SYNOT pretended the true deſign of his journey was to ſee the condition of a place which was to be mortgaged to his maſter, and to know whether the Iriſh would conſent to have it put into his hands. The terrible diſtreſs of the King's affairs thro' want of money, and the hopes of retrieving them by a ſupply, had inclined him to hearken to the propoſal of mortgaging the fort of Duncannon for four and twenty thouſand pounds; and he ſent orders to the Marquis of ORMONDE, if his Lordſhip judged it convenient, on receit of the money, to deliver the fort. But the Duke of LORRAIN would only conſign the money to be paid in Flanders, when it was certified that the place was delivered up to his agent. SYNOT however pretended that he had other letters and powers from the Duke; but being in danger of being taken at ſea by a Parliament ſhip he had thrown them overboard. After a good deal of ſhuffling and delay, SYNOT, who in fact pretended to have more authority than he had to engage his maſter, ſaid he did not find the buſineſs ſo feaſible as he once thought it, and would meddle no more in the matter: and thus ended the treaty for the preſent with the Duke of LORRAIN.

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When Cromwell went for England he left his ſon in law Ireton his Lord Deputy and Commander in chief of the army. The ſiege of Tecroghan was then undertaken by Colonel Reynolds, and very gallantly defended by Sr. R. Talbot. But the place being of importance, on account of ſome battering pieces formerly left there, and being in danger through want of proviſions, the Marquis of Clanricarde advanced with two thouſand foot and ſeven hundred horſe for its relief. The titular Biſhop of Dromore had lately ſet himſelf up for a General; and had gotten a party of men together under his command in Leinſter. Lord Clanricarde ſent an order to join him with theſe forces; but the Biſhop not obeying it, his Lordſhip was not ſtrong enough to fight the enemy who were double his number. He advanced however to Tirrel's paſs, and was then to march eight miles through bogs in which their horſe could be of no ſervice. A Council of war was held on this occaſion: and Lord Clanricarde being unable to walk, and thinking the attempt deſperate, Lord Castlehaven, though General of the horſe, offered to diſmount ſome of his troopers to aſſiſt the foot, and to put himſelf at their head. The reſolution therefore was taken, to go with fourteen hundred foot, and to carry with them ten days proviſion and ſome ammunition for the beſieged. They were received within a mile of the place, at the end of the bog, with a firm piece of ground on each ſide, by two thouſand ſix hundred of the enemy, poſted there in two wings, and with two pieces of cannon. It ſeemed impoſſible that the Iriſh could eſcape being all cut to pieces: but Lord Castlehaven made ſo good a diſpoſition of his men, that if his orders had been obſerved, and if Captain Fox had not ran away and ordered his men to ſollow him, which occaſioned all the rear to do the ſame, it would probably have been an entire victory: near a thouſand of the Iriſh got into the place, and there was not above forty loſt in the action. Fox was afterwards ſhot, as he deſerved to be: and it was allowed by the conſeſſion of all parties to be the moſt gallant enterprize ſince the beginning of the war.

The Marquis of Ormonde all this while was not able to draw any thing like the face of an army into the field, for want of money and proviſions to ſubſiſt them. He could do nothing more than order riſings out of ſeveral counties of all the fencible men with fourteen days proviſions; and in this reſpect his orders were very ill obeyed. The Clergy, and their party which had always oppoſed the peace, triumphed in the ill ſucceſſes which dejected the well affected part of the nation; and moſt people thought only of making compoſitions with the enemy. The titular Primate, and ſome more of their Biſhops, it is ſaid, iſſued precepts to their people to pray for CROMWELL's forces. Notwithſtanding all ANTRIM's fancied intereſt with the Clergy, he could not carry the generalſhip of the Ulſter forces, and the election had fallen on the titular Biſhop of CLOGHER. The Marquis of ORMONDE was in hopes ſome good might have ariſen from this choice; the people of Ulſter being readier to follow a ſpiritual than a temporal guide into the field: but however fit the Biſhop was to call them together, he was not ſo well qalified to command them in a day of action. For having now at this time ſent a ſtrong party to make an attempt upon Caſtle-doe in the county of Donnegall, he ventured, contrary to the advice of his moſt experienced officers, with three thouſand men to fight SR. C. COOTE, who had double his number. Many of his pricipal officers, and fifteen hundred men were ſlain on the ſpot; and ſome of them after quarter given: the Biſhop himſelf made his eſcape with a party of horſe; but being hotly purſued was overtaken, routed again, taken priſoner, and ſoon after executed by order of the Engliſh Parliament. Thus all Ulſter was reduced under their power.

The whole province of Leinſter being in danger by the compoſitions making with the enemy, and the contributions of the inhabitants, Lord CASTLEHAVEN, who had the care of it, propoſed to ſome of the Biſhops to iſſue an excommunication againſt all ſuch as were guilty of thoſe compliances; which, he was perſuaded, would leave the Engliſh as weak an enemy as ever they had to deal with: but the Biſhops refuſed it; reſerving their ſpiritual authority for more rebellious purpoſes. The Marquis of ORMONDE, perceiving that it was not now in his power to ſave the kingdom, communicated to ſome of their Biſhops and the Commiſſioners of truſt, at a ſecond meeting at Loghrea, the leave which the King had given him to withdraw himſelf, and his reſolution to make uſe of it: but if they could propoſe any way to him, how he might depoſit the King's authority, in ſuch a manner as it might not be expoſed to the ſame affronts which had been given to him, he told them that he would agree to it; and wiſhed they might receive that happineſs under another which they could not have with him. The Commiſſioners, who ſaw the irremediable confuſion which his departure would introduce, laboured hard to diſſuade him from his reſolution: they gave him the ſtrongeſt aſſurances of their care and earneſtneſs to preſerve the people in their obedience to him; but at the ſame time ſeemed rather to excuſe, than to repent, the behaviour of the city of Limerick: upon which he told them that they could not give a better proof of their ſincerity, than in endeavouring to reduce the city of Limerick immediately to its due obedience; the example of which might put the reſt of the kingdom upon exerting themſelves in defence of their own and the King's intereſt. Wherefore their Archbiſhop of Tuam, and Sr. L. Dillon, were ſent to further a negotiation with that city, in which two others had failed. Upon theſe aſſurances, the Marquis altered his deſign of quitting the kingdom; and diſmiſſed a frigate which he had bought and fitted for his tranſportation.

The city of Limerick could not yet be brought to that entire ſubmiſſion which was required: they named the officer that ſhould command their militia: they thought the number propoſed for a garriſon to be too great: they inſiſted they ſhould be all Ulſter men; that the county of Clare ſhould be ſet apart entirely for their ſubſiſtence; that the town ſhould be charged with no loans nor levies on their account; and that they ſhould not be even quartered within the city, but in huts under the walls, and be under the command of their own Biſhop, H. O Neil, or M. O Brian. This imperfect ſubmiſſion afforded ſome ſmall hopes that they might be brought at laſt to more reaſon, on further endeavours, and the Marquis's nearer reſidence: he removed therefore to Clare, quartering the troops he had with him in the neighbourhood, with orders to be ready to draw to a rendezvous. The Marquis was the rather induced to take this ſtep, becauſe Ireton had at this time ſent an offer to Limerick of an enjoyment of the free exerciſe of their religion, their eſtates, churches, and church livings, a free trade and commerce, and no garriſon to be preſſed upon them, provided they would ſubmit and give a free paſſage to his forces through the city into the county of Clare. But this they had the grace to refuſe. Lord ORMONDE having occaſion to viſit ſome of his quarters, within four miles of Limerick, and returning at night to Clare, the next day two of the Aldermen waited on him with a letter from the Mayor; intimating a diſappointment that his Excellency did not make them a viſit the day before when he was ſo near, and expecting that he would ſtep thither to ſettle the garriſon, which without his preſence they conceived could not be ſo well done, or with that expedition their neceſſities required. Whatever encouragement might be drawn from this letter, the Aldermen not giving a ſatiſfactory anſwer to ſome queſtions which the Marquis thought neceſſary, he wrote the Mayor word, that if ſatiſfaction in theſe particulars were ſent to him on the morrow to the rendezvous, he would viſit the city, and endeavour to ſettle the garriſon to their content. The particulars which the Marquis demanded, were to be received in the ſame manner and with the ſame reſpect as Lord Lieutenants had heretofore always been; to have the command of the guard, the giving the word, and orders in the city; and that quarters ſhould be provided within the walls for ſuch horſe and foot as he ſhould carry in for his guard, which ſhould be part of the garriſon, and of which a liſt ſhould be given the next day at the rendezvous. On the next day, the two Aldermen met him there; and informed him that the city had conſented to all his propoſitions except admitting his guards: to take away all poſſibility of ſuſpicion, he ſent them back with an anſwer that the guard he meant to take with him ſhould be only a hundred foot, and fifty horſe, entirely of their own religion; and that he did not propoſe to take them there out of any diſtruſt of their loyalty to the King, or of their affections to himſelf, but for the dignity of the place he held, and to prevent any popular tumult. Not imagining there could be any demur after ſuch an anſwer, he went from the rendezvous towards the city: but when he drew near the gates, the ſame Aldermen came out to him with an account, that one friar WOLFE raiſed a tumult in the city to oppoſe his entrance; and, having forced or perſuaded the keys from the Sheriff, had ſeized and guarded the gates. This account obliged his Excellency to retire for that night to a quarter at three miles diſtance. The ſame night WOLFE, and FANNING, and their party, called in MOR. O BRIAN and his regiment, who were devoted to their faction: and though the Mayor oppoſed his entrance at the gates, yet they made their way into the city by force, ſeized the magazine of corn laid up for the army, and on ſome that belonged to the Marquis of Ormonde himſelf, and diſpoſed of it at their pleaſure. All this was pretended to be contrary to the will of the Biſhop, of the Magiſtrates, and of the better ſort of citizens: but the Marquis of Ormonde had acted wiſely, it muſt be owned, in not venturing his perſon into a city, where the power of friar Wolfe was above the civil and eccleſiaſtical authority. On the next morning, he ſent a letter to the Mayor and Corporation, reminding them of the favours they had received from the Crown; and deſiring to know what ſolid foundation of ſafety could be propoſed to them by the preſent diſturbers of their quiet, otherwiſe than by receiving the defence he offered them. In return to this letter, the titular Biſhop of the place came to him with ſome propoſals, and with a requeſt that his Excellency would forgive Colonel M. O Brian. The former he complied with; and the latter he declared himſelf ready to grant, if they would agree to the meaſures he propoſed for their common defence: but theſe not being agreed to, the Marquis of Clanricarde, and the Commiſſioners of truſt who were with his Excellency, inſiſted that the Biſhop ſhould excommunicate O Brian, and Fanning; which was obſtinately refuſed.

O Brian, being thus connived at, made ſeveral incurſions into the county of Clare, and raiſed contributions upon thoſe who had already paid them to the uſe of the army, according to the orders of the Lord Lieutenant. In a ſhort time after the indignity which had been offered in this manner to him by the city of Limerick, Ireton advanced with his army towards it, as though he intended to beſiege it; and the Magiſtrates ſent to deſire that H. O Neil might be made their Governour. The Marquis of Ormonde had other buſineſs for O Neil at that time, to rally the diſperſed forces in Ulſter, and to fix the inclinations of the Officers and Gentry of that province, after the rout of their Biſhop of Clogher's army; which no body could do ſo well, if at all, as Hugh O Neil: but as Limerick would receive no other Governour that was fit to be truſted, and the Marquis had a dependance on the ability and integrity of that General, he permitted him to go to them: nay he offered, notwithſtanding all their ill uſage, to ſhut himſelf up within the city, and run the ſame hazards and fortune with

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them; but they would not admit him. They had abated indeed enough of their madneſs to accept a garriſon, but it was to conſiſt of troops of their own chooſing; of which M. O BRIAN's regiment was to be a part. But the Marquis ſent orders to the Mayor, and O NEIL, to ſeize O BRIAN, and deliver him to the guard appointed to receive him. The Mayor, after a week's delay, returned for anſwer, that he could not meddle in the affair becauſe the Government of the city was committed to MR. O NEIL: but the General more truly ſent his Excellency word, that he was no more than a cypher, and not permitted to do any thing but what the Mayor and Council pleaſed. As to O BRIAN, he declared to them at a full meeting, that as he had run into diſobedience for their ſakes, ſo he was ready to run into rebellion with them if they thought fit: the corporation were not aſhamed to intercede with the Lord Lieutenant for this man, and that he might be continued in his command: but to this the Marquis would not aſſent, as a thing of dangerous example; though he was ready to forgive him, and to gratify them in any thing elſe, provided they would admit a garriſon of his appointing: this they not only denied, but repeated their inſults to him, with circumſtances of the utmoſt malignity and contempt.

This rebellious obſtinacy of the city of Limerick, made it impoſſible for the Lord Lieutenant to gather an army, or to keep it together on either ſide the Shannon, without certain ruin: nor was this the worſt effect of their diſobedience. The example of Limerick was followed by that of Galway: Lord CLANRICARDE was amuſed for ſome time by the Magiſtrates of the latter with propoſals to receive a garriſon: but at laſt they abſolutely refuſed to admit either him or his troops, unleſs they were entirely under the command of the city. The authority of the Lord Lieutenant being rejected in theſe two places, he had no ſure retreat, in caſe the enemy ſhould paſs the Shannon, but ſhould be irrecoverably incloſed; the conſequence of which it was too eaſy to foreſee. He ſaw no manner of reaſon therefore for his continuing in Ireland from an expectation of any ſucceſs: his leaving it might occaſion the different parties of the Iriſh to ſtrive who ſhould make the firſt conditions with the enemy; and his ſtay might contribute to give them a diverſion, whilſt the King was drawing an army together in Scotland, in order to make an attempt againſt them in England: but this

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too was very uncertain. By a fatal miſcarriage he had heard nothing directly from his Majeſty for ſix months paſt: and though he had heard by common report, that the King had agreed with the Scots and was gone to Edinburgh, yet if this ſhould be true, the Marquis of Ormonde knew nothing of his meaſures or his ſituation. To be informed of theſe, he ſent Lord Taafe at the latter end of June to the King; being determined to ſtay if poſſible till he had received further directions from his Majeſty.

The Lord Lieutenant had diſcovered for ſome time paſt, that the chief view of the generality of the Iriſh Clergy, was to caſt off the Engliſh government, and to ſubject the kingdom to a foreign Popiſh power. To ſeveral of theſe powers he knew that applications had been made at different times: and with this view the Clergy had conſtantly aſperſed and calumniated his adminiſtration with every falſehood they could invent; and theſe aſperſions, how incredible ſoever, had the deſired effect upon a people, devoted beyond all conception to the Clergy. The Biſhops could not have forgotten, that in concert with the Nuncio they had offered the Marquis of Ormonde the Crown of Ireland, if he would accept it, and embrace their religion; at a time too when the Confederates were in the fullneſs of their ſtrength, and had great reaſon to hope for the aſſiſtance of all the Catholic powers of Europe: and after ſuch a refuſal, could they believe without the groſſeſt abſurdity, or if they did not believe it could they ſuggeſt without the higheſt iniquity, that he had now departed from his fidelity to the King, and was ſacrificing his friends, his country, and his fortune, to become a vaſſal to Cromwell? Under this pretence, in the beginning of Auguſt, the Iriſh Biſhops appointed a meeting at Jameſtown; from whence they ſent the titular Biſhop of Dromore, and the Dean of Tuam, to ſignify their deſire to the Marquis of Ormonde, "that he would ſpeedily quit the kingdom, and leave his Majeſty's authority in the hands of ſome perſon, faithful to the King and truſty to the nation, and ſuch as the affections and confidence of the people would follow." Though the Marquis expected no good from this meeting—of which he had received an inſolent notice from two of their Archbiſhops—yet he could not imagine their inſolence would have carried them to ſuch a length; and when he communicated the meſſage to the Commiſſioners of truſt, they were greatly offended: inſtead of returning a particular anſwer to the purport of their meſſage, they deſired his Excellency to appoint a meeting of their Biſhops at Loghrea at the latter end of the month; when they hoped to bring them to a more decent temper, and better meaſures.

The Marquis of Ormonde complied with the requeſt of the Commiſſioners, though without any hopes of ſucceeding; and the Iriſh Biſhops permitted him to go to Loghrea at the time appointed: but inſtead of meeting him there, they ſent two of their body to receive his anſwer to their propoſition for his leaving the kingdom. Being treated by them with this indignity, and there being no hopes of a conference, he wrote them a letter: he reminded them of their requeſting him to ſtay, when upon a former diſobedience he intended to have left the kingdom; and of their aſſurances that they would endeavour to procure him ſuch a compliance as would enable him to carry on the war: he informed them "that he had tranſmitted theſe aſſurances to the King, with his own reſolution to attend the effects; and though it was plain, that the diviſion was great in the nation under his government, yet it would be greater upon his removal; of which he could have given them ſuch pregnant evidence as he did not think fit to put into writing: that for theſe, and other reaſons, unleſs he was forced by inevitable neceſſity, he was not willing to remove out of the kingdom." The Commiſſioners of truſt alſo wrote to them in very preſſing terms; conjuring them to ſupport the King's authority in the Marquis of Ormonde, without which the nation would be expoſed to inevitable ruin, and they would be guilty of co-operating to that ruin, and to the deſtruction of the royal authority: but it was all to no purpoſe: for the Biſhops were pre-determined not to be ſatisfied with any thing that could be offered, or to alter the meaſures on which they had reſolved. The reader will acknowledge that I do them no injuſtice in accuſing them of this pre-determination, when he knows that on the day before their meſſage was delivered to the Marquis of Ormonde requiring him to leave the kingdom, they ſigned "a declaration againſt the continuance of his Majeſty's authority in the Lord Lieutenant;" and "a ſolemn excommunication," in which they deliver up to Satan all that ſhould oppoſe or diſobey it, or that ſhould feed,

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help, or adhere to the Lord Lieutenant, by giving him any ſubſidy, contribution, or intelligence, or by obeying any of his commands.

In a few days after they had received the Marquis of ORMONDE's anſwer to their meſſage, theſe righteous inſtruments—ſigned the day before the meſſage was ſent—were publiſhed. They were publiſhed too at a time when the enemy were ſtrong in the field; when SR. C. COOTE was advanced with a ſtrong army to Athlone, and another party was in the county of Limerick, ready to paſs the Shannon and overrun the province of Conaght. They were publiſhed too at the head of the forces under Lord CLANRICARDE; not to direct them whom to obey, but to ſet them looſe from all government whatever military and civil; and ſo to leave the country expoſed to the ravages of an enemy, who intended nothing leſs than their extirpation. Indeed the danger of loſing Athlone, and the terrible conſequences that would have followed, diſpoſed a few of their Prelates aſſembled at Galway to ſend to thoſe at Jameſtown, in order to defer the publiſhing theſe two acts; but it was too late: they had publiſhed them the day before: they were ſuſpended however—though unwillingly—for a time on this application, and that was all: for no ſollicitation of the Commiſſioners of truſt, no remonſtrances from Lord CLANRICARDE and others of the Nobility, could ever prevail with their Biſhops to revoke them. The Marquis of CLANRICARDE's forces however did not deſert him; and the Lord Lieutenant found Officers that were excommunication-proof, to whom he gave commiſſions. The congregation at Jameſtown, before they broke up, appointed a committee to act during the receſs: and theſe gave out commiſſions for levying ſoldiers, hoping thoſe that would diſband on their excommunication would liſt under their banners. The titular Biſhop of KILLALOE had raiſed a troop, and appointed a rendezvous: but the Marquis ſent out a party againſt him, by which his forces were diſperſed, and the Biſhop taken; which would have hanged him, as he deſerved to be, if the Marquis of ORMONDE had not ſaved him, though he was one of thoſe that ſigned the excommunication. The Eccleſiaſticks were ſtill however preaching up ſedition, and threatning the people with divine judgments for contempt of the Nuncio's and their own cenſures; to which they confidently imputed,—and not to ſuch a rebellion, and to a ſcene of ſuch rapine and cruelty occaſioned by it as ſcarce any hiſtory can parallel—all the calamities which the nation had already ſuffered, or were then actually feeling.

The reader may well expect to ſee ſome examples of ſeverity made of the moſt rebellious of the Clergy; who had ever ſince the peace diſturbed the Government, and had now broken out into ſuch acts of treaſon: but thoſe who are at all acquainted with the ignorance and bigotry of the common Iriſh Papiſts, and the extravagant reverence they pay their Clergy, will not wonder that nothing of this ſort was done. Let the following inſtance ſerve for all. A regiment being on the march at this time on an expedition by orders of their General, a ſeditious Friar put himſelf at their head, took the colours in his hand, and pronounced damnation to all who ſhould preſume to march any further. The principal Officers, though they were Papiſts, were moſt of them ſcandalized at this impudence, and gave orders again to march: but it was to no purpoſe: the common ſoldiers threw down their arms, and went every man to his home. Nor was this blind ſubmiſſion the only impediment to the puniſhment of their Clergy: their immunities was another, which was inſurmountable. Theſe immunities were the grants of the civil power, in times of ignorance, when zeal ſerved inſtead of religion, revocable at pleaſure, and actually extinguiſhed in theſe kingdoms by law: but yet the Papiſts of all ranks in Ireland were very zealous that their Clergy ſhould retain the ſame privileges which were enjoyed by Eccleſiaſticks in foreign countries. Hence no juſtice could be executed in a civil or martial way upon any Churchman, let his crime be ever ſo enormous: and thoſe who were moſt zealous for the King's ſervice, and moſt offended at the perverſeneſs and iniquity of their Eccleſiaſticks, though they were unſhaken by the ſpiritual cenſures, were yet ſo tender of the immunities of their Clergy, that they would not be concerned in inflicting a capital puniſhment on any of them, without the concurrence of their Biſhops. Hence in ſuch caſes the Lord Lieutenant muſt have determined upon his own ſingle judgment—for not a Proteſtant Officer was now left him, but the Captain of his guards—and muſt have executed the determination with his own hands. Hence too flowed all theſe condeſcen-

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ſions and forbearances which he uſed, and his endeavours by perſuaſion to keep thoſe Prelates from any ruinous reſolutions rather than treating them as enemies whom he could not puniſh. The reader however may ſpare his indignation at their perverſeneſs and iniquity; there was but one plan of putting an end to them, and that plan, he will ſoon ſee, CROMWELL executed with a vengeance; but who will ſay that ſuch men deſerved a better maſter than he was, or better treatment than he gave them? I verily think, no body, who hath red this hiſtory.

Whilſt the Marquis of ORMONDE was engaged in theſe fruitleſs attempts to put the kingdom into a ſtate of defence, IRETON and his forces were ranging over it almoſt at pleaſure. The particulars of taking ſo many caſtles and towns without any oppoſition, would afford no entertainment if I ſhould recite them, and therefore they are omitted. In the mean time they had cloſely blocked up the city of Waterford, and the fort of Duncannon; and as ſoon as the other places had ſurrendered, ſo as nothing elſe was left to the Iriſh in Leinſter, or in Munſter, but theſe two places, they were more cloſely beſieged. There were four thouſand foot, and two thouſand horſe in Waterford, under PRESTON who was the Governor, and the place had been conſiderably fortified: but their proviſions failing, and imagining by the burning of the ſuburbs that the whole army was at their gates, many of the garriſon fled over the water, and the reſt capitulated. After the reduction of Waterford, Duncannon, which had been thinned conſiderably by the plague, fell without any trouble, with all the arms and ammunition. The caſtle of Carlow, ſeated on the Barrow, was taken by a device in the following manner. The country on the other ſide, being friends to thoſe in the caſtle, and furniſhing them with proviſions, IRETON found it was neceſſary to employ the principal part of his forces on the other ſide of the river: but by what means to ſecure a communication between the two parts when thus divided was a great difficulty, having neither boats nor caſks for ſuch a purpoſe. They brought therefore together great quantities of the largeſt reeds, and tying them up in many little bundles with ſmall cords, they faſtened them to two cables fixed in the ground on each ſide the river, at the diſtance of eight or ten yards from each other: and theſe, being covered with wattles, bore troops of horſe and companies of

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ſoot as well as a bridge arched with ſtone. This expedient having enabled Ireton to beat down a little caſtle at the ſoot of the bridge on the other ſide the river, the place was ſurrendered upon articles. We muſt now leave Ireland to inform ourſelves of the King's condition; of whom nothing had been known there for ſeveral months.

We left the King at Jerſey, agreeing to enter into a perſonal treaty with the Scots at Breda: and when their Commiſſioners came thither, they offered ſuch a ſet of unreaſonable propoſitions, that they were even aſhamed to publiſh them: it was thought impoſſible indeed that any agreement could be made on thoſe terms, or indeed any agreement at all, unleſs the Commiſſioners had more power to recede than the Scots uſually truſted with their agents. His Majeſty had only two of his old Councillors with him, Lord Hopton, and Sr. E. Nicholas; and they delivered their advice fully and clearly, that the King ought not to approve or allow of the ſolemn League and Covenant in any ſort, either in Scotland, or in either of his other kingdoms: but the King having cauſed the Dukes of Buckingham, and Hamilton, and the Marquis of Newcastle, to be ſworn of his Council on this occaſion, the two old ones were ſet aſide after the firſt day's debate; the Scots inſiſting that they ſhould be excluded as parties, becauſe one of the propoſitions was, that none of the late King's Council, nor any that had ſerved in the war againſt the Parliament without taking the covenant, ſhould go with the King to Scotland. The treaty was carried on therefore with the three new Councillors; and his Majeſty himſelf and all that attended him were to take the covenant, before they were to be admitted to ſet their foot in Scotland. A man knows not what he doth when he makes the firſt deviation from the paths of virtue: it is as hard almoſt to ſtop in the way of vice, as it is in running down a precipice. There are natural guards planted by Providence in the human frame, to keep them from certain profligate and vicious actions: theſe are found by experience to be the beſt natural reſtraints in all ſuch caſes; and the perſons who can once get over them, are fit almoſt for any thing. Of all the actions of meanneſs, none are more deteſtable than falſhood and ingratitude, breach of faith, deſertion of friends, hypocriſy, and diſſimulation: and yet theſe were the actions into which theſe new Councillors were hurrying their

King, at his entrance into the world, and on his firſt appearing in one of his kingdoms. He was young and inexperienced, full of good inclinations, affected as yet with his father's dying inſtructions; which charged him never to abandon his friends, nor give up his religion, upon any conſideration whatſoever. He was now going to Scotland to renounce them all: to ſacrifice his friends in a compliment to thoſe who had been his father's ruin, and who meant to treat him as a ſlave; to ſubmit to conditions to which his heart did not agree, and which he could not with any honour obſerve; to quit his own principles in religion; to eſtabliſh Preſbyterianiſm in all his dominions: and whilſt he was doing all this contrary to his real ſentiments, he was in the moſt ſolemn manner to call upon the ſearcher of hearts to atteſt the ſincerity of his profeſſions, promiſes, and intentions. No wonder that ſuch a thorough deliberate profligacy as this ſhould corrupt the integrity of his heart, and lay the foundation of the libertine irreligious courſe of life which he led for ever after: but thoſe about him, having no principles of their own but what would yield to intereſt, cared not what became of their Prince's honour, conſcience, or reputation. Duke Hamilton made him believe—and perhaps believed ſo himſelf—that he might defer taking the covenant till he came into Scotland, under a pretence of deſiring to be better inſtructed; and when he was there he ſhould not be importuned about it. But the King was not permitted to land till he had taken the covenant; and this very Duke Hamilton, who had undertaken ſo much, and perſuaded him to it, was not ſuffered to continue with him, but was obliged to retire into obſcurity. Several papers were brought him to which he was required to ſet his hand; being told in plain terms by Argyle, in whoſe power he was, that without that compliance he ſhould have no authority over the people, and with an intimation eaſy enough to be underſtood, that his perſon ſhould ſoon be put under reſtraint. Among other papers, there was a declaration in his name, by which the peace concluded by the Marquis of Ormonde with the Iriſh, was declared to be void, upon the ſuppoſed unlawfulneſs of concluding any peace with that nation: and though he had frequently declared by letters to the Marquis, that he would never condeſcend to any thing prejudicial to that peace, yet he had gone too far now to go back, or make a ſtand. This declaration was therefore ſigned; in which he acknowledged his father's ſinfulneſs, his mother's idolatry, and his own ſorrow for making peace with Papiſts: and the commiſſions granted by him to any in Ireland were revoked.

When the Marquis of Ormonde firſt heard of this tranſaction in Scotland, ſo diametrically oppoſite to the King's principles and reſolution, he looked upon it as a forgery contrived by his Majeſty's enemies, in order to ſeduce the people from their loyalty and affection. But in the middle of October, the Dean of Tuam came to him out of Scotland with a letter of credence from his Majeſty, and an account of the unfair, and at laſt violent manner, in which that declaration had been obtained from him. He had reſolutely refuſed it for three days: but finding that his liberty if not his life depended upon it, and conſidering the violation of the peace by the Iriſh, and their diſobedience to his Lord Lieutenant, at laſt, though not without unſpeakable regret, he ſigned the declaration. The King at the ſame time aſſured the Dean of Tuam, that he was a true friend to the Church of England, and would continue firm to his father's and his own principles; that the Marquis of Ormonde was the man on whom he depended more than any one living: and though he was afraid the declaration he had been forced to ſign might prejudice him, yet as his Majeſty could do nothing of that ſort without the advice of his Council—which he had not had about it—the declaration could not be binding upon Ireland: that he was reſolved wholly to be governed in the affairs of that kingdom by Lord Ormonde; that the Scots had uſed him monſtrouſly, and he accounted it a great error and misfortune that he had not gone into Ireland when the Lord Lieutenant invited him: out of regard to whoſe ſafety he bid the Dean tell him, that the King deſired him to withdraw himſelf in time, and not land in Scotland, but go to Holland, or France, where he ſhould not fail to hear often from his Majeſty. The King was young, and greatly to be pitied: for I very much queſtion whether the embarking ſo early in a courſe of the moſt prophane diſſimulation, in taking the covenant which he did not believe, and in ſolemnly ſwearing to obſerve it when nothing was further from his intention, did not looſen him ſo much as to make him think, at leaſt to act ever after as if he thought, that no obligations were binding upon him. Whether this were ſo or not, there is no doubt I believe to be made, that the religious cant without any meaning, the pretended zeal without any truth, the formaliſm without any virtue, and the whole days of Phariſaical devotion without any goodneſs in the heart, of all which he was an eye-witneſs and obliged to be a partaker at that time in Scotland, that theſe diſguſted and ſowered him againſt all the externals of religion, and made him ſit looſe to all religion itſelf. The obſervation might be carried very uſefully much further: but it would be beſide the purpoſe of this work, which relates to former times; and therefore I ſhall return to the hiſtory.

The Marquis of Ormonde had hitherto ſtaid in Ireland, becauſe that he ſound his going away would increaſe the diviſions of the nation; and that thoſe who had been moſt active in procuring the peace would ſooner ſubmit to any conditions from the Commonwealth, than live under the tyrannical Government of the Clergy, and thoſe that oppoſed the peace. For this reaſon, and in hopes that by keeping the Engliſh forces employed in Ireland he might contribute to the advantage of the King's deſigns on England, he had choſen to ſacrifice his quiet and his ſafety to the vexations he daily met with, and the treachery he had cauſe to fear, rather than be wanting to what he owed his country, and his Majeſty's ſervice. But having been long ſince convinced by fatal experience, that he could no longer ſerve the former, and having now the King's conſent by the Dean of Tuam to relinquiſh the Government, and to leave his authority with the Marquis of Clanricarde, he ſaw no reaſon to detain him any longer there. He judged it neceſſary however firſt to quiet the minds of the people about the King's declaration in Scotland; of which the Clergy had taken hold to enflame them, and to juſtify their proceedings at Jameſtown, though they had been prior to it. To this purpoſe, the Marquis of Ormonde wrote to the Commiſſioners of truſt; aſſuring them that as the King had been obliged, againſt his will, to ſign the declaration for voiding the Iriſh peace, ſo his Excellency was reſolved at all hazards to aſſert its lawfulneſs, and the validity of it to bind his Majeſty and all his ſubjects; in which he would himſelf perſiſt, till the King, being well informed and under no reſtraint, ſhould declare his pleaſure reſpecting thoſe affronts which had been put upon the royal authority. But if the Marquis did this on his part, he informed the Commiſſioners that it ſhould be on theſe conditions on their part; Firſt, that their Biſhops ſhould revoke all their acts and declarations againſt his authority; and give aſſurances of no ſuch like attempts again. Secondly, that the Commiſſioners ſhould declare them to be an unwarrantable uſurpation upon the King's authority, and a violation of the peace; and if the Biſhops would not yield to the firſt condition, that the Commiſſioners ſhould endeavour to bring them to Puniſhment. Thirdly, that all Magiſtrates and Officers civil and military ſhould make the like declaration. Fourthly, that the Lord Lieutenant ſhould reſide freely in any place he ſhould chooſe within the limits not poſſeſſed by the Engliſh rebels. Fifthly, that he ſhould be permitted to put garriſons according to the articles of the peace, in all places of which he ſhould approve for the defence of the kingdom. On the next day, the Commiſſioners returned an anſwer; profeſſing their reverence for the King's authority, and their reſolution to do what was in their power for his Majeſty's ſervice, and his Excellency's ſatisfaction: that they would treat with the Prelates to revoke their acts and cenſures, which they knew to be invaſions on the royal authority; though a public declaration of it might incenſe the Biſhops, and endanger the union ſo neceſſary to preſerve the nation: but if the Marquis would call a General Aſſembly, and in the mean time if thoſe cenſures ſhould be revived, they would not fail to publiſh a declaration againſt them, and would give him ſatisfaction in the other points to the beſt of their power. The Commiſſioners went to Galway, in order to treat with the committee of the Congregation; and they earneſtly preſſed the Eccleſiaſticks to revoke the declaration and excommunication iſſued at Jameſtown: but the Biſhops abſolutely refuſed; and ſaid, that as the King had by his late declaration caſt the Iriſh nation out of his protection, they had nothing to do but to return to their old oath of aſſociation. No remedy was now left but a General Aſſembly; which the Marquis of Ormonde, though without hopes of ſucceſs, called to meet at Loghrea on the fifteenth of November. In the mean time we will ſee what the diſunion of the Iriſh, the great ſucceſs and the active ſpirit of Ireton, had made him attempt with the Engliſh forces.

Having well refreſhed and recruited his army at Waterford after the taking of Duncannon, he intended to advance with it to Limerick; which

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he had already blocked up at a diſtance by Colonel INGOLDSBY: but finding his proviſions grow ſcarce, he marched through the county of Wicklow; which afforded him ſixteen hundred head of cattle and abundance of ſheep. Theſe he divided with SR. HARD. WALLER, and ſent him with a conſiderable force to ſtreighten Limerick ſtill nearer. WALLER took three ſtrong caſtles in his way thither: and IRETON, joining his army to SR. C. COOTE's, advanced to Athlone in order to take in that garriſon: but finding the bridge broken, and the town on that ſide burnt, COOTE was left to block it up; and IRETON, who took two caſtles in his way, joined his army before Limerick. The Marquis of CLANRICARDE retook the two caſtles, and laid ſiege to Burr with a part of his army, whilſt he advanced to the relief of Limerick. IRETON, on this intelligence, ſent orders to the Governour of Kilkenny, to march with the Wexford and Tipperary forces to raiſe the ſiege of Burr, which they effected; with the loſs to the Iriſh of near fifteen hundred men, two hundred horſes, their waggons and baggage. The Iriſh upon this defeat quitted all the adjacent garriſons; and IRETON, the winter being come on, drew off his army from Limerick: he firſt ſettled all the garriſons round about it, and then taking Nenagh and two other caſtles, on the tenth of November, he came to his winter quarters at Kilkenny. We muſt now therefore return to the Lord Lieutenant, and the Iriſh.

Many of the titular Biſhops and of the Nobility not arriving on the day appointed for the General Aſſembly at Loghrea, the Marquis of ORMONDE's letter to them was not delivered till the twenty fifth, when SR. R. BLAKE, as uſual, was choſen Chairman. The Aſſembly was then very full, and compoſed of the principal Nobility and Gentry of fortune and intereſt left in the kingdom: far the greateſt part of them being well affected to the Crown, and very averſe to the proceedings of the Eccleſiaſticks. Several of the moſt learned and pious Clergy, both ſecular and regular, very heartily deteſted the late meaſures of the Congregation at Jameſtown: and even ſome of the Biſhops, whoſe names were to thoſe acts, declared againſt them; as being obtruded on them by the majority, or ſigned by their proxies without their knowledge. The Marquis of ORMONDE acquainted the Aſſembly in his letter, that it was his intention to

leave

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leave the kingdom very ſhortly: and deſiring them to conſider of the moſt probable ways of preſerving it from ruin, aſſured them that he would contribute his beſt endeavours to it before his departure very gladly. In this Aſſembly it was thought proper that the Lord Lieutenant ſhould make an anſwer in form to the declaration of the Biſhops at Jameſtown; though the matter of it had been already refuted by him more than once. He himſelf thought it unneceſſary to reply to ſuch a collection of notorious falſehoods as were contained in the declaration; which all men of ſenſe and knowledge abhorred throughout the kingdom. But ſubmitting to the judgment of thoſe, who, he knew wiſhed well to their country, and who deſired the preſervation of the royal authority, he ſent another letter to the Aſſembly, containing a clear and ample refutation of all the calumnies with which the declaration of the Prelates was filled.

The Marquis of ORMONDE had juſt then received another letter by MR. DIGBY from the King at Perth; giving him an account of the miſerable ſituation he was in through the tyranny and falſehood of the Scots; and intreating him to conſult his ſafety, and to repair to his brother the Duke of York in France, to whom he had ſent inſtructions to be adviſed by his Excellency upon all occaſions. The Marquis was therefore determined to leave the kingdom: but he had not determined to leave the King's authority behind him, leſt it ſhould be inſulted in other hands as it had been in his own: if he did leave it with any body, he reſolved it ſhould be left with the Marquis of CLANRICARDE, as the only perſon in the kingdom fit for ſo high a truſt; and that it ſhould not be left with thoſe whom the Biſhops had preſumed to nominate. The Aſſembly were very ſenſible of the invaſion made by the late acts of the Clergy, as well on the liberties of their country, as on the authority of the Crown; and were deſirous to vindicate both. They ſaw plainly the diſtraction into which the nation would fall, if the Lord Lieutenant departed without leaving them under a ſettled Government; and that the conſequence would be a ready ſubmiſſion upon any terms to the Commonwealth. They acknowledged therefore the great teſtimony he had given of his affection to his country in thus calling them together; and ſince he was upon his departure, they intreated him to leave the King's authority with ſome perſon acceptable to the nation, and faithful to his Majeſty's ſervice. In anſwer to this addreſs, he told them that when he ſhould hear they had publicly vindicated the King's authority from the affronts already offered it in his perſon, and had provided it ſhould not be ſubject to the ſame again, he would readily condeſcend to their requeſt: and as he was confident they would not be wanting to themſelves in maniſeſting their diſlike of the late proceedings of the Clergy, ſo he expected their ſpeedy ſenſe of it before the wind became favourable for his ſailing. They were too much divided, and the Biſhops had too much influence, for ſo large an Aſſembly to be ſo ſpeedy in their reſolutions: and the wind turning fair, on the ſixth of December the Marquis reſolved to embark. He had refuſed a paſs, as we have ſeen; his going away could not fail to be known to Ireton: and leſt he ſhould ſend ſome of his ſhips to block up the harbour, the Marquis ſent an authority to Lord Clanricarde to act as Deputy in his ſtead. The Aſſembly might poſſibly make ſuch a declaration, as, if it overtook him, might induce him to take this ſtep: and therefore he deſired the Marquis of Clanricarde to keep it to himſelf, and not to uſe it, unleſs the proceedings of the Aſſembly ſhould encourage him ſo to do; and then went on board. The Aſſembly being informed that he was embarked without appointing a deputy, the Chairman wrote to him the ſame day by their command, that they were preparing a declaration which they conceived would conduce to his Majeſty's ſervice, the union of the nation, and his Excellency's ſatisfaction; that they ſhould be ready to preſent it the next night; and intreated him to ſtay till that time to receive it. Lord Ormonde was under ſail in the bay of Galway when he received this letter; but came to an anchor, as they had deſired, to wait for the declaration, which was brought to him by the Lords Clanricarde, and Dillon, and two others. The declaration, though it carried with it a particular reſpect to the Lord Lieutenant, and an acknowledgment of his zeal and ſervice for his country, yet was not ſo full and explicit as might be expected: but the Marquis ſent them word, that he had given authority to the Marquis of Clanricarde to govern the kingdom, provided their declaration was ſo far explained as to give his Lordſhip full ſatisfaction with regard to the expreſſions they had made uſe of to declare their obedience. He then communicated to the Marquis of Clanricarde, that he deſired him to inſiſt on their declaring, that by the King's authority they meant the power entruſted by him with any Governour of the kingdom, and that there was no power in any perſons to ſet free or diſcharge the people from their diſobedience to any ſuch Governour during his commiſſion. This affair being adjuſted, and taking Lord INCHIQUIN, Colonel WOGAN, and forty other Officers beſides ſeveral paſſengers in his frigate, which the Duke of YORK had ſent for him, on the ninth of December the Marquis of ORMONDE put to ſea, leaving the infatuated Iriſh to their own deſtruction: and though the end of his government very properly puts a period to this book, yet I cannot conclude it, nor take leave of the Marquis of ORMONDE's adminiſtration, without once more holding him out as an example, in this ſelfiſh age, to the great men of his own country, and of mine; an example which few have ever equalled, which hath been exceeded by none, and which is worthy to be imitated by all.

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THE HISTORY OF THE REBELLION and CIVIL-WAR IN IRELAND.

BOOK VIII.

CHARLES II.
A. 1650.

BORLASE.
CLAREND.
CLANRICA.
COX.
CARTE.
LUDLOW.
CASTLEHA.
THURLOE.
MORRICE.
M. S.

IT hath already been obſerved in the preceding book, that CROMWELL had been ſent for out of Ireland, at the latter end of May, to prepare for an expedition againſt the Scots; who had acknowledged the King, and had agreed to invade England in his favour. The people in authority here, who ſtill retained the name of the Parliament, thought it adviſeable that their army ſhould march into Scotland, the powers there having already declared themſelves their enemies, and to make that country the ſeat of war inſtead of their own. Upon the refuſal of FAIRFAX to command the army in Scotland, CROMWELL was made Captain General: and the time of his departure for the expedition drawing near, he moved the Council of State, that ſince they had employed him about a work which would require all his care, they would be pleaſed to eaſe him of the affairs of Ireland: this they abſolutely refuſed, as well knowing he did not deſire it: he then recommended their ſending over ſome Commiſſioners for the management of the civil affairs, and a General Officer to command the horſe; as an aſſiſtant to **Ireton** in the military, and to be alſo one of the Commiſſioners. Upon a repreſentation of this advice to the Parliament, it was ordered that **Cromwell**, **Ireton**, **Ludlow** now made General of Horſe in Ireland, Colonel **Jones**, **Mr. Corbet**, and **Mr. Weaver**, or any three, ſhould be Commiſſioners for the adminiſtration of the civil affairs of that nation: but the principal buſineſs, it is very evident, was to find out ſome means for raiſing large annual ſums for the maintenance of the army, and the concluſion of the war in Ireland. This being all that was done relating to that kingdom in this year by the Engliſh Parliament, we muſt now return to the General Aſſembly of the Iriſh at Loghrea; which we left when the Marquis of **Ormonde** quitted the Government.

The Lord Lieutenant was no ſooner under ſail, than the Aſſembly applied themſelves to the Marquis of **Clanricarde** to aſſume the Government of the kingdom as Lord Deputy, according to the powers given him. The Marquis was at that time in a very ill ſtate of health, and much afflicted at the departure of the Lord Lieutenant; with whom he had held an intimate and a cordial friendſhip from the beginning of this rebellion. But if he was concerned at his departure through the entire affection he had ever borne his Excellency, his concern was greatly heightened, at the manner in which this great and moſt powerful friend of the nation was driven out of it. No little perplexity attended the Lord Deputy too on his own account. He was either to take upon himſelf a Government, in which he was to ſtruggle with many wants, and a very powerful and ſucceſsful enemy, or by laying aſide the thoughts of accepting the King's authority, to deſtroy all the hopes of preſerving his intereſts there, or of protecting thoſe who had been faithful to his Majeſty, and as lovers of their country attached to his friend the Marquis of **Ormonde**. However upon conſideration of the whole affair with Lord **Castlehaven**, the Marquis of **Clanricarde** determined to take upon him the Government;—though it was little leſs than to ſacrifice himſelf and his fortune—if the Aſſembly would give him the ſatisfaction which was deſired. This ſatisfaction, it hath been mentioned, related to their obedience to the King's authority, in the perſon of his Lord Lieutenant, or Deputy. The Marquis therefore required this explanation to be made before he would execute his commiſſion; but the Biſhops would neither revoke their own acts, nor allow any thing to paſs which in the leaſt reflected upon them. The explanation however was neceſſary to be made; and the Marquis inſiſted upon it. An inſtrument therefore was drawn up, declaring that all obedience ſhould be given to the King's authority inveſted in the Marquis of Clanricarde, or any other Governour who had not taken the covenant or violated the articles of the peace, and that it ſhould not lie in the power of any to take away that obedience. The Marquis deſired it might be added, "or to ſet free and diſcharge the people upon any pretence whatſoever from yielding obedience to the power entruſted by his Majeſty with any Governour:" but they would not conſent to it. The Biſhop of Limerick ſaid, that ſuch ties and declarations were not neceſſary: but if his Excellency ſuſpected the Prelates, they would give him all the ſatisfaction he could expect, by taking their oath before the altar on their knees, that they would pay him the ſame obedience which any Catholic Clergy in Catholic times had given to a Catholic Governour.

The Marquis would have been glad to have had the declaration of the Aſſembly couched in ſtronger terms; and there was a great number of the beſt quality in it, who offered him to make any declaration he would direct; which it was their opinion they could carry by vote: but being carried in that manner, with ſuch public diſgrace to the Eccleſiaſticks, it would produce ſuch proteſtations and diviſions as would end in the ruin of all. Upon conſideration of theſe circumſtances, and in hopes that a preſent union of the Iriſh might give the enemy ſuch a diverſion as might advantage the King's affairs in his other kingdoms, the Marquis of Clanricarde received the declaration, defective as it was, and declared his acceptance of the Government. There was then in the poſſeſſion of the Roman Catholicks all the province of Conaght; in which there was the ſtrong caſtle of Athlone, the ſtrong and important town of Galway and its

harbour,

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harbour, and many other leſſer forts and places of ſtrength: they had ſome of the inland parts of Munſter, beſides the city of Limerick; which, by the ſtrength of its ſituation, and the advantages it might have by ſea, could alone, with the aſſiſtance of Galway, have maintained a war againſt the Engliſh forces in Ireland: they had ſeveral parties of horſe and foot in Leinſter, and Ulſter, which drawn together would conſtitute a better army than the enemy's. Wherefore the Lord Deputy had reaſon enough to hope, that if he could be confident of the integrity and the affections of the Clergy to procure an union in the nation, he might yet be able to ſerve the King, and reduce it to his obedience. But theſe hopes were of a ſhort continuance.

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In a few days after the Marquis of Clanricarde had taken the Government upon him on their great importunity, even before any alteration in their affairs, or any further ſucceſs of the enemy, it was propoſed in the Aſſembly to enter on a treaty with the Engliſh for ſurrendring all that was left in their hands; the Biſhop of Fernes himſelf inſiſting upon it, that a treaty was neceſſary to undeceive and cure them of all expectations of good terms from the enemy. But the Lord Deputy expreſſed his diſlike of any motion, which, under a pretence of undeceiving the people, was the ready way to inveigle them, and to make them ſtupid and negligent of their own preſervation. He repreſented to them, that if there were any grounds for their deſpair, they ought to have diſcovered them before their importunities for the continuance of the King's authority: that he had ſent diſpatches to his Majeſty with an account of their condition, and was confident he ſhould ſoon receive either relief or a licence to withdraw the royal authority, and to permit them to treat for their preſervation: but till he received the King's pleaſure, he could not conſiſtent with his duty, honour, and ſafety, admit of any treaty: that the way to undeceive the people was by an excommunication againſt the Iriſh, who ſerved under the enemy, and ſuch as adviſe a ſubmiſſion to them; by proclamations of giving none ſuch any quarter; and by forbidding, on the higheſt penalties, any private or public treaty by any province, county, town, or perſon. The motion being ſet aſide on this repreſentation, the Biſhop of Fernes, who had been the moſt active tool of the Nuncio, and was of the ſame temper, threw off the maſk.

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He had been particularly importunate with the Marquis a few days before to aſſume the Government; and made ample promiſes of the entire ſubmiſſion of the Clergy to him: but now he moved "that in order to their better defence they ſhould return to their ancient confederacy, and ſo proceed in their preſervation without any reſpect to the King's authority." Moſt of the Biſhops and Clergy, and many others in the Aſſembly concurring in this motion, the principal Nobility, and Gentry, and Officers in the army, were enraged to the laſt degree: they told them it was now manifeſt, that it was not their prejudice to the Marquis of ORMONDE, nor their zeal for their religion, that had tranſported them to the lengths they had gone; but their diſlike of the King's authority, and their reſolution to withdraw themſelves from it: that they themſelves for their parts would conſtantly ſubmit to it, and defend it with their utmoſt hazard as long as they were able; and when a treaty with the enemy could be deferred no longer, they would make no proviſion for thoſe who were ſo forward to exclude the King's authority. A remonſtrance in ſuch bold and threatning language as they had not been accuſtomed to, ſurpriſed the Eccleſiaſticks; and they promiſed to employ all the neceſſary meaſures of defence: but from this time, all the factions and jealouſies which had been before amongſt them were revived. For though an excommunication was denounced by the Biſhops, and a proclamation iſſued by the Lord Deputy, at the deſire of the Aſſembly, againſt all perſons that ſerved in the army of the enemy or entered into treaty with them, yet in all the quarters which the enemy poſſeſſed, the Iriſh ſubmitted and compounded, and many of them ſerved in their army.

In the preceding book there was an account of a treaty with the Duke of LORRAIN for mortgaging the fort of Duncannon: it was a little before this time renewed by the Duke of YORK, who ſent letters of credence to him by Lord TAAFE. The Duke of LORRAIN objected that no body had authority from the King to conclude with him: but TAAFE being a bold and forward undertaker in all caſes, engaged that any place in the King's poſſeſſion in Ireland ſhould be delivered into his hands, as a ſecurity for the repayment of any money which his Highneſs ſhould advance for his Majeſty's ſervice there. Upon this aſſurance, and perhaps with ſome intereſted views, the Duke immediately delivered five thouſand pounds to TAAFE to purchaſe arms and ammunition; which arrived at Galway when the Aſſembly were debating about the treaty with the Engliſh. In a few days after, the Duke, by agreement with TAAFE, ſent the Abbot of St. CATHARINES as his Ambaſſador into Ireland, to conclude a treaty with thoſe who were in authority, for ſuch a fund of money and other neceſſaries as might probably recover the kingdom. The Abbot landed at Galway after the Aſſembly had adjourned; and after the Lord Deputy had iſſued out his orders for all their forces in the province to meet at a general rendezvous in order to engage the enemy. In his way to Athlone for that purpoſe, the Lord Deputy received a letter from four of the Commiſſioners of truſt, deſiring him before he went any further to repair to Tyrellan, to give an audience to the Ambaſſador from the Duke of LORRAIN: for though his credential was directed to the Prelates, and the Catholic Nobility, and Gentry of the kingdom—the Duke of LORRAIN not knowing that the Marquis of ORMONDE had left a Deputy—yet when the Abbot found that the King's authority was lodged with the Marquis of CLANRICARDE, he refuſed to make application to any one elſe. A public audience was accordingly given at Tyrellan by the Marquis to the Abbot: in which, after making an apology becauſe his credential was not addreſſed to his Excellency, the Abbot aſſures him that the Duke had already diſburſed ſix thouſand piſtoles for ſupplying the Iriſh with thoſe things of which they ſtood moſt in need, and which were brought over by Father DILLON who came with him: that he was ready to be informed of what they would deſire from his Highneſs which might enable them to reſiſt the enemy; and that he would conſent to any thing reaſonable for him to undertake.

After the ceremony of the audience was over, the Marquis ſaw F. DILLON, who gave him letters from Lord TAAFE, and acquainted him with the propoſals made by the Duke of LORRAIN: which, being little leſs than a total transferring of the Crown of Ireland to him, made the Marquis repent he had given the Ambaſſador ſuch a reception. But this being paſt, and to avoid any cenſure by taking the treaty upon himſelf, he ſent for ſuch of the Commiſſioners of truſt, and of the Prelates as were then at Galway, to adviſe with them upon it. F. DILLON being a friend of theirs, and probably let into the ſecret of the Duke of LORRAIN's expectations, it was thought fit in the firſt place to deſire he would inform them clearly, what would ſatisfy the Duke, for the aids he ſhould afford them for the King's ſervice, and their preſervation. The next day F. Dillon delivered in ſuch propoſals as he thought would be expected by the Duke, and which were to no leſs a purpoſe than to invite him over and to put the kingdom into his poſſeſſion; of which he, his heirs, and ſucceſſors, ſhould be accepted as Protectors, with the ſame ample power, obedience, and fidelity, as by all laws are due to Protectors royal. The Marquis being amazed to receive propoſals ſo inconſiſtent with the King's authority, and finding it impoſſible for him to come any thing near to ſuch demands, he determined to put the treaty into the hands of thoſe with whom he firſt adviſed; adding ſome other Biſhops and perſons of quality who had gone to Galway on the report of the Embaſſy. They were unanimous in opinion, that an agreement ſhould be made with the Duke of Lorrain as Protector of the kingdom, by giving him cautionary towns for the re-imburſement of his expences; but ſo as not to prejudice the King's right or government, the liberties of corporations, or the people of Ireland. Upon this the Marquis appointed a committee to treat with the Ambaſſador; but not to conclude any thing with him. Inſtead of this, they received propoſals from the Abbot of a very extraordinary nature, without communicating them to the Lord Deputy: and had altered the committee appointed by his Lordſhip without his conſent.

The Marquis complained therefore to them by letter of theſe proceedings, and of the overtures from the Abbot; which, after all the profeſſions of his Maſter's readineſs to ſerve the King, were plainly calculated to overthrow his government, and to extinguiſh his authority there for ever. He informed them that it was neither in his, nor in the nation's power, to diſpoſe of the kingdom to any foreign Prince: that their affairs, bad as they were, were not yet ſo deſperate as to drive them to ſuch extremity: and as he hoped the Duke of Lorrain and his Envoy would afford them aſſiſtance upon reaſonable conditions, he ſent them ſuch propoſals as he himſelf approved of, to be treated on by the Abbot and the Committee which he had appointed: and as the Abbot had declared that he had no power to conclude any thing in Ireland for further ſupplies, but that important article

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muſt be concluded with the Duke, ſo his Excellency thought it not proper to conclude any thing finally there in the King's behalf. Nevertheleſs, if the Abbot would advance a conſiderable ſum, his Lordſhip would venture to give a ſecurity for the money on the towns of Limerick and Galway. The return made by the Committee to theſe propoſals, was that the Abbot was contented the treaty ſhould take its final effect at Bruſſels, between his Highneſs and ſuch Commiſſioners as ſhould be deputed from the Iriſh: but notwithſtanding the cautionary towns offered, he could not at preſent part with any ſupplies upon ſo imperfect a treaty. Two days after, the Biſhops and Gentry at Galway declared to the Lord Deputy, by letter from their Archbiſhop of Tuam, that they ſaw no way for the preſervation of the Catholic religion, and his Majeſty's intereſt in that kingdom, and the lives and fortunes of his ſubjects, than by concluding with the Lorrain Ambaſſador upon his own terms; which were much the ſame with thoſe already mentioned. To this the Marquis replied, that before he deſcended to give any anſwer to the propoſals, he held it a neceſſary duty in him to expect, that all ſuch as had been ſaid to have given this opinion ſhould ſet their hands to the paper of propoſals and advice; and that the Committee which he had named ſhould require the Abbot to give it under his hand, that he would not agree upon any leſs terms than he had offered in his propoſals, or if he would admit of any qualifications, they ſhould be ſet down and ſigned: when theſe directions were performed, the Marquis then promiſed to give a full and final reſolution under his hand. But the Prelates and Gentry would not own under their hands the advice they had given the Lord Deputy; nor would the Abbot ſign his propoſals. In four days after however, their Archbiſhop of Tuam ſent another letter in the name of the Prelates and Gentry of Galway to his Excellency, informing him that the Lorrain Ambaſſador having abated of ſome of his terms, it was their unanimous ſenſe that he ſhould be complied with, rather than break with him; as ſeeing no other way for their preſervation. But the Marquis declared, that even theſe were ſo derogatory to the honour of the King, and ſo deſtructive to his intereſts, that his Lordſhip would never agree to them, and was reſolved inſtantly to leave the town. This reſolution being communicated to the Abbot, he ſent to deſire to ſee his Excellency, and to take leave

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of him before he went. To this requeſt the Marquis replied in a written meſſage, that he could not admit of any ſuch offers of civility, from a perſon that had ſo affronted and injured the King's honour and intereſt, by the propoſals which were affirmed to be ſuch as he would inſiſt on; and that his Excellency would ſend expreſſes of his own to the King, and the Duke of Lorrain, with an account of this negotiation. This meſſage, joined to the earneſt inſtance of the Prelates who went in a body to the Ambaſſador, produced an agreement from him at laſt, that he would advance twenty thouſand pounds—the ſix thouſand already paid being part—for the defence of the nation, on the cautionary towns of Limerick and Galway; and that all other particulars might be remitted to a treaty, between the Duke of Lorrain and ſuch Commiſſioners as the Lord Deputy ſhould ſend to Bruſſels. Articles were accordingly executed between his Lordſhip and the Abbot, on the fourth of April; in conſequence of which, the Marquis ſent Sr. N. Plunket, and Mr. G. Brown, to treat, in conjunction with Lord Taafe, with the Duke of Lorrain for further ſupplies upon caution; but nothing more, without a direction in writing from the Queen, the Duke of York, or the Lord Lieutenant. We muſt leave therefore this negotiation for the preſent, and turn to the operation of the two armies.

The winter months had been ſpent by Ireton in preparing every thing neceſſary for an early campaign; in making proviſion of tents, arms, clothes, and bread; and in ſending cannon and ammunition of all ſorts up the Shannon in ſhips and veſſels towards Limerick, intending to open the campaign with the ſiege of that place. The Commiſſioners of Parliament employed themſelves, in reſolving after what manner the public juſtice ſhould be adminiſtered in each diviſion, till the ſtate of affairs could be better regulated; and in laying a tax upon the nation, beſides the cuſtoms and exciſe, for the maintenance of the war. A proclamation was publiſhed by them to prohibit the killing any lambs or calves for a whole year, in order to raiſe the ſtock of cattle that had been ſo much exhauſted. Before Ireton took the field, he had a mind to remove ſo able a General as Lord Castlehaven out of his way. To this purpoſe he ſent him a letter by a trumpet, ſetting forth the power and juſtice of the Parliament, the ill company his Lordſhip kept, the little time he could ſubſiſt, and the great value that Ireton had for his perſon; offering him, if he would retire and live in England, that he ſhould enjoy his eſtate, and live in ſafety and favour with the Parliament. Lord Castlehaven anſwered his letter by the ſame trumpet; rejected his offer, and deſired not to hear from him again upon that errand. The Iriſh forces having retreated into Conaght, in order to keep ſtrong guards on the Shannon which covered the province, the reduction of Limerick could not take place till it was blocked up on both ſides. To effect this, it was reſolved that Sr. C. Coote, who had four or five thouſand horſe and foot, ſhould march into Conaght by Ballyſhannon, a paſſage on the Ulſter ſide not far diſtant from the ſea; and that Reynolds ſhould go with his regiment of horſe to their aſſiſtance.

The army when drawn out of their winter-quarters was ordered to rendezvous at Caſhel; from whence they marched to that part of the Shannon which lies oppoſite to Killalloo. Here lay Lord Castlehaven with two thouſand horſe and foot, diſpoſed along the ſide of the river, and defended with breaſt-works for their ſecurity, in order to obſtruct Ireton's paſſage. But by the treachery of the Officer, the Engliſh General made himſelf maſter of a paſs, whilſt his Lordſhip was haſtening with ſome troops to oppoſe him. At the ſame time Colonel Fennel, to whom Lord Castlehaven had left the defence at Killalloo, either cowardly or treacherouſly quitted it, and fled with his party into Limerick. Whilſt this ſucceſs was carrying on, Sr. C. Coote and Reynolds, who had taken Athlone, were entered into Conaght as far as Athenree: and the ſhips were come up the river of Limerick with the artillery and ammunition for the ſiege of that place. Ireton being thus become maſter of the Shannon, and Lord Castlehaven's men diſbanding after taking the paſs at Killalloo, ſo that he could give no aſſiſtance to the Lord Deputy to engage the Engliſh, the ſiege of Limerick was undertaken. The Marquis offered to put himſelf into the place, and to run the ſame fortune with it; but was refuſed as peremptorily as the Lord Lieutenant had been before. The citizens indeed were willing to receive ſome forces, but they muſt be thoſe of their own chooſing: and though they admitted H. O Neil with the name of Governor, yet they kept the exerciſe of the government to themſelves, and would

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obey no commands of the Lord Deputy which they diſliked. There was a continual correſpondence between the inhabitants of the town, and thoſe who had compounded with the enemy in the country; by which means the Engliſh did not want intelligence. In ſhort the ſiege had not been formed three days, before ſome of the citizens were for treating of a ſurrender; and though they knew that Lord Muskery was advancing with a ſtrong party to relieve them. Ireton had made an attack upon the iſland, and was repulſed with great loſs; and he had loſt many men by hard ſervice, change of food, and alteration of the climate. But whilſt the ſiege was carrying on, a reinforcement of above three thouſand foot arrived from England; and Lord Broghill being ſent againſt Lord Muskery, after a reſolute diſpute defeated him; killing many of his men, and taking others priſoners, with little loſs on the ſide of the Engliſh. Theſe ſucceſſes notwithſtanding, the Iriſh were not without hopes, that either the badneſs, or the ſcarcity of proviſions, or the plague, would conſtrain the enemy to raiſe the ſiege. They ſent great numbers of the people out of the town, as uſeleſs in their defence, or to ſpread the contagion amongſt the beſiegers: but Ireton returned them, and threatened to ſhoot any that ſhould attempt to come out again. He knew very well the diſputes there were in the city about ſurrendring; and by letters and meſſages he endeavoured what he could to foment the diviſion: declaring againſt ſeveral by name, who were the moſt active and obſtinate in holding out, that they ſhould have no benefit of the articles to be agreed on. This at laſt wrought ſuch an effect, that ſome of the Magiſtrates and the Officers met in the town-houſe, and reſolved to proceed to a treaty; which ſhould not be broken off, upon exception of any perſon for quarter, or confiſcation of goods. Commiſſioners were to be choſen the next day to ſend to Ireton: but the Biſhops of Limerick, and Emly, came to the town-houſe, and threatened to excommunicate them, if they proceeded in thoſe counſels; which would in effect deliver up the Biſhops to be ſlaughtered. This menace put no ſtop to the reſolution: the Biſhops publiſhed their excommunication, and a perpetual interdict on the city: but thoſe cenſures had been played with too often and too lightly, and had now loſt their effect. The Governor, H. O Neil was much againſt a ſurrender; but he had only power to ſet the guard: the Mayor kept the keys, and had the principal command of the Officers.

Colonel Fennel, whom we have ſeen betraying the paſs at Killalloo and taking ſhelter at Limerick, was one of the ringleaders of the treachery here: and having gotten the keys from the Mayor, in combination with ſome other Officers, ſeized upon two of the gates, and drove away the guard that O Neil had placed there. O Neil ſent for him to a Council of war, but he refuſed to come: and being ſupplied with powder by the Mayor, he turned the cannon upon the town; declaring that he would not quit his poſt, till the city was ſurrendered to the enemy; and as a proof of his reſolution received two hundred of Ireton's men in at the gates which he had poſſeſſed. A great breach being made at the ſame time in the wall, the city ſurrendered upon the articles which had been offered to them before; four and twenty perſons being exempted from mercy. The Governor met Ireton at the gate, and ſhewed him the ſeveral ſtores of arms, ammunition, and proviſion, which were ſufficient to have laſted near three months longer. The titular Biſhop of Limerick was the only one of the perſons excepted who made his eſcape. The ſoldiers of the garriſon were to lay down their arms, and to march whither they would: and the inhabitants had three months allowed them to tranſport their perſons, and three more to remove their goods, to any place in the kingdom where they ſhould be appointed to live. In this manner was the city of Limerick defended by the Catholic Iriſh: and this obedience did the Prelates and the Clergy find in their extremity, from thoſe whom they had ſeduced from ſubmitting to the King's authority, and from the duty which they owed their country. But the juſt ſeverity exerciſed by Ireton, when he got poſſeſſion of this place, is very remarkable. The Biſhop by putting on a ſoldier's habit, and marching out with them, eſcaped the puniſhment intended for him. The Biſhop of Emly was taken: and with all the reproaches imaginable, for adhering to the Nuncio, and oppoſing the Government, was ignominiouſly hanged. Dom. Fanning, whom the reader remembers to have oppoſed the proclamation of the peace in forty-ſix, wounding the Mayor, and the Herald, and being made Mayor by the Nuncio, was alſo hanged. The ſame fate attended Friar Wolfe, who raiſed a mutiny to prevent their admitting the Marquis of Ormonde; which he perſuaded the people would be pernicious to their religion. Even the Mayor, and Colonel Fennel, who had betrayed the place to the enemy, and J. Baron who had prevented Water-

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When Plunket and Brown arrived at Bruſſels, they found their buſy Biſhop of Fernes; who, without the privity of the Marquis of Clanricarde, was ſent with ſome ſecret delegation from the Iriſh Prelates to that Duke, and was in great favour with him. Rochfort the lawyer, and others, were ſent by the towns yet in the hands of the Iriſh, in order to join with the Biſhop in aſſuring the Duke of Lorrain, that if the Queen, the Duke of York, and the Marquis of Ormonde, ſhould not yield freely to the pawning of the kingdom to him, they were able and ready to put all into his hands. The Biſhop did not ſatisfy himſelf with this act of high treaſon: he wrote a letter to the Commiſſioners, though then at Bruſſels with him, "adviſing them to apply to the Pope for his benediction, and to make a ſubmiſſion to him in the name of the nation; becauſe the perſon from whom they come with authority, is for ſeveral cauſes excommunicated, and God would never proſper a contract grounded on the authority of "a withered accurſed hand." Wherefore the agents laying aſide the inſtructions which had been given them by the Lord Deputy, in the abſence of Lord Taafe, who was gone to Paris to conſult with the Queen and the Marquis of Ormonde, they proceeded in a treaty with the Duke of Lorrain for ſupplies, in the name of the people and kingdom of Ireland. The Queen, and the Marquis of Ormonde, had no reaſon to think that the Duke of Lorrain had any real intentions to ſerve the King by this project; or if he had, that it was in his power to ſerve him in the way that was propoſed. Lord Taafe was therefore ſent back to Bruſſels, with poſitive inſtructions not to treat for men, which were not wanted, and whom it was impoſſible to tranſport; but for ſupplies of money, which might eaſily be remitted, and arrive in time, if obtained without delay. His Lordſhip therefore refuſed to ſign the treaty carrying on by Brown and Plunket in his abſence; and which at his return was concluded with the Duke of

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LORRAIN. The articles of this treaty were upon the matter the ſame with thoſe which had been rejected by the Marquis of CLANRICARDE; and which abſolutely put the kingdom into the hands of the Duke.

This tranſaction was kept very private for ſome time; no account being ſent of it to the Queen, or the Lord Lieutenant: and as though the agents were conſcious that they had ſigned a treaty contrary to their inſtructions, it was ſeven weeks before they wrote of it to the Lord Deputy: and being afraid to appear before him they continued ſtill in Flanders. When the Lord Deputy received the articles, he was aſtoniſhed to find, that they had no relation to the commiſſion which he had given them, and that they were expreſſed in more explicit and offenſive terms, than the overtures which he had rejected. His Lordſhip therefore wrote immediately to the Duke of LORRAIN to diſabuſe him; to complain of the breach of truſt in the agents which he had employed; to proteſt in the King's name againſt their proceedings; to declare the treaty void and illegal; and to entreat his Highneſs to quicken thoſe aids he had intended for the relief of Ireland, upon ſuch terms as were conſiſtent with the Duke's and his Majeſty's honour, and to which alone the Marquis could conſent. But whatever were the Duke of LORRAIN's motives to this ridiculous project, which are variouſly conjectured, this treaty which had been ſo long in agitation, and which had occaſioned a great buſtle, was now entirely laid aſide: Neither had another, into which the King himſelf entered with him, by the Earl of NORWICH, any better effect: his Majeſty, ſaid the Duke, having nothing left in Ireland to treat for with him.

One of the principal motives which induced the Marquis of CLANRICARE to take the Government upon him, which he knew would be very burdenſome and vexatious, was the ſolemn aſſurances of the Clergy, and the joint promiſe of the cities of Limerick and Galway, that they would pay all poſſible obedience to his orders in every reſpect: how they were obeyed in the city of Limerick, which refuſed to admit him, or the garriſon which he appointed, hath been already ſeen: the obedience of the town of Galway will be related in its proper place. The Clergy, as they had long deſired, had now a Governor of their own religion, with whom they had been very importunate to take the reins of Government into his hands: but yet all the meaſures which he took for the defence of the kingdom were traverſed by them as much as the Marquis of Ormonde's meaſures had been, as though the Clergy were not affected by the common danger. The titular Primate ſummoned a provincial Synod, at which ſeveral of their Biſhops aſſiſted: and in which their firſt decree was, that no Biſhop of that province ſhould be allowed to ſit in the General Aſſembly, till he was abſolved from the Nuncio's cenſures. They declared the Duke of Lorrain to be protector of the kingdom; and forbade all of what degree and condition ſoever to aſſert the contrary on pain of excommunication. They reſolved to renew the old confederacy; and having taken an oath of ſecrecy, they choſe a committee to regulate the manner of proceeding in that buſineſs. This was what the Biſhop of Fernes had laboured in vain to renew in the late Aſſembly at Loghrea; and this was in truth what the factious Eccleſiaſticks had always aimed at from the time that the Nuncio came into the kingdom. Some agents were ſent to invite the other provinces into the confederacy, and to change the form of government. The Lord Deputy was conſidered as the greateſt obſtruction to theſe meaſures; being inveſted with the royal authority which they intended utterly to deſtroy. In order therefore to diſable him from ſupporting it, or to give them any diſturbance, they drew up and ſigned an act of excommunication—to lie ready againſt a proper time—againſt the ſaid Lord Deputy and his adherents; forbidding every one, under the pain of that cenſure, to communicate or to ſerve in the army under his command, together with ſuch as had been cenſured by the Nuncio, and had not received abſolution. Theſe acts were renewed in another Synod, which was called by the titular Biſhop of Leighlin, as ſenior Biſhop of Leinſter: and though there was no other Biſhop preſent at it beſides himſelf, yet this defect of eccleſiaſtical authority was ſupplied, by admitting ſome Officers of parties which ranged over the province to join with them.

The Marquis of Clanricarde had made ſeveral attempts to aſſemble an army in the field: but was ſtill defeated through the intrigues of the

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diſaffected Clergy with his Officers. It will therefore be no wonder to find the enemy ſucceeding in every attempt they made againſt the Iriſh; to which we are now to return. Whilſt IRETON was ſetling affairs at Limerick, he ſent LUDLOW with between three and four thouſand men into the county of Clare, to take the caſtle of that name and ſome others which were of ſtrength, but which were ſurrendered to him as ſoon as ſummoned. It was then debated in a Council of war, whether the army ſhould march to the ſiege of Galway, which had been for ſome time ſtraitened by COOTE and REYNOLDS: but moſt of the Officers complaining of the ill condition of their men through ſickneſs and hard ſervice, and the winter being at hand, it was determined only to ſend a ſummons to PRESTON, Governor of Galway, with offers of ſuch conditions as were firſt tendered to Limerick; aſſuring him at the ſame time if he refuſed them, that he ſhould have no better treatment than the garriſon of that place had been obliged to ſubmit to. But theſe conditions were then rejected: and IRETON having diſtributed his army into winter-quarters, in a few days after was ſeized with the plague at Limerick, where he died; and thus ended all operations in Ireland this year. The Engliſh hiſtorian muſt be conſulted for any tranſactions of this time in which the King was concerned; as they had none of them, except thoſe which are mentioned, any relation to the country of which I am writing.

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The chief command of the Engliſh army on the death of IRETON was conferred on General LUDLOW, who ſummoned the principal Officers to Kilkenny, in order to ſee what was neceſſary to deſire of the Parliament of England; ſo that no time might be loſt, when the ſeaſon of the year would permit them to take the field. Two proclamations at the ſame time were publiſhed, in order to prevent the country people from ſupplying the Iriſh with arms or other neceſſaries; and to require them to withdraw themſelves and their goods within a limited time from their quarters: and in caſe of refuſal they were declared to be enemies, and were accordingly to be treated. All the armourers, ſmiths, and ſadlers, were commanded to retire by the ſecond proclamation, within twenty days after the date, with all their families, forges, and inſtruments, into ſome garriſon of the Parliament; on pain of forfeiture of their goods, and tools, and ſix months impriſonment

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for the firſt offence, and for the ſecond, on pain of death. The reſt of the time before the ſpring was ſpent in ſeeing theſe orders obſerved; in preparing tents, and cloathing, and other proviſion neceſſary for the army; and in ſcowring with different parties the paſſes and faſtneſſes of the Iriſh: And as there was a great appearance of the ſpeedy determination of the war, and the Parliament had ſummoned the adventurers who had advanced their money upon the lands in Ireland, the Commiſſioners began to conſider of the qualifications and heads under which the Iriſh ſhould be brought; that the innocent might be freed from their apprehenſions, and the guilty puniſhed according to the nature of their crimes. Some of the Iriſh having notice of this proceeding ſent a letter to the Commiſſioners, ſubſcribed G. FITZGERALD, on behalf of their Aſſembly held in the province of Leinſter; deſiring in the name of that, and the reſt of the provinces, a ſafe conduct for their deputies, in order to treat of conditions of ſubmiſſion to the Commonwealth of England. To this the Commiſſioners anſwered, that the eſtabliſhment of the nation belonged to the Parliament of England: who would diſtinguiſh thoſe who had always lived peaceably, or ſubmitted to their authority, from ſuch as had committed and countenanced the murders and maſſacres of the Proteſtants, in the firſt year of the rebellion: that they could not grant ſafe conducts, but that ſuch as would lay down their arms and ſubmit to the Commonwealth, ſhould have as favourable conditions as they could juſtly expect.

The town of Galway being inveſted by COOTE, the inhabitants ſent to the Lord Deputy to deſire his aſſiſtance; and then promiſed all obedience to the King's authority in him. His Lordſhip might be very well diſcouraged by their former carriage, and by their accepting the illegal articles made with the Duke of LORRAIN without his conſent, from having any thing further to do with them. But on their firſt application, he ſent his ſecretary to them with ſome directions; and having ſummoned ſuch of the Nobility, Prelates, and Gentry, as could ſafely repair thither, he went ſoon after himſelf. They had men enow ſtill diſperſed in ſeveral parties to reſiſt the enemy, if they were drawn together, and could be united: and the town of Galway was ſo good a port, that any ſupplies or ſuccours from abroad might come ſafely to them. Notwithſtanding all this, the Aſſembly importuned the Marquis to give them leave to ſend for a ſafe conduct for ſome Commiſſioners to treat on conditions of ſubmiſſion to the Parliament of England for the nation: and in the mean time, they ſaid they would make ſuch preparations for their defence, as that if they could not get good conditions, they would ſell themſelves at ſo dear a rate as ſhould make their conqueſt of little uſe to the enemy. To oblige them in this requeſt, though againſt his judgment, the Lord Deputy condeſcended to write to this purpoſe to General LUDLOW; and received much the ſame anſwer that had been given before. For a little time this put a ſtop to the treaty; and conſultations were held about raiſing the blockade. But in a few days, the Marquis having left the town to get ſome forces together, and the Aſſembly breaking up, the town of Galway, by perſuaſion of ſome of the Nuncio's party, without conſulting with the Marquis who was within half a day's ride, and without putting the enemy to the trouble of a ſiege, entered into treaty with SR. C. COOTE, and ſurrendered the laſt town they had.

The Iriſh being reduced to ſo very low a condition, through the wickedneſs of their Clergy, and the blind ſubmiſſion paid them by the people, many of the ſoldiers applied for leave to be tranſported into foreign ſervice, and the Commiſſioners aſſiſted them with ſhipping to that purpoſe. Colonel FITZPATRICK ſubmitted with his whole regiment, on condition of being ſent into the Spaniſh ſervice, which was complied with; and though the Prelates excommunicated him, and his men, hoping to get better terms if the whole nation ſhould ſubmit together, yet his example was ſoon followed by Colonel ODWYER and his brigade on theſe conditions: that their arms and horſes ſhould be delivered up at a certain price: that he and his party ſhould enjoy their perſonal eſtates, and ſuch a proportion of their real eſtates, as others under their qualification ſhould be permitted to do: that the benefit of the articles ſhould not extend to ſuch as had murdered any of the Engliſh, or had been engaged in the rebellion the firſt year, or to any Romiſh Prieſts, or to thoſe who had been of the firſt General Aſſembly, or to thoſe who had taken away the lives of any of the Engliſh after quarter given, or to thoſe who had deſerted from them and joined the Iriſh: and that all others might have liberty to live in the Engliſh quarters, or to tranſport

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themſelves into the ſervice of any foreign ſtate, in friendſhip with England.

The Commiſſioners of the Parliament having removed to Kilkenny, in order to confer with the Officers about the public ſervice, the Earl of Westmeath, who commanded the Iriſh forces in Leinſter, ſent to deſire a ſafe conduct for Commiſſioners to be named by them to treat about the terms of their ſubmiſſion, which was granted: they were the ſame in ſubſtance as thoſe agreed upon with Colonel Odwyer and his party: and a liberty was left for Lord Muskery, Major General Taafe, and ſome other Commanders in the other three provinces, that were yet in arms, to come in within a limited time on the ſame conditions. The whole number that ſubmitted according to theſe conditions was about three thouſand: but many finding themſelves within that exception concerning the murders of the Engliſh, or hoping to obtain better conditions, or it may be taking pleaſure in their predatory way of life, continued ſtill in arms. Of this number was Lord Muskery who commanded the Munſter Iriſh; and who, when the treaty was made with thoſe of Leinſter, ſent word that he would accept the ſame conditions: but his ſincerity being ſuſpected from ſome intercepted letters, a preparation was made to reduce him and his party by force. Thoſe of Conaght and Ulſter, inſtead of ſubmitting as was expected, got together in a body of about five thouſand, under the command of the Marquis of Clanricarde, and Sr. Ph. O Neil; who, now all the other Generals were gone, began again to be a man of ſome conſequence. They beſieged, and took the fort of Ballyſhannon, and the caſtle of Donnegal: but both theſe places were ſoon retaken, twelve hundred of the men ſurrendered and laid down their arms, and the Lord Deputy was forced to ſhelter himſelf in the iſle of Carrick.

The commiſſion for conſtituting Cromwell Lieutenant of Ireland being expired, it was moved in the Engliſh Parliament to renew it; and to ſend General Lambert over to command there as his Deputy in the room of Ireton: and the motion was likely to be carried, though it was oppoſed as unſuitable to a Commonwealth. But Cromwell, having another part to act at that time, ſtood up and declared his ſatisfaction with what had been ſaid againſt conſtituting a Lieutenant of Ireland, deſiring them not to continue him in that character. The Parliament being willing to believe him in earneſt, the queſtion was put, and carried in the negative, as he had requeſted. This being over, he moved that though they had not thought fit to continue a Lieutenant of Ireland, they would be pleaſed, in conſideration of the worthy perſon whom they had approved to go over with the power of Deputy, to continue that character to him: but the Parliament, having ſuppreſſed the title and office of a Lieutenant, thought it highly improper to appoint a Deputy, who was only the Lieutenant's ſubſtitute: they refuſed therefore to conſent to that propoſal, and ordered that Lambert ſhould be inſerted in the commiſſion of civil affairs, and be made Commander in chief of all their forces in Ireland. But Cromwell tried to perſuade them that the army in Ireland would not be ſatisfied, unleſs their Commander in chief went over qualified as Deputy: upon which Weaver, one of the Commiſſioners then in the Houſe, aſſured them from his own knowledge, that all the ſober people of Ireland, and the whole army there, except a few factious perſons, were not only well ſatiſfied with the preſent Government military and civil in that nation, but alſo with thoſe who had the conduct of it; and moved that their commiſſion might be extended to a longer time without alteration. This ſpeech of Weaver's, to perſuade the Parliament to continue Ludlow in the command of the army in Ireland, increaſed a jealouſy which Cromwell had conceived of him that he might prove an obſtruction to his deſign: and therefore ſince Lambert refuſed to go over with any character leſs than that of Deputy, he reſolved to place Lieutenant General Fleetwood, who had juſt married Ireton's widow, at the head of affairs in Ireland. This arrangement procured two advantages to himſelf: the one, in having the army in that country in the hands of a perſon ſecured to his intereſt by his alliance; and the other, in drawing Lambert into an enmity with the Parliament, which would prepare him to join with Cromwell, when he ſhould find it convenient to put his deſign in execution. The commiſſion appointing Fleetwood Commander in chief in Ireland, and ſigned by Cromwell as Captain General of the armies of the Commonwealth, is to be ſeen in the firſt volume of Thurloe's ſtate papers.

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Whilſt this affair was negotiating here, Ludlow was very buſy in reducing the Iriſh. The only face of an army which they had remaining was under Lord Muskery, who made his principal rendezvous at Roſs in the county of Kerry; a place of great ſtrength by its ſituation, being encompaſſed on every part by water except on one ſide, upon which there was a bog not paſſable but on a cauſeway which was fortified. There being little or nothing elſe for the army to do, Ludlow marched to this place with four thouſand foot and two thouſand horſe, accompanied by Lord Broghill, and other General Officers. When they came there he was informed, that the Iriſh received their ſupplies from the parts which lay on the other ſide, and were covered with woods and mountains: upon which information, he ſent a party of two thouſand foot to clear thoſe woods, and to find out a convenient place on which to erect a fort if there ſhould be occaſion. Whilſt theſe forces were thus employed, not without an oppoſition which ended to the loſs of the Iriſh, the other part of the army with the General were fortifying a neck of land on which he intended to leave a party to keep in the Iriſh on that ſide; whilſt he went with the horſe and the reſt of the foot to look after ſuch as were abroad, and to receive their own proviſion and other neceſſaries which the Commiſſioners were ſending them by ſea. When their boats came up, each of which was capable of containing above a hundred men, Ludlow ordered one of them to be rowed about the water, in order to find out the moſt convenient place for landing upon the enemy. This is his own account: but Cox ſays, "that he cauſed a ſmall ſhip to be made, and had it carried over the mountains and ſet afloat in the lough, which ſo aſtoniſhed the Iriſh that they yielded up the place." The place, it is true, was ſoon after yielded: and the articles were in effect the ſame which had been granted to the Iriſh in Leinſter, and other parts: but the agents, who were to treat upon them, being doubtful whether the article concerning the murder of the Engliſh might not, as it was worded, include them all, it was altered to their ſatisfaction. Inſtead of leaving them to enjoy ſuch a part of their eſtates as ſhould be allotted to them by the qualifications that were to be agreed on, the Iriſh deſired that article to be changed, and that as to their eſtates, it might be expreſſed, they wholly ſubmitted to the mercy of the Parliament of England. They inſiſted very earneſtly on the exerciſe of their religion: "but we refuſed, ſays Ludlow, to oblige ourſelves to any thing in that particular; declaring only that it was neither the principle nor the practiſe of the authority which we ſerved, to impoſe our way of worſhip upon any by violent means." There is ſomething ſo notoriouſly falſe, and conſequently ſo very impudent in this aſſertion, that one wonders it could be made uſe of by a man of Ludlow's rank; and much more that he ſhould publiſh it in his memoirs. But a ſpirit of enthuſiaſm, of which no body was ever more fully poſſeſſed than this violent Republican, covers all imperfections, and ſanctifies or annihilates the groſſeſt crimes. Was not one of the chief ends of the rebellion which they engaged in, after the King had given up his prerogative, and the liberties of the people were ſecured, to overthrow the Church of England, and ſet up Preſbyterianiſm in its room? Did they not ſuppreſs the liturgy in England and Ireland by force, turn out the Clergy, eſtabliſh their directory, and oblige every one to take the covenant in order to impoſe their own way of worſhip? In flat contradiction to him therefore it muſt be ſaid, that both the principles and the practice of the authority which he ſerved were to impoſe their way of worſhip by violent means.

Whilſt the military ſervice in Ireland was drawing to a concluſion, moſt of the Iriſh forces having ſubmitted and laid down their arms, no garriſon of any ſtrength holding-out, and many thouſand men being ſent into foreign ſervice, the Parliament were perſuaded to ſend over five companies of foot, and an entire regiment commanded by Colonel Clark; not for any need there was of them there, as it is plain, but as being thorowly principled for the deſigns of Cromwell, who adviſed their being ſent. Having at the ſame time at his requeſt appointed Fleetwood to the chief command of their army in Ireland, they reſolved to give the adventurers poſſeſſion of their lands in that kingdom, in proportion to the ſeveral ſums which they had advanced, and to ſatisfy the arrears of the army out of others. According to this reſolution, they paſſed an act for the confiſcation of ſo much of the eſtates of thoſe who had acted againſt the Engliſh, as they judged the quality of their crimes deſerved, and extending their clemency towards thoſe who had demeaned themſelves with courteſy. It appears from the collection of Thurloe's papers, that towards the cloſe of

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this year the Popiſh Clergy in Ulſter ſent Friar Fox into Spain, to complain of their ſufferings to that King, occaſioned as they conceived by his Majeſty's league with the Engliſh Parliament, and to offer him the allegeance of all the Iriſh then in arms, and all the ſtrong holds in their power, if he would relieve them. To this the Spaniſh King anſwered, that he would give them two hundred thouſand crowns a month to carry on the war, though his aſſiſtance muſt be privately managed, as it would be inconvenient to him to be known for the enemy of the Parliament: and in caſe they could not hold out, he would give orders for their tranſportation into Spain, and ſend letters to his Ambaſſadour at London to endeavour to procure the liberty of religion for thoſe who remained in Ireland. But the Friar died at his return, before he had delivered the letters, which are ſaid in this paper to be ſorth coming; and the application to Spain was without effect.

In order to bring the few that remained yet in arms to a neceſſity of ſubmitting, Ludlow ſcoured the counties of Wicklow, and Wexford, with four thouſand men, placing garriſons in convenient places, and fortiſying ſome others; and from thence going to Carrick, Monaghan, and Fermanagh. In the mean time, General Fleetwood landed at Waterford; but that place and Dublin being much infected with the plague, he fixed his reſidence at Kilkenny, where Ludlow waited on him to reſign the chief command. Indeed the military ſervice was almoſt entirely finiſhed before his arrival; and there remained little more to do than to manage the civil affairs in conjunction with the other Commiſſioners of the Parliament. This was an undertaking much more arduous and painful than reducing the forlorn and diſtreſſed Iriſh by force of arms: and the firſt meaſure they entered upon, was iſſuing commiſſions for a high Court of Juſtice in the ſeveral provinces; in order to try thoſe that had been accuſed of murdering the Engliſh in the firſt year of the rebellion. Of this number was Lord Muskery, who was charged to have put many Engliſhmen to death, in the way between his houſe and the city of Cork: hereupon his Lordſhip was ſeized, and ſent to Dublin to be tried by the Lord Chief Juſtice Lowther, who preſided in that court. But ſuch multitudes of Engliſh appearing to teſtify the great humanity of this Lord and his Lady, who had ſaved the lives of many hundreds that muſt otherwiſe have been loſt by cold and famine, and it being clearly proved to the Court, that though many of the Engliſh were murdered by the convoy that were appointed to conduct them to Cork, yet that Lord Muskery had not only taken all the care he could for their ſecurity, but had done every thing in his power to bring the guilty perſons to juſtice, he was very honourably acquitted, and allowed to paſs into Spain.

On the trial of L. Tool, a noted incendiary and head of a clan in the county of Wicklow, and who was condemned and executed, Reily, the titular Primate, appeared as an evidence: but being well known to have been the chief author of ſurpriſing and burning the black caſtle of Wicklow during the ceſſation, by which means many of thoſe who were in it loſt their lives, he was accuſed in Court by ſome who knew him, ſeized, and brought to his trial: he pleaded, in extenuation of his puniſhment for this crime, his merit towards the Engliſh in betraying the camp at Rathmines, already mentioned; and the importance of that ſervice being well known, he was ſuffered to go away unpuniſhed. The name and the crimes of Sr. Phelim O Neil are too often mentioned in this hiſtory for the reader to want a remembrance from me of either. It hath been already mentioned that the Commiſſioners had iſſued a proclamation, requiring all the inhabitants to withdraw themſelves from the Iriſh quarters, in order to force them to a ſubmiſſion for want of proviſions: but this not proving thorowly effectual, they publiſhed another proclamation at this time; ſetting a price upon the heads of the principal and the moſt guilty, that they might be brought to their trial and puniſhed as they deſerved. An hundred pound reward to bring Sr. P. O Neil, dead or alive, was encouragement enough then for the Iriſh to look after him: and one of theſe giving intelligence to Lord Caufield, whoſe father the reader remembers was inhumanly butchered by him in his fort at Charlemont, that Sr. Phelim was in an iſland in the North, his Lordſhip had too good a reaſon to take a party of horſe and foot, and, by entring the iſland in boats, to ſeize and drag him away to the juſtice which had ſo long awaited him. It appears by the affidavit of Dean Ker in Nalson's collections—not a word of which Mr. Ludlow mentions—that upon his trial at Dublin, at which the Dean was preſent, Sr. P. O Neil was accuſed by ſeveral then in court of having ſhewed them a commiſſion from the late King for raiſing the rebellion in forty one: upon which he confeſſed, that when he surpriſed Lord Caufield in the fort of Charlemont, he found a patent to which the broad ſeal was annexed; and cutting off the patent, he ordered one Harrison to fix the ſeal to a commiſſion which he had directed to be drawn up: and that Harrison, being then in court and called upon, confeſſed that he ſtitched the ſilk cord and label of that ſeal to the ſaid commiſſion. On the ſecond day of his trial, ſome of his Judges told him that if he could bring any material proof that he had ſuch a commiſſion from the late King, he ſhould declare and prove it, before ſentence paſſed againſt him, and he ſhould be reſtored to his eſtate and liberty. To this great offer he made reply, that he could prove no ſuch thing; and they gave him till the next day to conſider of it: nevertheleſs being brought into Court, and tempted again with the like offer, he again declared that he could not prove any ſuch thing as a commiſſion from the King: he added, "that the outrages committed by his aiders and abettors, contrary to his intention, now preſſed his conſcience very much; and that he could not in conſcience add to them the unjuſt calumniating the King, though he had been frequently ſollicited to it by fair promiſes and great rewards while he was in priſon;" and proceeding to ſay ſomething more, he was immediately ſtopped, and ſentence of death was pronounced upon him. The man, it is well known, was profligate to the laſt degree; and the offer of his life and eſtate were powerful temptations to men leſs abandoned: but what wretches were thoſe that cauſed theſe temptations to be laid in the way of ſuch a man, in hopes that he might accuſe the King, and ſo make their guilt in putting him to death the leſs inexcuſable! But hoping ſtill that they ſhould prevail with Sr. P. O Neil, when the terrors of death were nearer, the Dean depoſeth further, that he was preſent and very near Sr. Phelim when he was upon the ladder at his execution; and that two Marſhals came riding to the place in great hurry, calling aloud "ſtop a little," and having paſſed through the crowd, one of them whiſpered him ſome time, and Sr. Phelim O Neil anſwered him, in the hearing of the Dean and ſeveral hundreds round him, "I thank the Lieutenant General—meaning Fleetwood—for this intended mercy; but I declare, good people, before God and his holy angels and all you that hear me, that I never had any commiſſion from the King for what I have done in levying or proſecuting this war." Though no mercy was ſhewn to any one that could be proved to have murdered a ſingle Engliſhman, yet this man, who was one of the principal conſpirators in the inſurrection, and who had been the means of ſhedding more Engliſh blood than all the Iriſh put together, was not only to be pardoned, if he would add one crime more to his guilt by falſely accuſing the late King, but to be reſtored to his eſtate and liberty. ——Such was the malignant ſpirit of theſe enthuſiaſtical Republicans, who pretended to ſo much piety! No other perſon of any quality was condemned in theſe Courts of Juſtice except Lord Mayo, in the province of Conaght: four of his eleven Judges acquitted him, but the other ſeven condemning him he was ſhot to death. Several other Courts of Juſtice were held at Kilkenny, Waterford, and Cork: but in Ulſter, where the maſſacre firſt began, and where the greateſt part of the cruelties on the Britiſh Proteſtants was committed, ſcarce any body was taken up and tried: and ſo many of the murderers in other places had been deſtroyed by a ten years war, or by the plague, or had eſcaped amongſt the many thouſands that went abroad, that not above two hundred remained to undergo their fate at the gallows.

From this period to the Reſtoration, there are few or no lights to be gathered from any work that has been publiſhed in England, or in Ireland, except Ludlow's memoirs, and Thurloe's ſtate papers; and the deficiency is not greatly to be lamented. Though Ludlow wrote chiefly upon memory, and he has obſerved no dates nor order, yet as he was for the greateſt part of that time one of the principal actors upon the ſtage of Ireland, his accounts of it then, abating his anachroniſms, may be in a good meaſure depended on; all the favourers of monarchy, which was the grand object of his averſion, being ſuppreſſed or baniſhed. But this dependence muſt not extend to the time of the Protector's government; at which he was as uneaſy as at the late King's. Beſides theſe memoirs, and ſtate papers, the books in the Council Office at Dublin, till within two years of the Reſtoration, from the year fifty, are in being—all the reſt being deſtroyed by a fire:—and the extracts that I made from thoſe books furniſh the other materials that will be met with here. They are certainly of the higheſt authority: but the reader is not to expect, either from LUDLOW, THURLOE, or theſe manuſcripts, any matter that is very intereſting or important. The times there were become calm; and the Republicans had borne down every thing in Church and State with ſo high a hand, that there is nothing left but a few dry meagre annals, or extracts from letters, for an hiſtorian to work upon. It is a misfortune for a hiſtory to conclude thus; and I thought therefore once not to have carried it on any further: but I conſidered that an hiſtorian is not expected to create matter; that no tranſactions of this ſpace of time have yet appeared, except in the memoirs and ſtate papers above mentioned; that the laſt were intermixed in ſeven volumes in folio which are but in few hands; and that the reader might have a curioſity—though very little was done in this period—to know what that little was; and therefore I determined to prefer utility to entertainment, and that the concluſion of the work ſhould be inſipid, rather than want the fulneſs which I could give it.

In order to recruit the waſted country, and to recover the ſtock and growth of the land, the Parliament ordered their Commiſſioners to publiſh a declaration, that the war in Ireland was concluded; and they permitted the people of England to tranſport all ſorts of grain, and cattle, and other neceſſaries for the new plantation of the deſolate parts of Ireland, duty free. The arrears which were due to the Engliſh army in Ireland, were ſatisfied by the Parliament out of the forfeited eſtates, according to the ſame rates that were allowed to the firſt adventurers: but in this tranſaction there appeared a very unjuſt partiality, by confining it to thoſe who had been in arms from the time that CROMWELL landed: and though the hardſhips endured by thoſe who had been in arms before were much greater, yet nothing could be obtained for them, but ſuch a proportion of lands in the county of Wicklow, as was not ſufficient to diſcharge the fourth part of what was due to them. Thoſe who ſollicited the affairs of the Iriſh army with the Parliament, having perſuaded the adventurers that there were forfeited lands enow in one moiety of nine principal counties, they accepted of them for their ſatisfaction; and the other moiety was by the act aſſigned for the ſoldiers in forty nine, and after, to that time. The province of Co-

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naght was reſerved for the Iriſh, under the qualifications agreed upon by the Parliament: according to which they were to be put into poſſeſſion of the ſeveral proportions of land which had been promiſed them in the ſaid province; that ſo the adventurers, ſoldiers, and others, to whom the Parliament ſhould aſſign their lands, might plant without diſturbance, or danger of being corrupted, by intermixing with the natives in marriage or otherwiſe: for to this, by the experience of former times, the Engliſh were found to be rather more prone, than to have improved the Iriſh in religion or good manners: neither could the natives, being divided by the Shannon from the other provinces, and having garriſons placed round them in the moſt proper ſtations, have thoſe opportunities of diſturbing or prejudicing the Engliſh which they formerly had. Some of the lands that had belonged to the Biſhops, Deans, and Chapters, were applied to augment the revenue of the College of Dublin: and the remaining part of thoſe lands, together with the counties of Dublin, Cork, Kildare, and Carlow, were reſerved to be diſpoſed of to favourites, or otherwiſe, as the Parliament ſhould think fit. The forfeited lands were divided between the adventurers and ſoldiers by lot, according to an eſtimate taken of the number of acres in the reſpective counties: and Sub-commiſſioners were appointed to judge of the qualifications of the ſeveral Iriſh, and to ſet out ſo much land in the province of Conaght as belonged to every one according to the act. A committee was eſtabliſhed to ſit at Dublin, to receive and adjudge all claims of the Engliſh and others to any lands, which were made appear to be legal claims, within a limited time; ſo that the adventurers, ſoldiers, and others, might be at a certainty, and after ſuch a time free from any moleſtation in the poſſeſſion of their lands; which limitation was afterwards extended to a further date.

The Marquis of CLANRICARDE, ſeeing the ruin and confuſion into which his countrymen had brought themſelves, about the time of the ſiege of Galway ſent Lord CASTLEHAVEN to the King, to give him a faithful repreſentation of the ſtate of Ireland, and to deſire his Majeſty's direction what to do. The King being in no ſituation to afford the leaſt aſſiſtance of any kind, ordered his Lordſhip to write to the Marquis to take care of his own ſecurity, and not to fall into the hands of the enemy. Having endeavoured there-

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therefore in vain to draw the ſcattered forces together, ſeeing thoſe on whoſe fidelity he moſt depended falling every day from him, and being reduced to thoſe ſtraits that he durſt not remain twenty four hours together in a place for fear of being betrayed, he was compelled to ſend to FLEETWOOD for a paſs, and for liberty to remain in their quarters for three months, without having any oath impoſed upon him, and to tranſport himſelf beyond the ſeas. His requeſt was readily complied with: and had he aſked for a portion of his great eſtate and promiſed to give them no trouble, they would probably have conſented to it: but he aſked for nothing more than hath been mentioned; and when he had ſettled his affairs he retired to his eſtate at Somerhill in Kent, where in the year fifty ſeven he was releaſed by death from all his troubles.

The ſummer having been ſpent in adjuſting the ſeveral claims and ſetting out the ſeveral lands over the kingdom, on the twenty ſixth of September, the Parliament of England publiſhed an act for the confirmation of them; in which it was declared, "that the rebels in Ireland were ſubdued, and the rebellion appeaſed and ended." But now a new ſcene began to open: the Parliament diſbanded about five thouſand men in Ireland; and they were very inclinable to diſband all the army in England. CROMWELL, knowing this would ſap the foundation of his credit, and being much out of humour to find his ſervices in a way of being requited with ſuch ingratitude, determined to riſk every thing to make himſelf maſter of the Parliament; who properly ſpeaking owed all their power to him. The way to do this, he knew from experience, was by withdrawing the confidence of the army from them; and then the undertaking to accompliſh their ruin would not be difficult. To this purpoſe, he contrived two petitions to the Parliament, one after another, from a General Council of Officers who were all at his devotion; the one to demand their arrears, and the other that the Parliament ſhould be diſſolved. The Parliament were inflamed with theſe petitions; and forbade any more ſuch to be preſented on pain of high treaſon. This was what CROMWELL expected, and was what he wanted: he knew they were odious to the people, and diſagreeable to the army; and he thought he had no longer any meaſures to keep with men that were intent upon his ruin. Wherefore taking a file of muſketeers with him into the Houſe, and in a furious tone bidding the Speaker leave the chair, he told them they had ſate long enough, and it was not fit they ſhould ſit any longer; upon which they all tamely went away: and giving the fools bauble—which he called the mace—to one of his Officers, he locked the door. The Parliament being thus diſſolved by Cromwell's ſole authority, he appointed a Council of State to govern the kingdom; and at the cloſe of the year he had managed his affairs ſo well, that he was declared Protector of the Commonwealth of England, Scotland and Ireland, with a Council of twenty one.

The news of this great alteration of the Government was variouſly entertained by thoſe in Ireland. In the general it gave great ſatisfaction to moſt people, and eſpecially to the army, which had been harraſſed and oppreſſed by the Commiſſioners with great partiality; but the Anabaptiſts, who had borne the chief ſway, and had lorded it not only over the Iriſh, and the Cavaliers, but over all the other ſects, were full of invectives and animoſity. When it was propoſed therefore that the Commiſſioners ſhould proclaim the Protector at Dublin and other places in that kingdom, it was ſtrenuouſly oppoſed by Ludlow, as contrary to their engagement, and an act of Parliament; and if it were dubious only whether or no it was wrong, they ought to expect an order, he ſaid, which they had not received from thoſe who had the power in their hands. But after a fortnight's delay from this oppoſition, a day was appointed by Fleetwood to take this matter into conſideration by the Commiſſioners, and three or four of the principal Officers of whom they had the beſt opinion; and it was carried by a majority of one vote only to iſſue the proclamation; which Ludlow not only refuſed to ſign, but he alſo rode out of town on the day the ceremony was performed at Dublin, and never acted afterwards as a Commiſſioner but once. He did not however decline the exerciſe of his military authority as Lieutenant General of the horſe; having received his commiſſion from the Parliament, "which he was reſolved to keep till it was forced from him, in order to attain the ends for which he received it." The ſame reaſon, if he had acted conſiſtently with himſelf, would have obliged him, and more ſtrongly, to act in his civil capacity as a Commiſſioner; for that authority was equally granted him by the Parliament; it was not revoked by the Protector; and as the war was concluded, it was of much greater utility to the publick. But men have a wonderful facility in impoſing upon themſelves: and the true reaſon of keeping his military command, when he threw up the civil, was not what he pretended, to bring the guilty to juſtice, and to reſtore the Engliſh to their eſtates, but either becauſe, as Colonel Cromwell wrote to Thurloe, it was profitable to him, or that he might keep up his influence and authority in the army; in hopes of an opportunity of uſing it againſt Cromwell, whom he hated now as much as he had hated the King before.

The authority of the Protector having been eſtabliſhed in England by the means of the army, he ſent his ſecond ſon Colonel Hen. Cromwell into Ireland to feel the pulſe of the Officers there, and, by an acquaintance which he was to cultivate, to prepare himſelf for his future command over that kingdom. It was indeed become neceſſary that ſomething further ſhould be done, than had been done, towards ſettling the Government of that country: for it appears by a letter of his to Thurloe, that the "Commiſſioners had done little more than to make orders for diſtributing the public lands, of which they had given large proportions to themſelves." Even Fleetwood himſelf "was too deeply engaged in a partial affection to the perſons of the Anabaptiſts to anſwer the Protector's purpoſe." In one particular only of the revenue, the State had been cheated of above one half for five years paſt, by the Commiſſioners that were entruſted for letting the lands. The courts of judicature, for want of judges and able lawyers, were in ſo miſerable a condition, that the adminiſtration of juſtice was delayed and the people were much oppreſſed: neither would the poverty of the State, as it had been managed, enable them to allow a competent encouragement to men of worth and ability to go over thither. So general had been the deteſtation of the Iriſh occaſioned by the late rebellion, that ſcarce a houſe out of the walled towns had been left undemoliſhed, fit for an Engliſhman to live in; nor was any timber, except in ſome particular places, left undeſtroyed. Such was the ſituation of affairs then in Ireland, when the change of Government took place.

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"The inſtrument of Government"—as it was called—which was ſettled when CROMWELL aſſumed the title of Protector, required a Parliament to be ſummoned in September for the three nations, united now in one Commonwealth: and the ſame inſtrument requiring thirty members to be choſen for Ireland, letters were ſent from CROMWELL and his Council in the ſpring to the Commiſſioners there, to inform them of this clauſe, and to deſire their advice touching the enſuing election. In conſequence of this order, the Commiſſioners ſent a letter to the Protector in May—to be ſeen in the Council books—to inform him "that the condition of Ireland is ſo waſte, and deſolate, and uninhabited, and the parts that are inhabited ſo unſettled, that they could not preſent unto him, as he deſires, any way or courſe at that time for election of perſons in that nation to ſerve in the enſuing Parliament." But this anſwer being inadmiſſible, and the election being required in the beſt way they could procure it, the Protector wrote a letter to FLEETWOOD, to deſire that he with the other Commiſſioners would conſider, "to what places and in what manner the thirty Members might be diſtributed with moſt equality, and with reſpect to the preſent affairs: whether they conceived any place or parts in Ireland to be capable of electing members themſelves, and if ſo, under what qualifications: or whether the preſent condition of affairs be not ſuch, as that particular perſons ſhould be called by writ for the next Parliament?" On the receit of this letter, ſome of the Commiſſioners propoſed, that for this time the Protector and his Council ſhould nominate the thirty members that were to be choſen: but LUDLOW deſired they might retain at leaſt the form of liberty, ſince by the influence of thoſe in power the ſame perſons would probably be choſen that they deſired: and accordingly FLEETWOOD uſed the power of Government in his hands—as all Miniſters have ever done—to get a majority elected on the ſide of the Court. In the ſame books there is another letter from the Commiſſioners in Auguſt, to the "Clerk of the Commonwealth in Chancery," to inform him that they have ſent the writs and indentures made between the Sheriffs and electors of ſuch Members as were choſen to ſerve in Parliament.

The Commiſſioners, eſpecially LUDLOW, proving not ſo tractable under CROMWELL as it was deſired they ſhould be, an order was ſent over in the

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name of his Highneſs and his Council, to annul all the power and authority given to the Commiſſioners of the Parliament, and to appoint Fleetwood Deputy, and others to be his Council, for the Government of Ireland, to continue for three years. With this appointment there came inſtructions to them, "to improve the intereſt of the Commonwealth of England in the dominion of Ireland, for the advancement of religion in that country, and ſuppreſſing idolatry, popery, ſuperſtition, and prophaneneſs: to give encouragement, and provide competent maintenance to all ſuch perſons as are of pious life, and as they ſhall find qualified with gifts for preaching the goſpel, by way of ſtipend out of the public revenue: to execute all laws in force againſt Papiſts, and Popiſh recuſants: to conſider of all due ways for the advancement of learning, and training up youth in piety and literature, and ſettling a maintenance for proper perſons to be employed in it, as far as the preſent affairs of Ireland will admit: to execute all the acts and ordinances of Parliament now in force in this Commonwealth againſt delinquent, malignant pluraliſts, and ſcandalous miniſters in Ireland: to take care that juſtice be adminiſtered according to the laws and conſtitutions of England: to ſee that no Popiſh or other malignant perſons be employed in the adminiſtration of the laws, or execution of juſtice; nor practiſe as counſellors, attornies, ſollicitors, or ſchoolmaſters: to put in execution all the acts of Parliament now in force in this Commonwealth for ſequeſtring all forfeited eſtates of Popiſh malignants, Archbiſhops, Deans, and Chapters: to ſet all theſe lands and benefices, for any time not exceeding ſeven years, on ſuch terms as they ſhall judge proper: to ſettle the cuſtoms and exciſe: to manage the treaſury for the beſt advantage of the State: to take care of the public ſtores: to ſit and vote at Councils of war for the equal diſtribution and regulation of quarters for the ſtanding forces: to leſſen by all proper methods the public charge of the Commonwealth: to tranſmit an eſtimate of the revenue to his Highneſs and Council forthwith, and once after every year, with a repreſentation of what will conduce to the improvement of it: to uſe the beſt means for the recovery of any part that hath been concealed and for an improvement of the whole: to cauſe an exact ſurvey of the Crown and Church lands, and of the foreſts and other forfeited lands undiſpoſed of: to diſpenſe with the orders of the late Parliament and Council of State for the tranſportation of

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the Iriſh into Conaght, if it ſhould be for the public ſervice: all temporal offices to be diſpoſed of by the Deputy, except thoſe reſerved to his Highneſs's diſpoſal; ſuch as the Preſidents of provinces, Chancellor, Treaſurer, Vice-treaſurer, Maſter of the ordnance, Judges, Maſter of the rolls, Serjeants at law, Attorney and Sollicitor General, Treaſurer at war, Marſhall, and Clerk of the cheque: in caſe of death or abſence of the Deputy, five of the Council to act with all the power of the Deputy and Council; and each of them to have a ſalary of a thouſand pounds a year.

The diſcontents in England beginning to diſcover themſelves openly, ſeveral commiſſions were ſent thither by the King to raiſe horſe and foot: but CROMWELL, who never wanted intelligence, cauſed divers perſons to be ſeized and impriſoned that were concerned in the undertaking. Suſpecting however that they might have ſome further grounds for it than he had diſcovered, he ſent orders to Ireland for two thouſand foot and three hundred horſe to be ſent over from thence to his aſſiſtance: but when this party were drawn to the water-ſide in order to be embarked, ſome of the private ſoldiers, either from a ſcruple of conſcience, or an unwillingneſs to leave their families and plantations in Ireland, refuſed to go, though the Deputy and ſeveral field Officers were preſent: alledging that they had liſted themſelves to fight againſt the rebels there, and in conſequence of that obligation were ready to obey all commands that ſhould be given: but they knew not againſt whom they ſhould be ordered to fight in England, poſſibly againſt ſome of their beſt friends, and therefore deſired to be excuſed from that ſervice. The Deputy, and the Officers, being determined to compel them, called a Court-martial inſtantly upon the place; where they ordered the ring-leader to be ſhot, and an entire company to be caſhiered: and theſe orders being executed, the reſt embarked. About this time there is a letter from the Deputy and Council in Ireland to the Protector, to inform him that the charge of the forces there by the eſtabliſhment of the late Parliament, is forty-ſeven thouſand pounds a month, beſides the civil charge which is very conſiderable: towards the defraying of which there is little to be reckoned upon there except the aſſeſſments of ten thouſand pounds a month levied over the kingdom; the cuſtoms and exciſe being almoſt wholly taken away by the late ordinances of Parliament for encouraging the plantations: and therefore they pray him earneſtly to ſend them the conſtant ſupply of two and thirty thouſand pounds a month which had been allowed for Ireland.

The Parliament having met according to the writs required in the "Inſtrument of Government," Cromwell opened the Seſſions in a Speech; which it is not the buſineſs of this hiſtory to relate. Though he hoped the Parliament would confirm his dignity of Protector, having taken care that none of thoſe perſons, nor their ſons, who had borne arms for the King ſhould be returned, yet the firſt thing propoſed by the Parliament was to examine the power which had convened them. A ſtroke ſo unexpected gave him great uneaſineſs: and as he had his friends as well as his enemies in the Houſe, he found means to waſte his time till he ſaw a proper opportunity of ſecuring himſelf againſt his oppoſers: he ſent then for all the Members into the "Painted Chamber," and told them that they had aſſumed too much liberty in calling an eſtabliſhed Government into queſtion, from which themſelves had derived their authority, ſince if they were not lawfully convened, they had no power to debate. At their return to the Houſe they found a guard placed at the door, refuſing entrance to thoſe who would not ſign an engagement to be true and faithful to the Protector, and not to propoſe or conſent to alter the Government. Though many were thus excluded, yet others ſigned the engagement, that they might have an opportunity to deſtroy him. A plot had been chiefly laid by the Cavaliers, but with the privity of ſeveral Members of Parliament, to raiſe an army in ſeveral parts of the kingdom; and Cromwell having intelligence of this prevented the execution of it by diſſolving the Parliament. About the ſame time an order was received in Ireland from Cromwell, that as General Ludlow had declared himſelf diſſatisfied with the preſent government, the Deputy ſhould take care that the General's charge in the army might be managed ſome other way. Upon this Fleetwood ſent to him to deliver up his commiſſion, or to engage under his hand not to act by virtue of it, till he ſhould receive a commiſſion to do ſo either from the Protector, or the Deputy. He refuſed to do both for ſome time: but at laſt he ſigned a parole in writing, that he would tender himſelf to the Protector at Whitehall by the tenth of March following, wind and weather permitting; and in the mean time would act nothing directly to the diſturbance of the peace, or the prejudice of the preſent Government: many altercations as well in England as in Ireland enſued upon it; but of too little conſequence to the Publick to deſerve a place in a general hiſtory.

That the inclinations of the army in Ireland might be better known, and the refractory ones in it kept more under than they had been through the too great eaſineſs of Fleetwood, the Protector ſent over Colonel Hen. Cromwell a ſecond time, in hopes that he might be able to fix the ſoldiery in his intereſt. The end of his going over was not at firſt diſcovered; and was conjectured to be nothing elſe than to command the army as Major General under the Deputy. He was received however at Dublin with all the pomp and ſolemnity of a Chief Governor. There was an order of Council at this time, that no perſon ſhould preſume to come from Scotland into Ulſter without a licence from General Monck; and that whoever did come without ſuch licence was to be apprehended by the commander in chief, as an enemy to the Commonwealth, and kept in cuſtody till they gave ſatisfaction of their good behaviour. In the ſame month, another order iſſued from the Deputy and his Council, to the commander in chief of the counties of Meath, and Lowth, and to all officers of the army and Juſtices of the peace, to take care of the ſpeedy ſuppreſſion of Popiſh Schoolmaſters, who teach the Iriſh youth in thoſe counties, training them in ſuperſtition, idolatry, and the evil cuſtoms of this nation, and to make a return to the Council-board in caſe of obſtruction. Another order was given in the ſame month, that no houſes or lands ſhould be let to any Iriſh or Papiſts in or near garriſons, or great towns, or caſtles of any ſtrength, but in ſuch places as are conſiſtent with the public ſafety: and that the Commiſſioners of the revenue ſhould let to the beſt advantage of the Commonwealth, all the real eſtates of ſuch Iriſh and Papiſts, as have not manifeſted their conſtant good affection before the Court for the adjudication of titles and qualifications.

The buſineſs of tranſplantation was now begun by the Council, who thought they had a power to tranſplant all that expected any benefit from the qualifications by the act of ſettlement: but imagining what they did could not be revoked without the exerciſe of the legiſlative power, they proceeded in the tranſplantation very gradually: Nor did this work meet with that encouragement from England which they thought it deſerved, but was rather diſcountenanced and obſtructed there; and this had encouraged the Iriſh to hope for a diſpenſation, and not to tranſplant ſo readily as otherwiſe they would have done. About the middle of April, a proclamation was publiſhed by the Deputy and Council, taking notice of the evil practice in that nation of keeping the days commonly called Eaſter Holidays: whereby not only idolatry and ſuperſtition derived ſrom the church of Rome is maintained, but the notorious ſins of drunkenneſs, ſwearing, and many other abominations are committed; and ordering that all ſhops in the city of Dublin ſhould be kept open on Eaſter Mondays and Tueſdays as at other times, and that the people ſhould follow their lawful callings. In a few days after, a letter was received from the Protector and his Council, directing that General Ludlow ſhould not be permitted to leave Ireland till further orders: and by the ſame poſt a letter came from the Protector only, ſetting ſorth to the Deputy and his Council, that the deſpoiled Proteſtants in Ireland had petitioned him, that they might have the like favour for remiſſion of rents payable to him for lands and tithes, formerly held of the late King and of eccleſiaſtical perſons and ſocieties, as are granted to Soldiers and Adventurers for the encouragement of replanting Ireland; and that the ſame reaſon holds in caſe of thoſe Proteſtants, they being unable to rebuild and replant their eſtates waſted by the ſaid rebellion: but as he deemed it fitter that the conceſſion of this requeſt ſhould come from the Parliament when it was aſſembled, to whom he would effectually recommend it, ſo he ordered that no payment ſhould be made of any ſuch rents in the mean time, and no proceſs whatſoever iſſue on that account. It appears from the firſt letter, and the ſubſequent confinement of General Ludlow, that the Protector was afraid the violent republican ſpirit of that General would be working againſt his government; in which he was certainly in the right: and from the laſt letter one may conclude, that the authority which Cromwell had aſſumed was not ſo fully eſtabliſhed at that time, but that it was neceſſary to ſhew a condeſcenſion to the Parliament, though he intended the majority ſhould be at his devotion. But hereafter we ſhall ſee that this condeſcenſion was laid aſide, and that a following Parliament which he had modelled ſuitably to his deſign, having offered him the title of KING, which he earneſtly wiſhed, but was afraid to accept of, having inveſted him with the full power of a Monarch under his former title of Protector, was ſoon after diſſolved.

In order to reduce the charge of the military eſtabliſhment in Ireland, an inſtruction was ſent from CROMWELL to diſband part of the forces, with a liſt of ſuch particular horſe and foot that were to be broken: in which he took care to free himſelf of the malecontents, and of LUDLOW's regiment particularly: however not to irritate them unneceſſarily, both Officers and ſoldiers were allowed their full arrears out of the forfeited lands of each county, according to the rates that had been ſet upon them by the General Council of Officers; in which the goodneſs and convenience of the lands of every county were eſtimated and balanced. This account is taken from LUDLOW's memoirs, who hath not only placed it a year too early, but, as it appears from a letter of FLEETWOOD's in THURLOE's collection, hath falſified the fact; no ſuch liſt having been ſent from England, and the Deputy and Council reducing the forces according to their own inclinations, having a regard to the public ſafety. But H. CROMWELL ſays in another letter, "that the reducement hath been carried ſo impartially, as that none can ſay they are injured; and the ſatisfaction held forth to thoſe who diſband is ſo advantagious, that it hath made more men greedy of ſitting down on the terms offered than to continue in their employments." The Lieutenant Colonel of LUDLOW's regiment was accuſed at the head-quarters, of having ſaid, when he received his arrears with the reſt of the regiment, that this diſtribution would prove invalid without an act of Parliament; and this was aggravated into a crime, as if he intended to excite the ſoldiers to mutiny and ſedition: upon which he was ſent for and committed to cuſtody, till he gave aſſurance of his quiet and peaceable behaviour. It muſt be obſerved that General CROMWELL gives a different account from this of LUDLOW's, in a letter to the Protector which is in THURLOE's collection. He told his father "that the Officers of LUDLOW's regiment had put it to the queſtion, whether the preſent Government were according to the word of GOD and their former engagements, which was carried in the negative, and that the Council had impriſoned Lieutenant Colonel Scott who was the ring-leader, and hoped to let them ſee that Government is not to be played with, by applying puniſhments ſuitable to ſuch diſtempers, when other means will not prevail."

The ſtate of affairs in Ireland was little different from that in England, and the army there as much diſaffected to the deſign of making Oliver King, as thoſe of the ſame profeſſion here. Fleetwood had been recalled a little before, and Colonel Hen. Cromwell acted as Lord Deputy in his room; who deſired ſeveral of the principal Officers to join in an addreſs to his father, and to aſſure him that they would ſtand by him againſt all his enemies: but the Officers being ignorant of the things for which they were to engage, and of the perſons againſt whom they might be required to defend the Protector, deſired to be excuſed. Though there was a general ſubmiſſion to the preſent Government, yet the military Officers were ſplit into ſeveral factions. A great party favoured the ſpirit and principles of Ludlow, were principally Anabaptiſts, and having been uſed to govern the eaſy temper and good nature of Fleetwood, were now, if not openly clamorous, yet inwardly diſcontented, and ſent a petition to the Protector to reſtore their Lord Deputy. Another party, who had not ſo much intereſt in him, and had rather been kept under, if not oppreſſed under his Government, ſigned a petition that Lord H. Cromwell—as he was called—might be made Deputy, under whoſe adminiſtration an equal regard was had to all parties.

About this time the Quakers began to make their firſt appearance in Ireland: the Deputy and Council iſſued an order to the Mayor of Dublin, the Governors of Corke and Kinſale, and to all Juſtices of the peace, " to apprehend all Quakers lately come from England into that nation, to examine their names and places of abode in England, on what occaſions they were come to Ireland, by whom invited over, whether they belong to or are ſent by any church or gathered people in England, what teſtimonials or recommendations they brought from any godly people or known church in England, and to cauſe them to be kept in cuſtody till their anſwers were returned to the Council. The like order was ſent to the Governor of Waterford, and the Juſtices of the peace in that neighbourhood, with this addition, that they ſhould ſhip them off for Briſtol, or ſuch places as ſhould be moſt convenient for their reſpective places of abode." In a few days after, there was an order of Council to the Mayor of Dublin, "that all the Quakers in cuſtody ſhould be ſhipped off with the firſt conveniency for Cheſter, with a direction to the Mayor of that city to ſend them to their reſpective places of abode, and to exhort them to live orderly, and to make honeſt proviſion for themſelves and families." But to ſay the truth, the Quakers were a much more orderly inoffenſive people in their principles of government and religion, than the wild and fiery zealots who treated them with this ſeverity.

In a ſhort time after, ſome new inſtructions were ſent to the Lord Deputy and Council of Ireland, in the true kingly form, ſigned Oliver P. and counterſigned by Thurloe; requiring them to reſerve for the uſe of the State, the Crown Church and Corporation lands, and to diſtinguiſh them from ſuch as were forfeited: to grant new charters to ſuch cities and corporations as had forfeited them, and as the Deputy and Council ſhould approve of: to reſerve a penny halfpenny yearly to his Highneſs out of every acre aſſigned the Iriſh in Conaght: to grant letters patents to the Officers and Soldiers to corroborate the titles and manors created on their eſtates, and to other Proteſtant proprietors if they deſired it: to ſupply the vacant church livings in Ulſter with Engliſh miniſters: to remove all the Scots inhabiting Ulſter, and Lowth, whether delinquents or not, and to permit no other Scots to come and reſide there: to erect Courts for probats of wills in every three counties, and to appoint the judges and regiſters of them, and to ſettle their fees: to erect a prerogative court at Dublin, the judges of which in difficult caſes might call the other judges or maſters in chancery to their aſſiſtance, and might have power to receive appeals from inferior courts: to reſettle a court of admiralty as formerly, and appoint the judges of the prerogative court the judges of it, to be maintained out of the fees in both offices: to tranſplant linen-cloth into England or Scotland cuſtom free, and horſes to the Weſt-Indies at a duty of twenty ſhillings a head: to grant letters of denization to foreigners that came to ſettle in Ire-

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land: to cauſe all eſtates that were mortgaged, to be ſold to Proteſtants, or for the uſe of the State: to enquire into the free ſchools in every county, and to make up their ſalaries a hundred pounds a year out of the church lands: to make an yearly collection on a certain day in every pariſh in Ireland, for taking from their parents poor Iriſh children of above ten years old, for binding them apprentice, and for breeding them in ſome honeſt calling in the fear of GOD: and to take up and ſecure the heads, and other conſiderable perſons in Ireland, who may be judged dangerous, and likely to aſſiſt the Spaniards or others in an invaſion of the Commonwealth."

It muſt be owned that theſe inſtructions for the adminiſtration of government, for the moſt part were worthy of better men and better times than theſe. Of the ſame ſort was an order of the Deputy and Council to ſeveral perſons, to conſider and inform the board how the barbarous cuſtom of coſhring *, and promiſcuous lodging of both ſexes of the Iriſh, with other lewd and ſuperſtitious practices that were oppoſite to the cuſtoms of the Engliſh in that nation, might be prevented and reformed for the future: and alſo how the Iriſh might be brought to conform to the Engliſh nation in their apparel and language, to embrace the truths of the goſpel, and abhor the errors of Popery. Nothing more appears in the Council-books of this year, but an order from the Protector to Lord H. CROMWELL commander in chief of the forces, to conſult with the officers of his army for erecting and eſtabliſhing a militia, within the reſpective counties of Ireland, for the neceſſary defence and better ſecurity of the nation: and another order, about a month after the firſt, for immediately erecting ſuch militia of Engliſh Proteſtants, and granting commiſſions to the Officers. It is plain from ſeveral letters in THURLOE's collection written at this time, that there was a general quietneſs, if not a ſatisfaction under the preſent Government. The greateſt difficulties the adminiſtration had to ſtruggle with, were the want of Engliſh hands to plant and cultivate the country, ſo much waſted by a civil war, and the wretched condition of its trade, through the baſe and counterfeit coin which had for ſeveral years been poured into the nation.

Another

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* For an explanation of this cuſtom, ſee the introduction of my hiſtory of Ireland, p. 97.

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Another Parliament was this year called by the Protector; and thoſe returned in Ireland were moſtly Officers of that army well affected to him: but intelligence having been ſent to England from abroad, of an intended invaſion of one, or both kingdoms, by King CHARLES, in conjunction with the Spaniards, it was ordered by CROMWELL, that the Officers who were elected to Parliament ſhould not leave their commands in Ireland. For as the authority of a Parliament appeared abſolutely neceſſary to confirm him in his own, he was reſolved to have one at his command: and having made ſure of a great Majority, by excluding all who would not ſign an engagement like the other, he could diſpenſe with the few Officers returned for Ireland. In this Parliament he was not miſtaken: they granted all the money he deſired, they paſſed an act to renounce the title of the King, another to make it high treaſon to attempt any thing againſt CROMWELL's life, and then propoſed to make him King. Many opinions have been formed by ſeveral writers of the wiſdom and the weakneſs of the refuſal of the Crown by the Protector: but CROMWELL certainly muſt be allowed to know his own ſituation beſt: and it is one of thoſe ſtate myſteries which people at a diſtance may refine upon, but which they will never be able to unravel. This project however failing, the Parliament, as I ſaid, confirmed him in his dignity of Protector, with an addition of greater power than had been given him, in an inſtrument which they called "the humble petition and advice:" inſinuating that they did not preſume to impoſe a law upon his Highneſs, but to offer him their counſel in what they thought the beſt model of government, which he might accept of, or refuſe. When this inſtrument was preſented to CROMWELL, and red, after a long pauſe, caſting up his eyes, and uſing other geſtures of amazement and perplexity, which were all pretended, he ſigned it; making a ſpeech full of the cant and hypocriſy that became his character. In a few days after, he ſent a meſſage to the Parliament, to deſire they would adjourn till the ceremony of his inauguration was performed: and this being ſolemnized with all the pomp of a coronation, he went to the Houſe, gave his aſſent to ſuch bills as were ready, and adjourned the Parliament to the end of January.

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Aſter the Parliament had thus inveſted a ſingle perſon with the ſupreme power, and that he had accepted it with ſo much pomp, the enemies of Cromwell began to multiply very faſt; and Ireland followed the example of thoſe in England, as well among the ſectaries, as in the army. The preſs was loaded with invectives againſt the Government; as in free countries it ever will be, when the people think themſelves oppreſſed. In Ireland therefore the following order was iſſued; "that the printer at Dublin ſhould not ſuffer his preſs to be made uſe of, without firſt bringing the copy to be printed to the Clerk of the council, who upon viewing it, if he found any thing tending to the prejudice of the Commonwealth or the public peace and welfare of it, ſhould acquaint the Council with the ſame for their pleaſures to be known therein." How this order was reliſhed it is not difficult to conjecture: but how it was obeyed we know not; there being no hiſtorical anecdotes publiſhed of that time, except Thurloe's ſtate papers, in which nothing is ſaid of it, and except Ludlow's memoirs, who was then in England. But the reader ſees that this order was an effectual remedy againſt an appeal to the people upon their grievances: and therefore however ſuch remedies may pleaſe and be practiſed by prerogative Princes and their Miniſters, yet the people, who ſwallow and can digeſt them, muſt bid adieu to their liberties, and become the ſlaves of power.

The "Petition and Advice" was publiſhed, and the Protector proclaimed in his new power and dignity, and without any diſorder, not only at Dublin, but in all the cities and chief towns in the kingdom. The commiſſion appointing the Council being only for three years, which were now near expiring, the Council diſſolved themſelves; and properly ſpeaking there was no civil Government exiſting. H. Cromwell had a commiſſion as Major General of the army, and commander in chief; and though he had acted in the civil adminiſtration of affairs, it was rather as a Privy-counſellor, to which his military commiſſion entitled him, than from any other power. Notwithſtanding ſuch a vacancy of Government was highly prejudicial to the public affairs of that nation, and though H. Cromwell wrote letter after letter into England for a new commiſſion, yet to the aſtoniſhment of every body, above three months paſſed away before another Council was

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appointed: neither can any reaſon be conjectured for this neglect, from any of the numerous letters of that time in THURLOE's collection: He certainly knew more of OLIVER's ſecrets than any other perſon in the kingdom: and yet in one of his letters to H. CROMWELL on this head, he wrote as follows: "I profeſs to your Lordſhip I never conſider that buſineſs, but I am aſhamed, yea, confounded; and do wonder with myſelf what reaſon will be rendered for it, either to GOD, or to the nation. It is but a ſmall ſatiſfaction to me, yet ſome it is, that I have with ſome conſcience towards GOD, and honeſty towards men, laboured in this affair, though with no more ſucceſs than I have in other things. Your Lordſhip may well wonder at this manner of writing: it is all I have to ſay on this ſubject." It is certain that General CROMWELL was made ſo uneaſy by this neglect, that he deſired his father would give him leave to retire: but to this requeſt OLIVER would not conſent. He ſaw from many inſtances, that HENRY had a genius and ſpirit adapted to Government, and that all his own eaſe and quiet, as to Ireland, depended upon the abilities and the conduct of this ſon. At laſt therefore a new commiſſion of Council was ſent over, with H. CROMWELL at the head of it as Lord Deputy; in which poſt he ſhone with a luſtre equal to that of any who had gone before him. The Protector ſaid once with tears of joy in his eyes, "that his ſon HARRY was a Governor of whom he himſelf might learn:" and indeed there are ſome inſtances of his judgment in affairs of State ſurpaſſing his father's: but I ſhall mention no other than what occurs and ought to be mentioned in this place. An oath of abjuration had been ſent by OLIVER and his Council, at the cloſe of this year, to be taken all over Ireland, and as it appears, againſt the opinion of the Lord Deputy; who would have had it confined to the renouncing all foreign juriſdiction only, and not to be mixed with any matters of doctrine, till proper means had been uſed for the information of the people. But the conſequence of impoſing this oath was ſo prejudicial in ſtirring up the Iriſh to give over tillage, and to ſell their cattle in order to put themſelves into a ſhifting condition, that it was quickly laid aſide. As ſoon as the Lord Deputy and Council were inveſted with their power, they ſet about rectifying the wretched ſtate of their coin, which had been ſo pernicious to trade and merchandiſe, and to make a reduction in the expences of the Government: the army alone being eight months in arrear, and no

money

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money in the treaſury to pay them with. But whilſt they were contriving to abridge the charges of the State, the revenue was ſo peeled—to uſe Lord H. Cromwell's expreſſion—by ſo many grants of lands by the Protector or the Parliament, as ſatisfactions for old debts much above their value, that the ſupplies from England were neceſſarily to be enlarged.

There are but few inſtances in hiſtory of Governors ſo thoroughly wicked, as not to purſue ſome meaſures ſalutary to their people: and in the hiſtory of Cromwell's adminiſtration, arbitrary as it was, and illegal as the means were by which he acquired it, there were ſeveral things atchieved by him which were worthy of the greateſt and beſt of Princes. Of this kind was the following letter, at the end of this year, to the Deputy and Council of Ireland, ſigned Oliver P. and dated from Whitehall. He informs them that a propoſal had juſt then been made to him by ſeveral perſons, to purchaſe houſes in Ireland to the amount of two thouſand pounds a year, in ſuch towns as were yet undiſpoſed of, and to aſſign the annual revenue of ſuch houſes in truſt, for carrying on a foreign correſpondence with learned men, as alſo for ſupplying ſuch at home or abroad, whoſe learning, parts, ſtudies, and abilities, have made them capable of being extraordinary uſeful to the Publick: provided, that for the better encouragement of this deſign, they might not pay above five or ſix years purchaſe for the ſaid houſes at their preſent value. Having conſidered, he ſays, that an inſtitution of this kind had not been hitherto found, at the charge of any within the three nations, he judged it worthy of all encouragement; and therefore ordered it to be forthwith complied with at ſix years purchaſe." It muſt be confeſſed to his honour, that an inſtitution of this kind was a deſign in which the greateſt and wiſeſt of our Princes might lay a foundation of greater glory, than by ſubduing armies, and acquiring conqueſts in foreign countries: the one is the act of his fleets and forces, the other would be his own act entirely.

It is well known that among the ancients famed for wiſdom and politeneſs, it was ever thought to be the duty as well as the intereſt of States and Princes, to give great encouragement to letters, by patronizing Learned Men and rewarding all their labours: but little of this ſort hath been done, ſince the reign of CHARLES the Firſt, in theſe united kingdoms. Our Princes from that period,—not one excepted, if my memory doth not fail me—have not appeared to underſtand, at leaſt they have not practiſed this branch of policy: and our Miniſters, who ſhould put it into their heads where it is wanting, if they have underſtood it, have been ſo taken up with managing factions and parties to preſerve their power—for the management of which the favours of the Crown hath been diſtributed—that the proper means have not been left for giving that encouragement to Learning, which in all free States eſpecially, Learning ought to have. As lightly as this may be thought of, there is not a more certain ſymptom of the decleniſion of any State, than its giving no attention to the intereſts of Literature, which are the intereſts of truth and policy, and permitting luxury and corruption to bear down all before them: and yet ſo little is the attention of people now to Learning in this country, that except among the learned profeſſions themſelves—in which it is too true, and no wonder, that few Very Great Men are to be found—even reading is become almoſt as much neglected, as by the people of Ireland it ever hath been.

It was required by one of the articles of "the humble Petition and Advice," that the Protector ſhould ſummon a Parliament every year compoſed of two Houſes. This had been inſerted in the inſtrument by his own direction, and therefore he choſe eight and fifty—WHITLOCK ſays ſixty—among ſome of the ancient Peers, the Officers of the army, and other perſons that were devoted to him, to fill up what he called his "Other Houſe;" of which Lord H. CROMWELL and four more, were for Ireland. They were ſummoned by writs after the manner of the Houſe of Lords, to meet in Parliament on the twentieth day of January; which was the day to which the Protector had adjourned the Commons. The Commons being met accordingly, and the ſame article of the "Petition and Advice," requiring that the Members which had been legally choſen ſhould not be excluded without the conſent of their own Houſe, a motion was made to admit all the elected Members who had been excluded. His enemies by this means having gained a ſuperiority in that very Houſe which had made him the offer of the Crown, the ſtate of affairs began to change. The Engliſh hiſtorian muſt be conſulted for the particulars; it can only be ſaid here, that in a fortnight after their meeting—as it hath been already hinted—the Protector diſſolved the Parliament in terms of great diſpleaſure. The ſhort detail which hath been given, was neceſſary to connect the hiſtory: we muſt now return again to Ireland.

The new Lord Deputy and Council finding the charges of the Government to exceed their revenue and the ſupplies from England, reduced the civil eſtabliſhment from forty eight thouſand to thirty five thouſand a year; and would have alſo reduced the army as far as was conſiſtent with the public ſafety, could they have obtained any money from England to pay off the arrears, without which there was no diſbanding. But the diſtreſſes for want of money then in England were ſo great, that all the intereſt which the Lord Deputy had in his father, his reiterated complaints of the danger the State was in, and his innumerable ſupplications for aſſiſtance, were not able to procure them any. The truth was—as Secretary Thurloe wrote to H. Cromwell—that they were under the ſame ſtreights and neceſſity in England: and though the Lord Deputy had propoſed to reduce the expences of the Iriſh army, and yet to make it as effective for the public ſervice almoſt as it was before, by keeping nearly the ſame number of ſoldiers and making the reduction among the officers, yet Thurloe told him in the ſame letter, "that he found it was difficult to get a conſent, much leſs a direction for reducing it in ſuch a manner; that he believed ſome of the officers were much regarded, for whoſe ſakes the way propounded was the leſs liked; and if his Excellency ſhould make the reduction, the Secretary ſaid he judged a tenderneſs to ſome men would be of uſe." In this manner was the public good ſacrificed to the private intereſt of particular perſons; and there is too much reaſon to fear, that as this caſe was not peculiar to that time, ſo theſe nations will always continue thus to be plundered for the ſake of individuals: but the ſame ſort of plunder, in all its circumſtances, and to the ſame extent, is not perhaps to be found in any other country under the ſun.

The ſudden diſſolution of the Parliament by Cromwell, without the knowledge even of his Council, having multiplied his enemies, or to ſpeak perhaps with more propriety, having induced many of thoſe to declare themſelves againſt him who had hitherto concealed their diſſatisfaction, ſeveral officers in the army, and amongſt others the Major and Captains of his own regiment, had the hardineſs to tell him to his face that they were diſſatisfied with his Government. When the news of this defection arrived in Ireland, the officers in that army at Dublin made a free and unanimous offer to the Lord Deputy to addreſs the Protector, "in order to manifeſt their reſolutions of adhering to him againſt all thoſe whoſe particular animoſities endeavoured to re-embroil the publick." But the Lord Deputy deſired it might be ſuſpended, till he heard further from England. In the mean time, he took care to keep every thing as quiet and in as good order as was poſſible without money; there being none to be had from hence, and the charges of their army exceeding their aſſeſſments and revenue ſeveral thouſand pounds a month: and yet through want of money to pay the arrears that were due, no retrenchment of this charge could then be made. The next care of the Lord Deputy and Council was to have the forfeited lands ſurveyed, and to make a diſtribution among the adventurers; which was done with all the fairneſs and impartiality that was poſſible, through the candour and equity of Lord H. CROMWELL. To the equity and influence only of this Governour it was owing, that the people of Ireland were not more oppreſſed by the Protector's Council, than they had been already. The aſſeſſments which they paid were above a fourth part as much as all England and Wales; which, he told OLIVER in one of his letters, was ten times more than in due proportion they ought to be, and that they paid incomparably more other charges, owing to the devaſtation made in the civil war, than any other of the three nations. The diſorder about coins had left the country ſo very bare of good money, that were it not for the ſupplies from England in ſpecie, all trade and planting there muſt have ceaſed; and from a neglect of ſuch induſtry, the people would have degenerated by degrees into the manners and practiſes of the native Iriſh. The addreſs from the army to the Protector being now approved of, it was ſigned by all the officers and ſoldiers, except twelve, throughout that kingdom: addreſſes were alſo ſent from the inhabitants of the ſeveral counties: all of them owing more perhaps to the good conduct of the Lord Deputy and the affection they had for him, than to any liking or love of the preſent Government; though he is modeſt enough to impute it only to the latter. The good conduct indeed of H. Cromwell is not to be enough commended: for though they were obliged to keep the army above eight months in arrear through want of a ſupply from England, and his letters to Thurloe, Fleetwood, and the Protector for ſeveral months, are full of complaints and ſupplications on that head, yet they are alſo as full of advices and deſires that no money may be raiſed by ways contrary to law, or without the conſent of the people in a Parliament.

There being no more Council books remaining, nor any letters in Thurloe's collection, from which extracts of public affairs in Ireland during the reign of Oliver could be made, and Ludlow being in England, which occaſioned a ſilence about them in his memoirs, we muſt now proceed to an account of Cromwell's death; which made ſuch a change in Iriſh affairs ſoon after as carried Ludlow thither again, and furniſhed him with matter for more Iriſh hiſtory. In Auguſt this year, the Protector was ſeized with a tertian ague at Hampton Court, which at firſt had no dangerous ſymptom: and though he fancied "he had had great diſcoveries of the Lord to him in his ſickneſs, and ſome aſſurances of his being reſtored," yet his diſtemper increaſing daily he was brought to Whitehall, where the Commiſſioners of the great ſeal attended him, in order for him to ſign a declaration, according to the power given him by "the humble petition and advice," of the perſon who was to ſuccede him: but whether he was unwilling to diſcover his intentions of leaving the ſucceſſion to his ſon, leſt in caſe of his recovery he ſhould diſoblige others to whom he had given expectations of it, or whether he was then ſo thoroughly diſcompoſed that he could not attend to that tranſaction, is not known. It is certain however that the Commiſſioners were diſmiſſed, and nothing was done relating to the ſucceſſion till the ſymptoms of death were ſtrong upon him, when he nominated his eldeſt ſon Richard for his ſucceſſor: dying upon a day which he had always thought very propitious to him, and on which he had twice triumphed for two of his greateſt victories. It ſeems to me, I muſt own, that it was very propitious to him at that time; by leading him to a quiet death in his bed amidſt his greateſt glory. For ſo many were the ſtorms he had raiſed at different times among all ſorts of people againſt him, the Royaliſts, Preſbyterians, Anabaptiſts, and Independents, that he had for ſome time been agitated with the apprehenſions of a violent death: and ſo many plots and conſpiracies were formed againſt him by all the parties—eſpecially by thoſe who had been moſt attached to him, till they found he had deceived them—that it appears highly probable he would ſoon have been thrown with ignominy from that height, to which his ambition had unjuſtly carried him. As I ſee no reaſon to alter any opinion I had conceived of him ten years ago, I ſhall give the reader the ſame character of him, which is to be ſeen in the ſecond volume of my Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory.

The family of Cromwell was originally of Glamorganſhire under the name of Williams; which aſſumed that of Cromwell, and tranſmitted it to poſterity, by a marriage with a daughter to the Earl of Essex of that name, in the reign of Henry the eighth. The education of Oliver was firſt at Cambridge, and then at Lincoln's Inn: but there was nothing in his genius at that time, which ſeemed to promiſe any figure in the further progreſs of his life. He rather gave into all the ſallies of gaiety and intemperance which young men reliſh; and it was not till the age of forty that he was returned to Parliament. He had a great while, however, before that reformed his conduct, and engaged himſelf with the Preſbyterians. Having acquired ſome reputation for his good behaviour and good principles in religion and government, he was choſen a Member for the town of Cambridge at the beginning of the long Parliament; and having no talents as a ſpeaker ſate two years undiſtinguiſhed. In this period he engaged in the Independent faction; which was covered then with the name of the rigid Preſbyterians: and being entirely devoted to the views of the Parliament againſt the King, it was no difficult matter for him to procure a command in the army at the breaking out of the civil war. In this ſituation it was that his genius began to ſhine; and he had all the qualifications which were neceſſary to the profeſſion of arms. Succeſsful in every poſt and every enterprize, his reputation roſe ſo faſt, and his zeal for the cauſe was ſo ardent, that he became Major General of the army in a ſhort time, then Lieutenant General under Fairfax, whom he had the addreſs to govern, and at laſt to ſuccede in the firſt poſt of Captain General. His capacity for civil affairs was not much inferior to his military talents. He had an admirable ſagacity in diſcerning the particular humours and natures of different men, and as great a dexterity in accommodating himſelf to them when he had any point to carry. He would condeſcend even to buffoonery with the common ſoldiers, when he was a General Officer, in order to win their affections: and with the religious enthuſiaſts, he would cant, and pray, and preach, as well as the beſt of them. He had certainly no other intentions all this time than to keep alive the malignant ſpirit againſt the King, and to prevent an accommodation which muſt have produced a reduction in the army, and in the end, the loſs of that power and profit which he had thus acquired. Finding this was in great danger, he readily acquieſced in the murder of the King: for it is impoſſible to ſay who projected it. Cromwell had moſt certainly a principal hand in bringing it about; for which he is inexcuſable. But when men embark in ſuch violent meaſures of faction, as Cromwell did embark in againſt Church and State, it is impoſſible for them to ſay, or to know, at what violence they will be content to ſtop: which ſhould be a leſſon of caution to us all, how we enter into the meaſures of any faction. As bad an hearted man as I am afraid Cromwell was, he would probably have been ſhocked at the thought of that wickedneſs, when he entered into the war, which he found it neceſſary to commit, as his ambition and the rage of faction carried him on, till he was taken out of the world. He certainly caught ſome of the enthuſiaſtic fire, which blazed about the time of the civil war: and this, meeting with a great natural warmth in his conſtitution, made him an able proficient in the religious frenzy ſo much then in faſhion: but this could not be exerted ſo aſſiduouſly, as it was afterwards exerted all through his life, without a great deal of hypocriſy towards God. His profound diſſimulation, after he took the reins of Government into his hands, hath been juſtified by ſome writers as neceſſary to his ſafety. But what a juſtification is this? What title had he to that ſuperiority over others, and what called him to it? His own ambition evidently, without any regard to right or truth, and through a great deal of blood. It is a ſtrange ſoleciſm in Ethicks, to vindicate the wicked acts of an uſurper, by ſaying that his uſurpation made them neceſſary. Though he was a man of but little learning, yet he was a patron of learned men, and the liberal arts: and when he was neceſſitated to act the part of a great man, he acted it with-

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out any indecorum, notwithſtanding it was a part which was wholly new to him. His private deportment, and his ſocial character, have not been cenſured: he was very temperate in his diet; and though he would ſometimes drink freely, yet it was not to exceſs. He never had to the laſt any abilities as an orator; and rather left others to pick out his meaning from his public ſpeeches, than declared it himſelf. In ſo great a man this was thought to be affected: it might be ſo in one or two inſtances after he was Protector; but the truth is, he had not a talent for elocution. Without departing from œconomy, he was generous to thoſe who ſerved him: and he knew how to find out and engage in his intereſts, every man that was poſſeſſed of thoſe talents which every particular employment required. It muſt be owned that in his civil and domeſtic adminiſtration, he had as much regard to juſtice and clemency, as his uſurpation, founded only on the ſword, could poſſibly permit. As to his religion, in which almoſt all hiſtorians agree, it is to me I muſt confeſs, the moſt inexplicable part of all his character: and though they rank him among the Independents, yet it is certain that for many years of his life he was a Preſbyterian: and after he arrived at his dignity, he had Chaplains of both denominations, and allowed the Preſbyterian to be the public profeſſion of the nation. He was a Proteſtant, without doubt; and had great notions of religious liberty: but I believe all his religion, after he had firſt entered on the war till he became Protector, was Enthuſiaſm, without any rational or ſolid principles. Ambition, and a luſt of power, were his ruling paſſions: and thoſe put him on imbibing thoſe dangerous maxims, "that in extraordinary caſes the moral law may be diſpenſed with, and that private juſtice muſt give way to public neceſſity." Theſe maxims led him to have a principal ſhare in putting the late King to death; and theſe drove him on to aſſume the ſovereign power. When he was once poſſeſſed of this dignity, he was neither Preſbyterian, Independent, Republican, nor Enthuſiaſt: ſo ſays RAPIN, and I believe very truly; but he ſays nothing further. It is natural however to aſk then, what he was, if he was none of theſe. To ſpeak my mind freely, I think it is moſt likely that he was a Deiſt. In ſhort CROMWELL ſeemed to have been a man entirely calculated for thoſe times, and thoſe times for him: amidſt any other he would have made a very inſignificant figure: but amidſt theſe he made a greater figure, than any private man in Eng-

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land either before or ſince ever attained to. He had great penetration and addreſs, invincible courage, firm reſolution, and ſtrength of mind, and a thorough command of all his paſſions when it was neceſſary: he had many good qualities amidſt the greateſt diſſimulation; and with a wicked heart had the appearance of the moſt tranſcendent piety.

No ſooner was Oliver dead, than his eldeſt ſon Richard, nominated as his ſucceſſor, was proclaimed Protector; and addreſſes of congratulation from all parts of the kingdom poured in upon him. In the memoirs of Lord Broghill, afterwards Earl of Orrery, written by his Chaplain Mr. Morrice, it is ſaid that when Cromwell was aſked who ſhould ſuccede him, his reply was, that in ſuch a drawer of a cabinet in his cloſet they would find his will: but one of his daughters knowing that he had made Fleetwood his heir, and where his will was depoſited, got at it and burnt it. I don't recollect that this is mentioned by any other hiſtorian; neither do I think it likely to be true. Ludlow was one of the principal perſons then on the public ſtage; and ſuch a tranſaction as this could not have eſcaped his knowledge: and as the "humble petition and advice," which gave him a power to name a ſucceſſor, required the nomination to be under the great ſeal, it is highly improbable that Cromwell ſhould chooſe to nominate him by will. His Secretary Thurloe, who was his greateſt confident, and was never from him, wrote to Lord H. Cromwell during Oliver's illneſs, that "he had by himſelf declared a ſucceſſor in a paper before he was inſtalled by the Parliament, and ſealed it up in the form of a letter directing it to Thurloe, but kept both the name of the perſon and the paper to himſelf. After he fell ſick at Hampton Court, he ſent a ſervant to London for it, telling him it lay upon his ſtudy table at Whitehall; but it was not to be found there nor elſewhere, though it had been very narrowly looked for: he had had ſome diſcourſe about it that day—Monday Auguſt the thirtieth—but his illneſs diſenabled him to conclude it fully." In a poſtcript it is added, "That about the ſucceſſion is an abſolute ſecret: I beſeech your Excellency to keep it ſo." This letter is dated at nine o'clock at night: and it is very obſervable that though in another letter the next day, Thurloe wrote to the Lord Deputy, "that his Highneſs is ſo weak for the preſent that he is capable of doing nothing reſpecting to the Publick—meaning no doubt the nominating his ſucceſſor in due form—that for aught I ſee things are like to be at his Highneſs's death, as my laſt mentioned"—that is, without ſettling the ſucceſſion—yet on the day after the Protector died, the Secretary writes to Lord Henry, " that his Highneſs was pleaſed before his death to declare my Lord Richard ſucceſſor; he did it upon Monday." It appears from this contradiction—for Thurloe could not be miſtaken—that there was ſome management in this buſineſs of Oliver's appointing a ſucceſſor, which was not proper to be owned: and perhaps he did not appoint any at all. Lord Falconberg, his ſon in law, ſays in a letter to H. Cromwell, " that the night preceding his death—which muſt be Thurſday night—and not before, in preſence of four or five of the Council he declared Lord Richard his ſucceſſor:" as both theſe accounts cannot be true, ſo whether both of them may not be falſe, it is impoſſible for us to ſay. Nothing is more certain than that the nomination of his ſucceſſor was not under the great ſeal. A good reaſon hath been given above, for his neglecting to nominate in the proper form, till he thought himſelf paſt recovery; and then it was too late. For it appears by Ludlow's memoirs; that when Thurloe preſented a declaration to the Parliament acknowledging Richard to be Protector, it was moved that the inſtrument might be produced, wherein the ſucceſſor ought to be nominated, and the great ſeal affixed: but as they had no ſuch thing to ſhew, the motion was overruled.

Whatever management there might have been, it is certain that Richard was proclaimed Protector, in Ireland as well as here: but the ſpirit of the father did not dwell in the ſon: he had neither the courage, the reſolution, nor the addreſs of Oliver; and he was likewiſe without his enthuſiaſm, his wickedneſs, and his ambition. Under ſuch a head, every faction conceived hopes of acquiring the ſuperiority: every faction tried for it in their turn, and for a ſhort time each prevailed. Richard having neither ſpirit, genius, nor friends, neither treaſure nor army to ſupport him, in a little while, as we ſhall ſee, without any ſtruggle withdrew, and became a private Gentleman. The conteſt lay then between the army, and that ſmall party of the long Parliament called the Rump, which had been diſſolved by Cromwell. My deſign however doth not permit me to enter into any

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of the particulars which fell out here after OLIVER's death, any further than is neceſſary to connect them with thoſe in Ireland: and there being no more Council books remaining, as I ſaid before, to which I could have recourſe, the only light that we can get of affairs there till the reſtoration, muſt be drawn from THURLOE's letters which afford but little, from LUDLOW's memoirs, and thoſe of Lord BROGHILL by MORRICE. Theſe are both written on memory without obſerving any dates, and the laſt without obſerving any order of time: MORRICE hath jumbled things together, as they occurred to his remembrance, from what he had heard Lord BROGHILL ſay at different times; and it is not therefore to be wondered at that they ſhould be very inaccurate.

The day after RICHARD was proclaimed in Dublin, the Lord Deputy cauſed the military officers in and about that city to attend him; that he might acquaint them with the ſtate of affairs and their duty, and that they might offer him their thoughts upon thoſe ſubjects. They unanimouſly deſired him to aſſure the new Protector of their chearful obedience and fidelity to him to the uttermoſt; and that they would ſhortly give a further teſtimony of it by their behaviour in their ſeveral ſtations. The Lord Deputy then commanded them to their reſpective charges, to preſerve things the ſurer, and to ſee the proclamation publiſhed every where with the more ſolemnity and the acclamations of the ſoldiers. In a ſhort time after, he cauſed an addreſs to be ſent and to be ſigned all through the army; and he received a new commiſſion from RICHARD with the title of Lord Lieutenant: which he was ſo far from deſiring that he choſe rather to have quitted his command in Ireland than to live always as he had done in the fire, through the factious oppoſition of the Anabaptiſts and other ſectaries, who were countenanced by FLEETWOOD and others here at home.

A Parliament was ſummoned by RICHARD to meet at the end of January, and the thirty Members returned for Ireland according to OLIVER's model, after much oppoſition from the Commonwealth party, were allowed to ſit. The conteſts between the factions ſtill continuing very violent, at the latter end of April, the army came to a reſolution to oblige the Protector to diſſolve the Parliament. RICHARD refuſed at firſt to grant this demand; but being told by Desborow, that if he granted it the Council of Officers would take care of him, and if he refuſed it, it would be dangerous to himſelf, and they would diſſolve the Parliament without him, the Protector conſented: it was diſſolved by proclamation, and from this time, though he continued to bear the title, he was no more regarded than a private perſon. Sr. C. Coote, one of the Members returned for Ireland, went poſt thither immediately; in order to carry the news of this great alteration to General H. Cromwell, and to conſult on what meaſures to take that they might maintain their power. Lord Broghill alſo went into Munſter, where he had great intereſt; and, if Morrice is to be credited, with a view to get over all, or moſt part of the army in Ireland, to the ſide of the King: but that is not true. For though his Lordſhip, when he ſaw the ſeveral factions that prevailed, might entertain ſome imperfect thoughts of ſuch a kind, yet it was certainly too early then to put any ſuch thoughts in execution: and it happens a little unluckily for Morrice's credit in this aſſertion, and for the reputation of Lord Broghill, that there is a letter of his to Thurloe on the ſeventeenth of March—about two months only before the reſtoration—in which is the following paſſage: "I hear we are much miſrepreſented in England as perſons that intend to ſet up for ourſelves, and to make Ireland a back door to let in Ch. Stuart into England, and thereby at one blow cut up by the roots the precious rights we have been ſo long contending for. I profeſs Sir I know nothing further from the thoughts of all my acquaintance and friends: for intereſt as well as duty will keep us from ſo ruinous a wickedneſs." It will be ſeen however preſently that he ſoon changed his note, and was one of the firſt men in Ireland, who helped to bring on, what he calls, this ruinous wickedneſs. The Lord Lieutenant ſent Sr. C. Coote into his province of Conaught, to ſecure all things there under their government: Colonel Flower was ſent into Ulſter; and the troops in which they moſt confided were ordered to advance towards Dublin. A Council of Officers was then called, in which Cromwell made a propoſition that they ſhould all declare their reſolution to ſtand by and defend his brother Richard: but they held it convenient to ſee what courſe would be taken by the army in England before they made ſuch a declaration, and ſo deſired he would excuſe them. It muſt be obſerved that this is the account which is given of that tranſaction

action by Ludlow: but General **Cromwell** himſelf who was upon the ſpot, and who is much more to be credited, in a letter to **Fleetwood** at the time writes very differently. As ſoon as he received the news of his brother's depoſal and acquieſcence in it, "he ſent for the Officers of the army to make ſuch addreſſes as they thought fit, in which he let them take their own courſe without his interpoſition."

The principal Officers of the army in England, though they had agreed in dethroning **Richard**, and in diſſolving the Parliament which he had ſummoned, yet were very far from being agreed about the next ſteps that were to be taken for the Government of the State. They thought at firſt of raiſing money without a Parliament; but they durſt not venture upon it: the people, and the city of London particularly, preſſed them earneſtly to reſtore the Members that were left of the long Parliament diſſolved by **Oliver**; and many of the Officers declared they would not be content with any thing leſs. At length this meaſure was agreed to, and purſued: the Members, to the number of forty two, met in Parliament, in the beginning of May, and by way of deriſion were called the Rump. As ſoon as the people in Ireland were informed that this Parliament was returned to the exerciſe of their authority, the Lord Lieutenant iſſued a proclamation to preſerve the peace, and called the Officers together, who ſent over ſome agents to the Council of State, with ſeveral propoſals relating to the civil and the military Government of that country. The Council of State, which had been conſtituted by the Parliament, having taken theſe propoſals into conſideration, prepared ſuch of them as they thought reaſonable for the conſideration of the Parliament: in particular thoſe concerning the eſtabliſhment of the army in the poſſeſſion of thoſe lands which had been aſſigned for payment of their arrears; as alſo to confirm the adventurers and others in the poſſeſſion of theirs, as far as might conſiſt with the rules of juſtice. In a few days after the agents had been ſent over with thoſe propoſals, General **Cromwell** tranſmitted to his brother **Fleetwood**, one of the Council of State, his reſignation of the Iriſh Government: in which he ſaid, "that though he could not promiſe ſo much affection to the late changes as others very honeſtly might, becauſe he could not promote any thing which inferred a diminution of his late father's honour and merit, yet he had ſuch a tenderneſs for peace as to be content with the preſent Government;

vernment; and had therefore thought it his duty to prevent thoſe fears and jealouſies which might give occaſion to interrupt the public peace, by reſigning his charge to any one whom they ſhould ſend to receive it." The Parliament—as that handful of men were called very abſurdly—proceeded to put the adminiſtration of affairs in Ireland into ſuch hands as they could confide in; declaring that the Government there ſhould be managed again by Commiſſioners as it had been formerly: the perſons were then nominated who were to ſerve in that employment; and the Council of State were ordered to draw up inſtructions for their uſe and to report them to the Houſe, together with what other buſineſs they ſhould think neceſſary in Ireland. It was at the ſame time reſolved, to require General Henry Cromwell to come over, in order to give an account of the ſtate of affairs there, and to empower the Commiſſioners, or any two of them, to take care of the ſafety of that nation till further order. Ludlow being made again Lieutenant General of the horſe, had two regiments given him, and was appointed Commander in chief of all the forces of the Commonwealth in Ireland; with this conceſſion upon which he inſiſted, that when he had put the affairs of that country into a poſture of ſecurity he might have liberty to return to England.

When the order was ſignified to General Cromwell, to leave his command in Ireland, and to give an account of affairs there, he retired to a houſe in the Phenix park belonging then to the chief Governour, and left Colonel Long in the caſtle of Dublin. If he had been inclined to try his intereſt, in all probability the new ruling powers would have met with great difficulties in his removal. As no perſon whatever had any injuries to complain of from him, and he had on the contrary obliged every body as far as lay in his power, ſo he was extremely beloved in Ireland both by the army, and the inhabitants: he ſaw however that his brother had been depoſed, and he could not be ſure of ſucceſs; and this doubtleſs made him unwilling to undertake an affair of that conſequence. A great deal may be ſaid truly of the good heart and temper, of the candour and moderation of Henry Cromwell: but his numberleſs letters in Thurloe's collection will juſtify us in thinking, that too much cannot be ſaid of his love of juſtice, his abilities, his knowledge of men and things, and of his ſkill in

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the arts of Government: but theſe talents made him hated by the chief Officers in England, becauſe they made them fear him: and by their contrivance he was reſtrained from ever returning into England, till they had gotten the power into their own hands; and then they thought it not ſafe that he ſhould remain in Ireland. His power however conſiſted—in what the power of every Great Man may conſiſt, if he pleaſes—in the public love, and not in his wealth. For though he had had the Government of Ireland and the chief command of that army for four years, yet being unpractiſed in the ſelfiſhneſs of the Patriots of thoſe times—I had almoſt ſaid of ALL ENGLISH PATRIOTS—he had not money enough to bring him over. As an inconteſtible proof of his merit and popularity, the King ſent him word, when he was ſettled upon the throne, that though he had eſcaped in ſafety with the crowd, yet his Majeſty had a particular mercy for him; and he ended his days in the peace and quiet which he had deſired. All hiſtorians agree in praiſing him: even Ludlow, the bitter enemy of his family, ſays not a word againſt him: and it was generally believed with great reaſon, that if he had filled the poſt of his elder brother, and had had his father's ambition, the Officers would have found him a match for them; or at leaſt that they would not have attempted to treat him as they treated Richard. The Commiſſioners ſuſpecting that he intended to keep the caſtle, and being deſirous to get it into their power, employed Sr. Har. Waller to ſurpriſe it. Waller finding the authority of the Cromwells to be at an end, and that of the Parliament to be reſtored, undertook the enterprize: but being ready to enter by a poſtern gate into the caſtle, he found not the leaſt intention of any reſiſtance; and the place was ſurrendered to him immediately.

Soon after Ludlow arrived at Dublin to take upon him the command of all the forces in Ireland, advice was brought of an inſurrection in England againſt the Parliament, headed by Sr. Geo. Booth, and that Cheſter had been ſeized for the King. The truth is, the people were weary of the tyranny of an Independent Parliament conſiſting only of a handful of men, and of an army made up almoſt entirely of Fanaticks; who, under colour of promoting piety and the Commonwealth, had nothing in view but their own advantages. The Preſbyterians, as well as others, ſtanding expoſed to this tyranny, and ſeeing no poſſibility of regaining the ground they had loſt, came at laſt to an union with the Royaliſts; in order to deliver the nation from the ſervitude under which it groaned. When the news of the inſurrection in Cheſhire was brought to Dublin, Ludlow called a Council of the principal Officers, to conſider of the beſt way for preſerving the peace of Ireland and preventing the like miſchief there. All the Officers were ordered to their reſpective commands, and Lord Broghill was ſummoned to attend the Commiſſioners. When he came before them, they told him that the State was jealous he would practiſe againſt their Government; and therefore unleſs he would engage that no commotion ſhould ariſe in the province of Munſter in which he had a great intereſt, they deſired him not to take it amiſs if they confined him to the caſtle. He told them, if they would put the ſole power of Munſter into his hands, he would engage to be accountable for that province, but otherwiſe it was impoſſible. This the Commiſſioners would not do: and therefore they anſwered him, after ſome debate and conſultation, that as he was a man of honour they would truſt him, without requiring more from him than from other Officers, that is, that he ſhould do what he could to keep the province quiet.

Upon the commotion in Cheſhire, the Council of State ſent an order to Ludlow to tranſport with all expedition a thouſand foot and five hundred horſe to England, which was accordingly complied with: tho' he thought the poſture of affairs in Ireland made it inconvenient. His chief buſineſs now whilſt he was there was to model the army entirely to the purpoſes of the Commonwealth; by turning out all the Officers whom he ſuſpected, and putting others into their poſts in whom he thought he could confide. But a buſineſs of greater moment ſoon engaged his attention. The principal Officers of the army in England, finding the Parliament intended to become their maſters, thought it neceſſary to take meaſures for preventing this deſign. After ſeveral meetings and correſpondences, it was concluded that Lambert, who had lately ſuppreſſed the inſurrection in Cheſhire, ſhould engage his Officers in a petition to the Parliament, that Fleetwood might be Commander in chief of the army, Lambert Major General, Desborow Lieutenant General of the horſe, Monck Major

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General of the foot, and no Officer whatever diſmiſſed from his command but by a Court martial. Copies of this petition, with letters to the Officers deſiring their concurrence, were ſent to the army in Ireland. As ſoon as LUDLOW received this intelligence, he ſummoned a Council of Officers, whom he endeavoured to convince of the impropriety and the hazard of this deſign: and they appeared to be ſo well convinced of it, that after a mature deliberation they unanimouſly declared a diſlike of it, and a reſolution to adhere to the Parliament as the ſupreme authority. This affair being adjuſted, and LUDLOW having garbled the army to his ſatisfaction, he deputed Colonel JOHN JONES to command the forces in Ireland in his abſence; and in October came for England. JONES was a Member of Parliament, had been one of the late King's judges at his trial, and was then a Commiſſioner for the civil affairs of Ireland: and therefore LUDLOW thought he would be acceptable to the Officers, and ſtedfaſt in the defence of the common cauſe.

It doth not belong to this hiſtory to enter into the particulars of the quarrel between the army and the Parliament, in conſequence of the petition above mentioned. It muſt ſuffice to ſay here, that after much altercation, about the middle of October, the principal Officers, FLEETWOOD, LAMBERT, and DESBOROW, put an end to the Parliament: but finding themſelves unable to carry on the Government, they conſented to the meeting of the Parliament again at the end of December, and reſigned their uſurped authority. It was impoſſible that theſe diſtractions here ſhould not have their effect in Ireland; ſeveral of the Officers there eſpouſing the intereſt of the army, and others the authority of the Parliament. Many of thoſe who had ſigned an engagement to the latter, which LUDLOW had brought over, and therein expreſſed their ſorrow for the interruption of the civil authority, with a firm reſolution of adhering to it conſtantly for the future, were now brought by JONES, to whom LUDLOW had confided the chief command, to ſign another engagement directly contrary. Even the Commiſſioners of the Parliament fell in with the party that were for the army; and altered their title, in the orders and commiſſions ſigned by them, to that of "Commiſſioners of the Commonwealth." But now the ſeaſon of affairs began to be very critical in both kingdoms. The army here, ſays

LUDLOW, as if infatuated by a ſuperior power to procure their own deſtruction, continued obſtinately to oppoſe the Parliament: thoſe who meant nothing leſs than the ruin of both in Ireland, pretended to deſire to relieve the nation from the government of the ſword, and ſo joined, like MONCK in Scotland, in declaring for the Parliament: for this reaſon they poſſeſſed themſelves of the caſtle of Dublin, took JONES and the Commiſſioners into cuſtody, and talked of nothing but yielding obedience to the commands of the Parliament for the future. The pretence of their meeting together at Dublin was to petition for a general Council of Officers; that the ſenſe of the army in Ireland relating to public affairs might be fairly repreſented. But JONES, and the Commiſſioners refuſing to grant this requeſt, the Officers proceeded to the violent meaſures juſt mentioned.

Whilſt this great change was bringing about at Dublin, there were thoſe that were not idle in other parts of that kingdom. Lord BROGHILL was by birth, and intereſt, on the ſide of monarchy: and though he had ſupported CROMWELL's uſurpation, perhaps becauſe he could not help it, yet he ſoon grew diſguſted with the anarchy and confuſion introduced into the three kingdoms, after RICHARD's abdication, by the conteſt between the Parliament and the army for the ruling power. As ſoon therefore as he ſaw, that all indifferent people began to be weary of the ſeveral changes and alterations that were every day taking place, and that there was a likely chance of bringing in the King, he ſet himſelf to work very aſſiduouſly to make a party in Munſter for his Majeſty's reſtoration. Having engaged all his own Officers, and many others not under his command in that province, to concur in ſuch a deſign, he then communicated his meaſures to SR CH. COOTE in Conaght; of whoſe ill affections to the preſent ruling powers, either in the Rump or in the army, he was pretty well aſſured. COOTE, as well as his father, had gone entirely into the Republican ſyſtem from the beginning; not from any principle, for they appear to have had none but intereſt. The loaves and the fiſhes were then on that ſide; and monarchy was not capable of giving its votaries any reward. But now the Commonwealth was apparently on the decline: the inteſtine diviſions of the leading men, carried to the utmoſt height of animoſity, forboded a ſpeedy diſſolution of their power: and as nothing could attone for all his paſt oppoſition to his Majeſty's intereſts, or give him any chance of favour under the new Government, but a very early and a very zealous proſecution of the King's ſervice, ſo like a true ſoldier of fortune he veered about, and ſtruck in inſtantly with the overture made him by Lord Broghill. From this time, no man in Ireland was ſo warm and vigilant a Royaliſt as Sr. Ch. Coote. His zeal, after the manner of all new converts, was ſo eager and intenſe, that he had nearly ſpoiled Lord Broghill's meaſures by precipitating him into action before he was ready, and before the time agreed on. When his Lordſhip was aſſured of Coote's confederacy, he diſpatched a letter to the King, then at Bruſſels, by his brother Lord Shannon, to invite his Majeſty into Ireland; and in the mean time, made all the preparations he privately could for his reception in the city of Corke. When the King received this letter, he was ſo fully perſuaded of the ſucceſs which he ſhould meet with in Ireland, that he gave orders immediately for all things to be got ready for his embarkation: but in the moment that he was taking horſe to go to Calais in a diſguiſe, in order to his Iriſh expedition, there arrived letters from England full of aſſurances of Monck's intentions to ſerve the King; which cauſed the deſign of going to Ireland to be laid aſide.

Sr. C. Coote being afraid, from the reports ſpred every day of Monck's intentions, and of the feeble and disjointed ſtate of affairs in England, that if he did not make haſte his ſervices would be loſt in the general turn, and he ſhould have little merit to plead, proceeded immediately to ſecure the fort and town of Galway, changed the Governor and drew together a conſiderable body of horſe and foot, conſiſting chiefly of Engliſh-Iriſh. With theſe he ſurpriſed Athlone, and then marched to Dublin: where he preferred an impeachment of high treaſon againſt Ludlow, and the Commiſſioners of the Commonwealth. At the ſame time, ſome other Officers, whom Lord Broghill and Coote had aſſociated in the confederacy, ſecured Youghal, Clonmell, Carlow, Limerick, and Drogheda. In the mean while, a Council of the principal Officers was held at Dublin; in which they made a very long and public delaration in favour of the re-admiſſion of the Members of Parliament in England, who had been excluded by violence in forty eight. An agent was then diſpatched to Monck, to aſſure him of their joining with him for the ſettlement of the nations by a free Parliament;

and

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and a convention of the eſtates in Ireland was ſummoned to meet at Dublin. Soon after the meeting of the convention, of which Sr. James Barry, afterwards Baron of Santry, was chairman, they alſo publiſhed a declaration for the re-admiſſion of the excluded Members in England, and for a free Parliament: And in order to ſecure the army to their deſign of reſtoring the King, which they did not yet avow, they made a proviſion for the Payment of their arrears, and for their future maintenance.

Juſt at this time arrived Ludlow in the bay of Dublin, in order to attend his charge of the forces in Ireland under the Parliament: but as ſoon as the Council of Officers had received intelligence of his arrival, they ſent a party of horſe to his houſe, juſt off the bay, in order to ſeize him: and not finding him there, they lay privately by the ſea-ſide, in hopes to ſurpriſe him upon his landing. But this project failing, by his remaining ſtill on board the ſhip through a diſtruſt of his ſafety, they ſent an Officer to deſire him, for avoiding inconveniences, to retire to England. This Ludlow refuſed; being determined to proſecute, as far as he was able, the ends of his commiſſion from the Parliament: the Captain then propoſed that the General ſhould go to Dublin, in order to ſatisfy the ſcruples of the Council of Officers: but Ludlow was too old a ſoldier to be caught in that ſnare. He went to Duncannon, the Governor of which was put in there by him, and was his friend; where he remained for ſome time, iſſuing out letters and orders to the Officers of the ſeveral garriſons, requiring them to adhere to the ſervice of the Parliament from whom he had received his commiſſion; and informing them that the Council of Officers at Dublin, though they covered their deſign at preſent with pretences for the Parliament, yet it was evidently to deſtroy both them and their friends, and to bring in the ſon of the late King. In the mean time, the Council of Officers ordered the fort of Duncanon to be blocked up, and ſent him a letter to juſtify their proceedings; in which they accuſe him with much malicious falſhood; and afterwards they printed and diſperſed it. The Parliament however were by this time ſo much awed and influenced by Monck, that they ſent letters to recall Ludlow, as well as their Commiſſioners; and to attend them with an account of the affairs of Ireland.

The Council of Officers at Dublin, who had all along acted in concert with Monck, being backed by the convention, thought their affairs in that kingdom were ripe enough now to begin to throw off the maſk. They publiſhed therefore another declaration, in which they reproached the Parliament with the favours they had extended to men accuſed of high treaſon—meaning their admiſſion of Ludlow, and one of the Commiſſioners, into the Houſe at their return—and the diſcouragements they had laid upon thoſe who had been ſent to England to proſecute the impeachment. In ſhort they told them plainly, they could no longer own them for an authority; and deſired therefore that a free Parliament might be called, to put an end to thoſe confuſions, in which their ambition and unſkilfulneſs had involved the nations. But when this declaration came to be ſigned, Sr. Hard. Waller, who had been one of the late King's judges on his trial, juſtly dreading the conſequence to himſelf and his party of calling a free Parliament, moved that the Council of Officers might be adjourned into the caſtle; where he hoped to ſecure the leaders of this motion: but not being able to carry that point, he communicated his deſign to as many as he thought fit, and making an excuſe to go out of the room, he haſtened away and got into the caſtle: two or three others followed and joined themſelves to him; and amongſt them it was reſolved, to ſend out a party to ſeize Sr. Ch. Coote and his adherents. But ſuſpecting their intentions, he had provided ſome of his own men, either to defend himſelf, or ſecure the others; and being accompanied by Colonel Theoph. Jones, he mounted on horſeback at the head of them, rode up and down the ſtreets of Dublin, and declared for a free Parliament; which language was by that time ſufficiently underſtood to be for the King. A great multitude of the people followed them holding the ſame language; upon which they ſurrounded the caſtle: and having poſted guards upon all the avenues, they ſent a ſummons to Sr. H. Waller to deliver the place into their hands. Waller, refuſing to ſurrender, clothed all the ſoldiers out of the ſtores, and diſtributed money amongſt them in order to ſecure their fidelity; promiſing them ſtill more if they would ſtand by him: but the ſoldiers had ſeen their Officers change ſides ſo often for their intereſt, that it is no wonder that Coote ſhould in two or three days, with more money, and with larger promiſes, prevail with them to deliver their Governor and caſtle into his hands.

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The reader will obſerve therefore, that the army and people in Ireland were among the firſt of thoſe that broke the ice for the King's reſtoration. WALLER was ſent a priſoner into England: and as he was poſſeſſed of two regiments—for theſe Republican Patriots, as other Patriots have done ſince, took care of themſelves—COOTE was under ſome difficulty to find proper Colonels: having juſt before taken two to himſelf, and given one to each of his brothers, and another to a relation. This unequal diſtribution was ſo reſented by ſome of his own party, that it was moved by one of the Officers at a Council of war, that a more equal hand might be obſerved in the diſpoſal of commiſſions: but COOTE thought this too impertinent a motion to be permitted; and therefore after ſeverely reprimanding the Officer diſcharged him from his command. To ſhew their attachment to MONCK, and the cauſe which they knew he intended to ſerve, the Council of Officers at Dublin ſent him a preſent of a pair of ſpurs and a ſword-hilt of maſſey gold, together with a rich hatband and an embroidered belt: and after this, there were no more thoughts of a Commonwealth, but every one was preparing to ſwim with the ſtream. There was a ſmall, and ſhort debate indeed in the convention, whether they ought not to article with the King for the confirmation of the eſtates of the adventurers, and the ſoldiers: but ſome of the members ſuggeſting, that it would be diſhonourable to make conditions for the reſtoration of their Sovereign, it was ſoon determined to accept of his declaration from Breda, as the fitteſt expedient to cement the divided intereſts of the kingdom.

The way being thus prepared for a perfect ſubmiſſion to their former Government, the ſame methods which reſtored the King to his throne, and which eſtabliſhed monarchy again in England, eſtabliſhed his authority, and put an end to the Commonwealth in Ireland. What thoſe methods were, the reader already knows; or at leaſt he will not expect to find them here. I have now conducted him to the period which I firſt intended in this work: I have led him through numerous and various ſcenes, of as much cruelty, contention, miſrule, and confuſion, as ever filled the pages of any hiſtory in the world: and I have brought him to a ſtate of law, and order, and regularity; when the ancient conſtitution of theſe kingdoms was

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reſtored, and the reign of enthuſiaſm and anarchy was at an end. Though the reader, as well as the hiſtorian, muſt be very well pleaſed to part with theſe unhappy times, yet if Mankind will ſuffer themſelves to be made better by the experience of former ages—and if experience doth not teach them, one cannot tell what will—there is a leſſon of the firſt importance to ſociety to be learned from the dreadful ſtory that we have gone through: for the miſchiefs of civil ſtriſe, are more diffuſive than the conſequences of any other wickedneſs: it breaks through every tie of nature, reaſon, and religion: it unpeoples countries, lays waſte the earth, and diveſts mankind of juſtice, compaſſion, and humanity. In order therefore to avoid thoſe fatal rocks, on which our anceſtors in both kingdoms were moſt unhappily loſt, let their experience inſtruct us, to beware of the beginnings of civil diſcord; which, though at firſt they may ſeem ſmall, yet by time and chance, which happen to things as well as men, become mighty in their progreſs, and fatal in their concluſion. For it is with communities in this reſpect as it is with individuals: when once they break the bounds of law and order, there is no knowing at what a popular tumult will ſtop. The wickedneſs of the Iriſh rebels would never have been ſo various, ſo extenſive in its meaſure, or ſo enormous in its height,—and the ſame may be ſaid of that in England—could they have accurately foreſeen the progreſs of their crimes, or have ſuſpected themſelves to be capable of thoſe actions in the beginning, which, by an unſeen chain of evil cauſes, and a gradual train of very unexpected effects, they were led in the end unavoidably to perform. So many unlooked for incidents aroſe, ſo many miſeries unprovided for ſurpriſed, and ſuch ſcenes of horror overwhelmed them, that even cruelty began to feel remorſe, and revenge to wiſh itſelf unſatisfied. But this unprofitable repentance came too late; when they could neither recall the paſt, nor prevent the calamities that were to come. This is a reflection which may do no great honour to human nature; but it may help to improve the human mind: and if we read hiſtory with the view that it ſhould be red by every one, the improvement of the mind will anſwer the great end for which all hiſtory ſhould be written. The character of the Monarch, whoſe reſtoration gave peace to Ireland, ſhall conclude this work.

CHARLES II.

A. 1660.

CHARLES the Second is one of the Kings, of whom almoſt all hiſtorians have ſpoken with great prejudices, on the one ſide, or the other. A man who hath conſidered his reign attentively, and will ſpeak of it impartially, muſt ſpeak of it I think differently from all that I have ſeen. There are ſome ſtrokes indeed in his character which are common to all who write of him. His friends and his enemies have allowed, that he had very fine natural parts, a great quickneſs of conception, pleaſantneſs of wit, a right judgment of affairs, and great variety of knowledge: but with all theſe abilities, and with all the ſocial qualities that a Prince could have to render himſelf beloved, without any pride, or ſtatelineſs, or conceit, he had ſuch a careleſneſs and indolence of temper, as disfigured his adminiſtration of Government all his life. The high principles which he maintained, if we conſider all the circumſtances of his family, education, and exile, are not only to be forgiven, but excuſed, in CHARLES the Second. But his pretended zeal for the Proteſtant religion and the Church of England, when he was externally of the Roman communion, and internally of no religion at all, or at beſt a Deiſt, was a ſeries of diſſimulation which there is no defending. It is pity, it muſt be owned, that ſo fine a Gentleman in his manner, ſo eaſy of acceſs, ſo affable and communicative in his converſation, ſo entertaining with his wit, and ſo polite in his reproof and raillery, ſhould at the ſame time have no ſincerity, nor friendſhip, nor even tenderneſs in his nature. He had adopted one maxim, it ſeems, by which he excuſed theſe defects; that there was no ſuch thing as honour or virtue in the world, but that the actions of all mankind were the reſult of intereſt. Under the impreſſion of ſuch a maxim, it was impoſſible he ſhould practiſe friendſhip, or ſincerity: nor could there be any great room for tenderneſs, more than what he was impelled to by his natural temper. It was not however till the very latter end of his reign, when his eaſe had been much diſturbed by plots, and the heat of contending parties, that CHARLES the Second exerciſed any cruelty; and his character in that reſpect ſeems to have been overcharged. He was ſo abandoned to ſenſual pleaſures, that he could ſcarce prevail upon himſelf, till towards the decline of life, to ſuſpend them even for an hour that he might apply to the affairs of Government: and yet when he did apply himſelf, his judgment was ſo clear, his penetration was ſo lively, and his mind was ſo capable

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pable of great affairs, that he could diſpatch more buſineſs in one day than his Miniſters in general could in many. His miſtreſſes devoured all his time, and his treaſure; and it was not the ſplendour or glory of a Crown, but an eaſy indolent ſauntring life, amidſt wit and voluptuouſneſs, which had charms for Charles. This is a wretched, deſpicable courſe of life for a King to follow, it muſt be owned: but it is made much worſe when we conſider, that it betrayed him into profuſeneſs which was extremely burdenſome to his people; and when he could not get money enough from his Parliament to ſupport this profuſeneſs, that he even ſubmitted, with the Crown of England upon his head, to be the tool and penſioner of the King of France. But yet with a character ſo diſadvantagious to his ſubjects, and ſo inglorious to himſelf, it muſt be acknowledged that he made as many conceſſions to his people, and paſſed as many acts for their benefit, as any Prince that had ever reigned before him. His great concern at laſt was for the ſucceſſion of his brother; which yet he would have conſented ſhould be greatly limited: and in his laſt ſickneſs, when he had time to think over the miſconduct of his life and reign, he ſhewed no remorſe for either: not a word about religion dropped from him to any body: no care of his people, no concern about his Queen, ſate upon his thoughts at all; but he died recommending his miſtreſſes, and the children which they brought him, to the care and kindneſs of his brother. To conclude his character, we may ſay, that as a Gentleman he was liked by every body, but beloved by no body: and as a Prince, though he might be reſpected for his ſtation, yet his death could not be lamented by a lover of his country, upon any other motive, than that it produced a much worſe Monarch on the throne than he was himſelf.

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THE END.

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ditious preacher 232---ordered the plate of Privy Councillors to be melted to raiſe money for the army 243---committed the Biſhop of Meath to cuſtody ---refuſed a paſs to Major WOODHOUSE ---laid an embargo on all ſhips in the harbour---took it off 245---reprimanded by the King 246-- ſent the Parliament Commiſſioners away---received a warrant for their commitment 246---ordered an expedition to Wexford 250 ---their unaccountable behaviour to Lord CLANRICARDE 258---their letter to the King 262---rejected Lord ORMONDE's motion 263---prorogued the Parliament unſeaſonably, and diſpleaſe the King 265---the new Lords Juſtices applied to the Engliſh Parliament---had recourſe to an Exciſe 273---reprimanded by that Parliament---juſtified themſelves, to which there was no reply 299

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FINIS.

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